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# La Nueva Bandera

## (The New Flag)



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PCP fighters facing the  
army in Huallaga, Peru

## In the Eyes of the Sinister Regime all Peruvians are Suspects

Two courageous American lawyers, Leonard Weinglass and Peter Erlinder, are demanding a resolution from the OAS's Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (ICHR) against the army-run Fujimori government. Three petitions were originally filed by the Peruvian Association of Democratic Lawyers (case No. 11.015.) The complaint demands that the ICHR adopt measures to protect the lives of more than 2,400 political prisoners secluded in inhuman conditions in Peruvian jails, and especially to defend the life of Dr. Manuel Abimael Guzmán (also a lawyer), the world's most famous political leader pris-

oner as well as an undisputed leader of millions of Peruvians. It demands that the regime comply with international agreements regarding the fair treatment of political prisoners, and to cease the persecution, detention, disappearances and murders of lawyers representing them. It is public knowledge that the Fujimori regime is guilty of atrocious genocides. One example is the May 1993 army assault on the jail of Cantogrande where 100 political prisoners were assassinated. It demands the release from isolation of Dr. Alfredo Crespo (Guzman's lawyer), Dr. Jorge Cartagena, and Dr. Martha Huatay, and that the government be held responsible for the illegal treatment of lawyers who defend political prisoners.

The government cannot politically and militarily defeat the opposition led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) that has a vast influence in the country, so as part of a psychosocial warfare, the army is engaged in wholesale torture and murder of innocent people. For instance, its current "final offensive" in the Huallaga area where the guerrillas were able to ambush them and easily break the military encirclement. In retaliation, army helicopter gunships have strafed civilian hamlets located near the Huallaga River and more than 100 bodies of mainly women and children were dumped by soldiers into the river. Even Peru's National Human Rights Coordinating Committee has cited charges of rape, torture and burning of houses by the genocidal army. All access to the zone has been denied to observers, including the

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International Red Cross. Amnesty International (AI) and America's Watch's (AW) presence in monitoring on-site events has been null in Peru (totally bureaucratic). The conditions imposed by the regime upon AI and AW are humiliating. If they want to report some "undemocratic excesses" of the government, AI and AW must first denounce the rebels as "human rights violators"—of course with information provided by the army or its loyal opposition, the bogus left—in other words, the army wants AI and AW to be involved in its psychological campaign against the people. Just recently, the Commission on Human rights of the New York Bar Association (the same group that organized a party in honor of the tyrant at the Waldorf Astoria hotel last October) sent a delegation to Peru and was demeaned and discredited by government officials and the governmental controlled media. They were accused of "interfering in internal affairs." That cynical excuse by the reactionaries in Peru contradicts the huge military, economic, and intelligence aid of U.S. imperialism to the Fujimori regime, (isn't that an outright interference in our internal affairs?) Without the U.S. aid, the people led by the PCP would topple the government in less than 48 hours.

The campaign of murder by Fujimori's army is as vicious as ever, especially after the U.S. State Department has recently given them the green light by issuing its well known key word: "progress in human rights." The excuse of "war on drugs" in the Huallaga is not there anymore. The DEA has finally concluded that high ranking army generals—supposedly conducting the counter-subversive war—are deeply involved in cocaine trafficking. It is clear that the U.S. was not conducting high tech surveillance on their Peruvian partners (the army) but they were targeting the rebels.

Except for the liberated areas under PCP control or influence, in Peru there is no recourse to any authority, other than the security forces, who are precisely the ones responsible for the crimes inflicted upon the people. The curfews, demolition and burning of homes by army soldiers is happening not only in occupied Palestine, it is more frequent in Peru. The people are unsafe at home. At any moment they can be subjected to midnight searches, during which entire households, mainly women and chil-

dren, are raped and beaten. Arrests during such operations are common. The staged scenarios to justify these atrocities are already in place: These were "terrorist" homes, top PCP leaders were arrested there or they are the killers of "Mother Courage." Attorney General Nelida Colán (Fujimori's most vicious "public defender") quickly *verifies* the "facts" and cover-up the crimes, so everything is "legal" for the security forces, and they will be ready for the next crime.

The entire country now lies in wait for the PCP's strategic offensive so they can have a chance to rise up and avenge the genocides. And this historical moment may come sooner than expected. The government is pushing towards an inevitable uprising. The longer they resist the people's desire for revolution, the more overwhelming the results will be. The economy is in deep trouble (the "privatization" of decrepit state enterprises is purely a show), the industrial growth is negative and unemployment has reached record levels. Hunger and starvation are rampant. What "achievement" can Fujimori claim? For most Peruvians it is only one: Peru is now one of the world's top countries in spread of tuberculosis and cholera. The heroic people of Peru have nothing to lose by joining the struggle but their chains. For them, it is better to die fighting against the oppressor than starve to death.

It is a shame that the "free press" in the U.S. has been reporting only the government's version of events; and that is the main reason why the *New Flag* exists and it will continue to exist, to bring you alternative news, the other side of the story. The people's side.

Your response to our first issue has been great, and we hope you will continue to enjoy every issue. We'd like to hear your comments and suggestions and also encourage you to get involved by writing articles.

Our thanks to our friends and contributors for this edition: Committee Sol Peru of London, *El Diario International* (Belgium), Atelier Franco-Peruano (Paris), Peru Information Center (Seattle), CSRP (Australia), Peru Scholars (Colorado), Peru Solidarity (Wisconsin), *Prison Legal News*, several IECs, MPD (Dominican Republic), MLN (PR), MIM (USA), MPPs and others.

THE EDITORS

## The Lawyer in Peru Today: a High Risk Profession

To defend political prisoners in Peru is a delicate matter. State power is applied dictatorially and human rights exist only in dreams. Being lawyers before the military justice system, defending those accused of "terrorism" or "treason to the motherland" (which for the army is synonymous with the insurgency), is a dangerous profession.

Those who are present at the trials of political prisoners suffer psychological torture that is not merely limited to threats. Many of them are now being held in Peruvian prisons, for the "grave crime" of representing presumed members of the insurgency, the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). The lawyers are

told: "Take care, doctor, don't stand on a mine."; "There is water next to you; take care you don't fall."

With a blindfold covering their eyes, the defense lawyers are taken to the military bases. They are conducted—in the midst of warnings and insults—to the place where the "judicial activities" are to take place. This form of torture takes around 45 minutes on each occasion.

To reach the prisons they must travel surrounded by armed marines and soldiers.

Once the hearings begin, the lawyers are prohibited from communicating with their clients. A hooded attorney—who sits

in front of an investigative official—sits next to the lawyers, and the lawyers are prohibited from taking part. They are silent statues. This was the way the lawyer Alfredo Crespo Bragayrac was allowed to be with Dr. Abimael Guzman. He had no opportunity to talk with him about his defense.

Procedures before the Peruvian military justices are done at high risk. They are carried out in military buildings and when a lawyer enters, no one knows if he will be allowed to leave the building or whether he will himself be accused and sentenced as a “terrorist.” That is what happened to Dr. Crespo, who is now serving a life sentence imprisonment in a prison in Puno, which is 800 kilometers from Lima.

Someone who wants to legally assist a person accused of being a “terrorist” is in turn accused of being a terrorist, as if the defender of a burglar or killer assumes the same crime of which his client is accused.

The guard asks: “What is your request?” Once the lawyer answers, he has to give the guard his identification papers and the guard takes them to the superiors. “Only one person is allowed in”, he is warned. On the wall of the building, next to the door, there is a notice that says: “The guard has orders to shoot. Don’t take the risk.”

The defendant cannot leave because his identification documents are in the hands of the military. At the end, after waiting for hours, another soldier call the lawyer into the room.

A hooded military officer is the “judge.” He has no signature or name. He has only a number and key for “identification”. He acts with impunity and is prosecutor and “judge” at the same time.

The Constitution which was approved after the self-coup by the State Government of Alberto Fujimori Fujimori states in Article 2, Number 10, that:

“all Peruvians have the right:...

“10. To secret and inviolable private communications and documents.

The private documents taken in violation of this standard do not have legal effect.”

This is violated in every case. The lawyer Crespo Bragayrac was found “guilty of terrorism” on grounds of accusations from a “repentent” person who later recanted.

The terms regarding the presentation of appeals are dramatically restricted to 8 hours; these hours don’t take into account the times when the offices are normally closed. In most cases, lawyers are notified on Friday afternoon, so their is no time to appeal.

At each public appearance, the lawyers are compelled to make clear that their intervention has only a professional character. Even so, they face great hostility.

There are more than 40 lawyers in prison, and others have not even been as fortunate. They were simply assassinated or disappeared (Dr. Manuel Feberes, Dr. Tito Valle).

Lima, Peru. February, 1994

*Dr. Jose Enrique Gonzales is a lawyer and researcher at the National University of Autonomous Mexico (UNAM) who recently visited Peru.*

## **COMMITTEE OF FAMILIES AND RELATIVES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR AND THE DISAPPEARED IN PERU**

### **Open Letter to the Congress of the United States**

Dear Congressmen:

We, the undersigned relatives of political prisoners and prisoners of war and the disappeared in Peru, confronted by the constant and critical necessities of our families in prison, respectfully request your immediate attention to the following demands:

1. Substantial improvement in quality and quantity of the nutrition the prisoners receive. Nutrition should meet the world’s minimum requirements or standards for good nutrition and health. A special diet for those who are sick, especially for the large percentage of political prisoners with tuberculosis, should be provided.
2. Unrestricted access of both raw and cooked foodstuffs that family members bring into prison, which should be allowed weekly and not monthly.
3. Adequate and immediate medical attention for prisoners.
4. Evacuation of prisoners suffering from serious wounds or ailments.
5. Unrestricted entry of medicines.
6. Fumigation of rodents and other vermin.
7. Immediate halt to cutoffs of water and electricity.
8. Respect the right to wash blankets and clothing.
9. Respect the right of access to sunlight, and suspend the punishments that deny the daily yard exercise time.
10. Respect the right to have family visits. Visits of friends and family members, especially of children who want to see their imprisoned parents on holidays and weekends, should be allowed.
11. Respect the right to private visits and direct communication with lawyers.
12. Respect the right to legal defense.
13. Timely and accurate information on the condition of the prisoners to their families.

The preceding items are just demands that should be attended with the utmost urgency.

Peru, December 15th 1993

*[Note. The original signed document was hand delivered in Lima to the U.S. Congressional Committee visiting Peru on 12/93. Rep. Richard Finberg and Alexander Watson, Adjunct Secretary for Latin American, headed the U.S. delegation]*

# The Guardian Slanders the People of Peru

To the Editor:

An article written by Gabriella Gamini (*The Guardian* 04/05/94) stated that she interviewed two female PCP POWs in the jail of Ayacucho. According to her story, she entered the high security prison and received the following statements from the POWs:

- \* Women will fight in Peru regardless of how much blood is spilled.
- \* The task of the PCP is to kill anybody who stands in its way.
- \* The PCP has more trust in women than men.
- \* Dr. Martha Huatay has orchestrated massive bombings in Lima.
- \* A Comrade "Rita" succeeded President Gonzalo as the PCP leader.
- \* Killing leftists is the central policy and program of the PCP.
- \* PCP women can only marry men in the same rank (Gonzalo's rule.)
- \* Women cadres in the PCP have to provide sexual services every 45 days to the men.
- \* In PCP controlled areas, children are taken away from their parents, to distant farms.
- \* Those who refuse the PCP face death.
- \* PCP cadres were sent to poison the water of Ayacucho during an armed strike.

*The Guardian* alleges that the POWs were not repentants or capitulators, but cadres who raised their fists and believed in the triumph of the people's war and the building of a new society in Peru.

Due to the seriousness of the allegation, we contacted the PCP (in Lima and Ayacucho) to find out whether indeed Gabriella Gamini has interviewed the POWs<sup>1</sup>. The PCP responded that the prison authorities in Ayacucho do not even allow visits of the immediate family and relatives of the political prisoners, which at most consist in 30 minutes per month. The PCP has not granted an interview to journalists from *The Guardian* (US or the one in London.) The program, the principles and the practice of the PCP are in direct contradiction with the allegations. Therefore, the statements written in *The Guardian* are totally false and repulsive.

The only way that Gamini may have entered the jail was disguised as military and not as a journalist, and she must have been accompanied by members of the National Intelligence Service (SIN) and their CIA advisers operating in Ayacucho (SIN escorts even the members of the Red Cross.) If these alleged statements were in fact made by the POWs, they were extracted

under intense torture, as the prisoners are continuously subjected to, and in the presence of Gamini. We believe that the article is a breach of professional journalism and the product of a mercenary task on behalf of the enemies of the revolution. The author does not quote a single source to substantiate her claims, other than her dubious interview. Some of the accusations (e.g., sexual favors) have not even been made by the yellow press in Peru during these 14 years of people's war.

Rather than reporting factual information, Gamini is expressing her own distorted and biased views on the PCP. The PCP has produced more than 100 public documents and none of them embodied the speculations of Gamini. An intelligent reader will easily figure out that most of *The Guardian's* story is garbage. U.S. Army manuals on psychological operations and civil affairs have extensively used these tactics of misinformation in Peru as well as in other countries (e.g., El Salvador).<sup>2</sup> In Peru the Army frequently drops leaflets with stories similar to *The Guardian's* from helicopters in Ayacucho. It is likely that Gamini has read the contents of one of these leaflets and used it for her tale in *The Guardian*.

Once again, *The Guardian* is throwing mud on the heroic people of Peru desperately trying to discredit the victorious revolution, and above all, is trying to justify the crimes perpetrated by the regime.

Marcelina C. Corimanya.

Pedro Soto.

University of Champagne, Chicago.

1. In the past, Robin Kirk and Peruvian turncoat Jose Renique have made false claims of having direct contacts with PCP's POWs (*The Nation*, *NACLA* Dec. 90/Jan 1991.)

2. *Military Intelligence Professional Bulletin*, October-December 1993, p. 34.

## Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's): Nest of Opportunists and Revisionists

Protest over the Peruvian government's face-saving maneuvers to protect Fujimori's closest associates from prosecution in high profile death squad activities subsided just as the U.S. State Department announced foreign aid projections for the coming year with Peru at the top of the list in South America. At the same time, NGO's held a conference in Cusco (now spelled Qosqo) at which it was sanctimoniously declared that "as long as Peruvian society excludes large segments of the population because of racial, ethnic, or cultural differences, and obligates them to renounce their identity in order to be integrated, democracy will remain an unfulfilled dream and the conflicts that are tearing the country apart will continue and may even increase."

The NGO's role in steering the political parties of Peru's "legal left" into oblivion is no secret. The same people who drive around the countryside in jeeps holding meetings with

government officials about “rural pacification” are now calling for de-centralization. (The above statement is part of this call.) We can see that the revisionists are revealing their “new” strategy to retain some political space in Peru’s thoroughly decrepit state. Since all of the politicians are clamoring for support from the U.S. government, they can no longer launch even rhetorical attacks against foreign domination. Even less can they attack capitalism, since they rely on corporate backing for their very existence. Focusing on regional autonomy and ethnic discrimination—as isolated and apart from class struggle—gives the revisionists what they may perceive, momentarily, as a “safe cause” in their attempt to undermine the revolutionary program of the Communist Party of Peru (known as Sendero Luminoso or Shining Path)—whose base is largely among the Indian poor. While the revisionists call for peace, they actually foment divisions among the people by attempting to buy off sectors of the impoverished masses.

The NGOs have shown no inclination to build a grassroots movement capable of turning around the drive toward a “free market” economy in Peru. Their efforts to develop paramilitary organizations with the aim of destroying the Peoples’ Committees of the New Democracy have failed. Nor will they be capable of combatting the forces of the Popular Guerrilla Army.

The only real hope for the masses is to overthrow the Peruvian Armed Forces and the National Police (who hold local as well as regional and national governments hostage, no matter who is elected). Instead, the revisionists held meetings with them, shook their hands, and issued hypocritical pronouncements.

## Successful Armed Strike in Lima

On May 17 and 18, the PCP called an armed strike in celebration of the 14th Anniversary of the launching of the peoples war. The government, the “opposition” and the media tried very hard to minimize the strike. But hundreds of guerrilla actions, paintings on walls, propaganda, burning of buses, car bombs and attacks on police and military targets as well as economic targets (banks) paralyzed the city. This was the first strike after the counter-revolutionary call for “peace talks.” The genocidal Fujimori was shocked and did not appear on TV during the two days. The PCP has demonstrated articulation in its actions nationwide. This has demonstrated its high morale and conviction before adversity. Also, this armed strike was the final blow to the capitulators inside the country and abroad. The “pacifists” sustained that there were no favorable conditions internationally, and that revolution is in retreat in today’s world. That is why a public announcement by the Communist Parties, especially of Maoists parties, is so important. The time has come to speak up publicly in support of the people’s war, Maoism, the PCP, and President Gonzalo. It is imperative to repudiate clearly the “peace accords” and the genocidal government that is promoting it.

## Economic Analysis:

### U.S. Imperialism Props Up Peruvian Genocidal Regime

The exploitation and oppression of the Peruvian people by the tyrannical regime of Fujimori is fueled by a flow of imperialist capital into Peru. The regime is barely scraping by now and would topple in a second without the imperialist “aid.” Mass capital infusions, principally from the United States, are propping up the government and its army, enabling it to limp along under the devastating force of the People’s War and the class struggle.

As part of supporting the People’s War led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), a Maoist vanguard party, revolutionaries in Amerika must understand the extent of U.S. and other imperialist involvement in Peru.

#### Extent of imperialist “aid”

The U.S. Government claimed it had suspended aid to the Peruvian government to punish Fujimori’s April 1992 military coup. Then, to reward Fujimori for his Sept. 1992 capture of Abimael Guzmán, Chairperson of the PCP, the regime received \$137 million in U.S. aid in 1993. This bundle made Peru the highest recipient of U.S. aid in South America, and second in all of Latin America.<sup>1</sup>

The United States also offered \$105 million as the main donation to an international group covering Peru’s foreign debt payments. Only \$37 million of this has come through so far; the rest is being used to persuade the Fujimori regime to prosecute a few high-profile human rights cases against the military, such as the La Cantuta killings.<sup>1</sup> Peru has averaged 300 disappearances of political prisoners per year during the 80s, and it was perhaps an embarrassing U.S. ally.<sup>2</sup>

#### World Bank funds won’t save the decrepit regime.

The U.S. dominated World Bank is another source of capital. The bank grants large loans usually intended to build roads or dams that enable foreign capital to pursue its profit-making more easily. The Bank then sucks huge profits out of those countries through accumulated interest on the unpayable loans.

The World Bank is now approving \$434 million in loans for Peru in the 1994-5 fiscal year, mostly for highway construction, roads and airports, and the electricity sector. These loans merely ease industrial and military penetration of Peru. The remaining funds are for supposed humanitarian goals: \$100 million for the National Compensation and Social Development Fund for Social Support, and \$34 million for health and nutrition.<sup>3</sup>

Given Peru’s population of 2.82 million people,<sup>4</sup> this amounts to about \$6 per person. It is precisely this kind of “aid” that the government hopes will slightly improve the conditions of the impoverished, and thus the poor will cease to oppose the state. But this pathetic \$6 bone that the imperialists are throwing

at the Peruvian masses will do nothing to weaken their revolutionary fervor.

### **Penetration of foreign capital**

But the biggest source of imperialist capital is the private sector. At the end of 1993, there was \$1,717 billion of accumulated foreign investment in Peru. The U.S. ranked first with \$630 million, followed by Panama (\$160 million), China (\$118 million) and Switzerland (\$100 million).<sup>5</sup>

With a 200% rate of return on investment in Peru,<sup>6</sup> U.S. investors alone are leaching nearly 1.5 billion dollars from the Peruvian people this year. The “growth” from these investments benefits only the Peruvian elite and the imperialist nations’ labor aristocracies and bourgeoisies. “Growth” without equitable distribution of wealth means the economic well-being of the Peruvian population as a whole is not improving.

Among the biggest threats to Peruvians is the privatization of state-owned industries currently being carried out by the Fujimori regime, in which employees of those firms are being sacked once their firms are sold off.<sup>7</sup> This will boost the already staggering unemployment rate in Peru which has remained at nearly 80% for the last four years!<sup>8</sup>

### **Privatization scheme rips off masses**

Fujimori’s hand-picked congress in November put the finishing touches on the freest set of investment terms for foreign interests in recent times. A “debt-equity swap” program was approved, in which the owners of Peru’s foreign debt can now use it to buy privatized state-owned industries.<sup>9</sup>

With Peruvian debt selling at 70 cents on the dollar, Fujimori is pawning off the country’s industry at discount rates in the vain hope of getting the imperialist banks off his back.

Debt-equity swapping may speed up the privatization process, but not for long. Speculators will push up the market value of Peruvian debt paper until it’s not profitable to swap it for equity.<sup>10</sup> And most importantly, no matter how much equity in privatized industries the government pawns off to foreign multinationals, there will be no equity for the Peruvian people, the intended losers in this international shell-game.

Fujimori is loosening investment regulations to include far-reaching ownership-guarantees to foreign interests, free repatriation of their earnings and capital, and one of Latin America’s most subservient tax regimes. These pimping trade-terms will lure even more foreign capital to Peru. According to one Peruvian government minister, more than \$4 billion will have entered the Treasury by the time the sell-off of 70 state-owned companies ends in 1991.

With literally every state-owned company on the auction-block, the livelihood of millions of workers is at stake. Antiprivatization protests are widespread such as those by the workers of Pescaperú, Centromin, Telfonos, etc.<sup>7</sup>

According to a member of Fujimori’s government: “Very little of the money obtained by the government from selling off state assets is returned to the people in the form of support

services and relief for the poor, even though worker’s survival is threatened by the erosion of labor rights, layoffs, and the draining and destruction of Peru’s resources by foreigners.”<sup>6</sup>

### **People’s War is bold as ever**

The official state of emergency in January was continued in six of Peru’s 24 departments (Lima, Callao, Ancash, Ucayali, Huanuco and Loreto) to “facilitate military operations against terrorism and drug trafficking.” These decrees suspend constitutional rights and indicate that the armed forces (rather than civilian police) will attempt to gain control of the areas.<sup>11</sup>

These areas are strategically important, since the six departments form a chain that divides Peru in half. One of them, Loreto, comprises nearly one-third of the area of the country, while another, Lima, holds nearly a third of the country’s population. Though not every province of each department is under state of emergency, at least one-third of the country is under PCP control or influence.

According to an article on coca production in Peru, the export-product, coca paste, is not primarily produced in any of those departments that are now under a state of emergency, but rather centers in the departments of San Martin, Amazonas, Cuzco, Junin, and Pasco. Since there is no overlap between those areas under state of emergency and those areas where Coca paste is produced, one can only conclude that “terrorists,” as the revolutionaries are called, that is, the PCP, must be sufficiently powerful in Lima, Callao, Ancash, Ucayali, Huanuco, Ayacucho, Apurimac, Huanuco, Cusco, Ancash, Puno and Loreto to force the government to engage them militarily with the help of Amerika’s \$8 million in “drug war” aid for 1994.<sup>12,13</sup>

The Peruvian masses know that at the end they must kick out the foreign multinationals and their native bourgeois pawns — that is why the people have chosen Maoist revolution. Yet Fujimori’s insidious privatization program may have one great benefit: when the Peruvian people seize state power, all of that imperialist capital can be expropriated, and used in servicing the people of Peru.

#### **Notes**

1. The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., *Daily Report For Executives*, 1/24/94.
2. *The New York Times* 1/12/94.
3. *American Banker-Bond Buyer* 11/22/93.
4. *1993 World Almanac & Book of Facts* (1992, est.).
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7. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11/22/93.
8. *NYT* 11/2/93, p. A1, D2.
9. *International Securities Regulation Report* 12/14/93.
10. *American Banker Bond Buyer* 12/13/93.
11. *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts* 1/17/94.
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Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM)  
Boxholder P.O. Box 712  
Amherst, MA 01004-0712

# People's War in Peru: Current Situation, Perspectives and Historical Significance

On May 17 1980, after intense preparations the PCP led by Chairman Gonzalo opened up the road of liberation of the Peruvian people: the road of the seizure of power by revolutionary violence, the road pointed out by the PCP's founder, Jose Carlos Mariategui and prescribed by the ideology of the proletariat, revolutionary Marxism, which today is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, concretely applied in Peru as Gonzalo Thought, the driving force and guide of this revolutionary struggle.

These have been years of intense combat, years in which the proletariat and people of Peru, persevering amid all difficulties and overcoming all of their problems, have set-up revolutionary bases of support. They have fostered the armed rebellion of the wide masses of the peasantry and waged guerilla warfare relying principally upon the poor peasantry and the urban proletariat, nowadays in an acute class struggle for political power. They have managed to establish a new power, a new popular state in formation, and achieved strategic equilibrium in their struggle against the old state. They have advanced in the task of setting up the People's Republic of Peru.

The historical events of the armed strikes and the military actions have reached the very heart of the areas under the tightest control of the reactionaries. It reached the capital of the old state, the city of Lima. It took firm root, principally in the poor neighborhoods, but also shook up districts such as San Isidro and Miraflores, the luxury neighborhoods of the ruling classes.

## A Second Moment Within The Strategic Equilibrium

On September 12 1992, the reactionary regime arrested Chairman Gonzalo. It was a lucky stroke for the regime, and it is trying to take advantage of it, attempting to repair and consolidate its dire situation. The first moment of the strategic equilibrium began in 1990; this period lasted until the capture of Chairman Gonzalo in September 92.

After 14 years of struggle, the revolution is proving its strategic superiority, learning more, resisting more and overcoming its problems with greater ease. On the other hand, the regime is ever more compelled to rely upon increasing dictatorship, more bullets, more fascism and more blatant mass murder.

There is no question that the capture of Chairman Gonzalo was a harsh blow. Nevertheless, in the historical context of the liberation war of the Peruvian people this is only a secondary factor. It does not in the least change the course of the people's war in Peru.

To understand this it is necessary to explain what strategic equilibrium in a popular liberation means. A people's war always begins within the following framework:

The old state, the ruling classes and their imperialist masters are tactically stronger in the political, economic and military fields. Their system organized and perfected for centuries is deeply rooted. They have a clear consciousness of their own class interests in keeping the oppressed subjected to their rule and their law. They count on the state apparatus and military forces, both with a long history of keeping the masses down by force and bloody violence. In addition, their foreign backers are powerful imperialist powers that supply them with arms, economic aid and the technical means to keep afloat their huge machinery of oppression. In all these areas the people's forces are always in disadvantage. Principally, since they are not fully conscious of the reasons for their subjection and oppression, they do not clearly distinguish their enemies from their friends. Lacking in unity, organization, and Party they are like grains of loose sand. Even if they have organization, this is low and they do not have modern weapons or military know-how. *Their own class brothers abroad, although an immense mass of proletarians and democratic peoples, are also powerless, remote and disorganized in relation to the imperialist bourgeoisie.*

## The People's War Organizes the Seizure of Power

Engels pointed out: there are but two forces upon this earth, the organized power of the ruling classes and the dispersed, disorganized power of the popular masses.

The launching of a people's war marks the beginning of their organization as a war machine for achieving political, military and economic superiority for the seizure of power. It marks the beginning of their organization as a force for carrying out the social transformation necessary to satisfy their class interests. But it is only the beginning. This process requires the development of their war for it to reach equilibrium first, and later to overcome and overwhelm the class enemy.

Once organized, the oppressed masses can and will go from strategic defensive to strategic equilibrium and eventually achieve superiority. Meanwhile, the old society, which begins its own defense with tactical superiority, ends by losing it.

Presently in Peru this stage of strategic equilibrium is the moment in which the old and the new state face each other with relatively balanced forces. This is not to claim a balance of forces, gun by gun, tank by tank, or anything of the sort. It means that while the old state is incapable of suppressing the new state, the new state is not yet able to eliminate its opponent completely.

## Diametrically Opposed Perspectives Amidst Great Imbalance and Growing Instability

The new state has the historical perspective of moving onto the strategic offensive and reaching victory. The old state, on the other hand, manifests its obsolescence and is struggling against the main trend in history by concentrating power and becoming increasingly reactionary. It heads towards its doom. First it will go over to its strategic defensive and then it will be buried by the new state. That is its perspective. And in that perspective it is the masses who will tend toward strengthening their unity, and their organizational level in the political, military and economics fields.

The PCP had the regime against the ropes in August 1992, when the regime dealt a harsh blow to the leadership of the PCP in September. Today the campaign for the defense of the life of Chairman Gonzalo and against the dictatorship is taking place. It is precisely the political and military expression of a second stage within this strategic equilibrium. With the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo, the regime is making a cowardly attempt to distort the real political situation.

Principally, the regime seeks to make inroads in undermining the unity of the PCP. It aims to create divisions and drag the Party and the people along the road leading to the swamp of negotiations. That is the rationale for the fraudulent 'peace' plot peddled by Fujimori: the forged letters, videos and photographs that were featured in the campaign of the tyrant at the United Nations (speech of October 1, 1993). From there he went on to use, fraudulently and without success, the image of Chairman Gonzalo in his attempt to buttress his referendum, and the new constitution.

### **Indisputable Facts Expose Reactionary Lies**

The imprisonment of Chairman Gonzalo has served to prove beyond any doubt the capacity of the PCP to continue to lead the people's war. It has displayed its ability to follow and carry out the plans and teachings of its leader. Paradoxically, it is the most indisputable proof of the strategic equilibrium, the very strategic equilibrium that the enemy at home and abroad tried to ridicule and sought to deny. The people's war has continued to expand in great waves across the whole country. The reactionary regime is losing control in large areas. The state of emergency has been deepened and extended to many areas of the country previously exempted from this, and the violations of the rights of the masses have subsequently increased.

All these developments have taken place while the leader of the revolution is in prison and while the regime and its propagandists are making special efforts to silence the war by suppressing news and twisting facts. The regime is trying hopelessly to present an image of increasing normality with the aim of relieving the insurmountable economical and political problems. Chairman Gonzalo's imprisonment has also served to expose the lie that the PCP is an organization depending on a single charis-

matic leader, that it is dedicated to the cult of Gonzalo's personality (a godlike figure.)

The phony communists, revisionists and opportunists of the bogus left have wasted vast quantities of paper and ink on loud proclamations that the PCP was 'messianic'. To their chagrin this slander has now been totally buried, not only in Peru but all over the world.

With the help of the most advanced psychological warfare techniques, montage and huge propaganda, the Fujimori regime tried to present Chairman Gonzalo as an old-style political swindler, someone ready to order his party to end the people's war and come to terms with the dictatorship for purely personal motives. The bogus left and opportunists of all kinds, along with the cynical imperialist media, have played the roles of willing assistants in this charade. They all believed their own lies about the PCP being a messianic movement dedicated to the cult of Gonzalo's personality. They thought that it would be enough for him to appear in a 'convincing' video supporting Fujimori and his bureaucratic road to have the people give up their own class interests and abandon the road of liberation.

Reality has now shown that this plot has failed miserably.

### **Gonzalo: Authentic Leader of a Real Revolution**

Far from being followers of a movement dedicated to the cult of personality, people cherish, love and follow a leader such as Chairman Gonzalo because of his track record as a faithful and dedicated Marxist, a communist and revolutionary, and has an untarnished revolutionary practice. Above all has always stood for their true interests. They have seen this for more than a decade of people's war. They have seen this during all the previous decades of his political life and revolutionary action. That is why they cherish, love and follow him. The Peruvian people and their Communist Party have clearly shown that they are not dedicated to the cult of a politician's personality. They have shown to have a clear understanding, and a commitment to a proven ideology of real value in their liberation struggle. They have not shown recognition and have assumed a commitment to personalities, especially cardboard montages such as Fujimori's. They recognize and are committed to the revolutionary ideals of the proletariat, the ideas of Marx, Lenin, and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The people know from their own experience that Fujimori and all the bourgeois politicians have consistently lied, deceived, exploited and repressed them. That Fujimori is a wanton liar is now common currency even for those who defend his regime. He came to power by lying, staging a coup d'etat and also by violating his very oath to uphold the constitution, and continues to lie day after day from both sides of his mouth.

Comité Sol Perú, London



# “The Silence of the Lambs”

Contradiction, the fundamental law of materialist dialectics, teaches us that in all events and phenomena there are good things and bad things. These move in unity and permanent struggle. We take this law to analyze the particularities emerging from the “peace letters” and the supposed “war negotiations.” The first positive political event resulting from the farce made up by the Fujimori regime is that an infected and putrid dry skin has emerged to the surface (capitulators and revisionists) who for some time have been camouflaged in the interior of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) waiting for the best opportunity to apply their counter-revolutionary plans. The proper moment for the action of these elements came in September 1992, when the police captured the leader of the Maoist revolutionaries. From that date and thereafter, the capitulators, as well as the intelligence services of the Peruvian government and Yankee imperialism, accelerated their plans to liquidate the PCP, Chairman Gonzalo and the revolution. This was clarified by a December 3 statement from Socorro Popular [People’s Aid organization] which denounced these individuals who have been “planning to kill Chairman Gonzalo and destroy the Party” for a long time.

A specific phenomenon resulting from the fraud setup by the Fujimori government is the fact that traffickers and government agents, who have infiltrated the party organization, have shown their faces and now exposed themselves. In political terms and considering the permanent class struggle in the Party, this is an advantage. The PCP, as a living organism in continuous permanent movement goes through successive stages of acute internal struggles and depuration of harmful elements. In other words, it is easier to sweep away the garbage exposed before our eyes than the waste hidden under the rags.

It is not the first time that Peruvian revolutionaries, directed by Chairman Gonzalo, have had to struggle against traitors and defeatists. In 1964, Jorge del Prado and his clique, after taking over the direction of the PCP, were expelled. In the Sixth Conference (1969) the Khrushovite current within the Party was liquidated. In 1970, the Red Fraction combated and defeated the rightist defeatist line. In 1975 the left defeatist line was crushed. They had questioned Maoism and were opposed to Mariategui’s principle ideas. Between 1977 and 1978, right wing opportunism was defeated, having opposed both the completion of the PCP’s reconstitution and the conclusion of the preparations to initiate the armed struggle. In May 1979, a year before the start of the armed actions, in the Ninth Expanded Plenum of the Central Committee, various exponents of the opportunist and right wing line were expelled.

In the specific case of the international situation, thanks to the “peace letters” it is possible to identify all the reactionary agents infiltrated into the leadership of the Peru People’s Movement organizations based in Europe [Movimientos Popular Peru,

MPP] and who now act in close coordination with the intelligence apparatus of the Peruvian regime. Based on this information, the PCP has initiated in all of Europe, Mexico, the United States, and other countries, the tasks of cleaning up and reorganizing the organisms generated abroad. Such activities, naturally, will strengthen the international work in support of the people’s war. The same process is going on at various prisons in Peru, where a small clique of capitulators, supported by the bloody prison police, is going public, exposing themselves to publicize a “peace agreement” scam. It has been proven that the struggle against enemies posing as revolutionaries, in Peru and countries abroad, strengthens and fortifies the PCP.

## A Wave of Solidarity with the PCP

The struggle against capitulation and opportunism has raised the level of militancy in Europe and in other continents. Diverse political organizations in countries abroad have made public announcements in defense of the people’s war, and have expressed their rejection of the repugnant farce fabricated by the tyrant Fujimori. The majority of the organizations in solidarity with the PCP have initiated a campaign to denounce and uncover those traffickers still posing as members of MPP’s and other organizations supporting the armed struggle in Peru. Among the organizations in support of the people’s war, the following must be mentioned: the Party of Labor of Belgium (PTB) which has organized public events and also through its weekly publication *Solidaire*, has undertaken a tenacious struggle against agents of the Peruvian government. The political group Action Socialiste in Canada, which some months ago organized an important conference with the central theme to discuss the tasks needed to support the people’s war, and among its conclusions agreed to reject the “peace letters” and repudiate the agents of the false MPP’s. In the same way must we mention the Communist Party of Greece; the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP-ML); the Communist Party of India; the political group Voie Proletarienne of France, and diverse organizations in support of the people’s war from Spain (Barcelona, Cataluña, Islas Canarias) France, Holland, Germany, Sweden, Italy, Australia, as well as Bolivia and other parts of the world.

## “He who keeps silent, accepts”

As part of this same process and same phenomenon, one sees clearly all those who, from an ambiguous, eclectic and opportunist position have kept a scandalous silence when confronting the “letters” from the Peruvian dictatorship. In politics, there is a historical principle that states “he who keeps silent accept.” In effect, in terms of the people’s war, which is today the world’s most important revolutionary process, and having the conclusive evidence that the “letters” have been indeed fabricated in order

to tarnish and destroy the Peruvian revolution, it is a right-wing opportunist position not to take a stand. Any vacillation, any doubt around the “letters of peace” only favors the enemies of the people’s war, and facilitates the counter-revolutionary work of Fujimori’s agents who are still trafficking with the figure of Dr. Abimael Guzmán. Not to reject the letters is in practice to ignore the historic significance of Chairman Gonzalo and lower it to levels of revisionist putrefaction. From this, that in Peru the main cheerleaders of the setup circus to present “the peace negotiation” are found among the personalities of the official left, mainly among those “senderologos” working in institutions of imperialist penetration, those so called NGO’s, the Non-Governmental Organizations.

The silence of the phony friends of the Peruvian revolution becomes even worse when they act almost the same way as the traffickers and capitulators. With the same technic of those who publicize “fight for a peace agreement”, they hide away PCP documents, among these the October 7 Declaration from the Central Committee, or the International Directive from the Party’s headquarters, and also the pronounced statements from Socorro Popular and the prisoners of war. And what does it mean to NOT recognize the PCP documents, or to pretend to be unaware of them? It is nothing else than to validate the Fujimori’s scam, to follow the game of North American imperialism, and above all to ignore and depict the PCP’s Central Committee as “unknown.” Concretely, it is to admit that the People’s War has been defeated, and that the regime’s propaganda is true and objective. This is consistent with what they say for publicity reasons: “we defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo” and “we are with the people’s war.”

No argument is valid to justify the “silence tactic.” Specially when some call themselves maoists and revolutionaries. Historic experience gives great lessons in such respect. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao Tse-Tung gave great battles against opportunism in the international communist movement, and took a position in each event of importance for the working class and the world revolution. They never applied the method “to shut up and let it happen.” An example of this is found in Chairman Mao, when as a result of the right deviation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) starts a hard struggle and breaks relations with the petty heads of the CPSU, whom he denounces and exposes publicly. Can anyone imagine that Chairman Mao, under the pretext that the opportunist counter-revolutionary line being pulled by Khrushchov is a problem of the Russians, would just remain silent? And let us not forget, at the initial moment of the ideological confrontation between the CPSU and the Communist Party of China, the Soviet Union was established as the main technological-economic support for the People’s Republic of China.

In sum, silence as a political concept has a class character and in this concrete situation is an almost outright endorsement of the world’s reactionaries slanders against the PCP. And it is by

keeping silent that they befriend the individuals who at present, in countries abroad, publicize the sham “peace agreement.” Until now they have not said a thing in relation to these elements, and it is possible that links between them are being maintained. Thus, undercover, imperialism’s dirty game of trying to liquidate the people’s war is accepted. Not to say anything responds to the pilgrim idea that it is possible to negotiate the war of liberation and suspend armed actions. On the other hand, they deny that the PCP, without the physical presence of Chairman Gonzalo, is capable to victoriously lead the revolution and sieze power countrywide. Finally, they don’t trust the revolutionary strength of the masses led by the PCP.

[Translated from “El Silencio de los Corderos”, in *El Diario Internacional*, April 1994, Editorial p. 2-3]

## The Government’s Secret Document:

### The Psychological War and Theoretical Foundation of Right Opportunism and their Plan of Capitulation

“Capitulation expresses itself with two facets: capitulation before native reaction and capitulation before world reaction. It is always so; its objective is to sell out the revolution. It is rot that must be rooted out with blood and fire...”

Chairman Gonzalo

#### Part I

In 1991 Fujimori told the press: we must begin a great publicity (i.e. misinformation) campaign against the Maoists if we don’t want to lose the war altogether.

As part of such a psychological warfare campaign now in the form of the peace accords, the government and its Yankee advisors have published in the Peruvian newspaper *La República* an alleged secret document on *Senderismo*.<sup>1</sup> This was supposedly written by Chairman Gonzalo and has been distributed not only by the government but also by a tiny group of repentants and traitors under the command of the right opportunist line (ROL), who have actively participated in and supported the abomination of the intelligence service and other government agencies by becoming messengers and “neutral” transmitters of internal documents and positions of Chairman Gonzalo and the PCP.

The objective of this document is to give a theoretical foundation to the plan of capitulation in their “great new decision,” justify their change of style and language and their taking the path of collaboration and eclecticism. In this vein, they are carrying out their deformation of the ideas and character of Chairman Gonzalo by attributing him with revisionist thoughts and phrases and ridiculous historical distortions, and thus isolat-

ing him from the Peruvian people and creating conditions for his eventual assassination.

The secret document, written and distributed last October in the prisons of Peru by the intelligence services, uses the method of camouflage. In the middle of each of the quotes of Chairman Gonzalo or the Marxist classics, words, phrases and even paragraphs have been omitted or grafted in to make it look like Marxist theory.

Thus, between December and January the government partially succeeded in the prisons by getting the right to come out in favor of treason. We must note, however, that it was only 300 out of 1,114 prisoners in Canto Grande and 168 of 234 in Santa Monica.<sup>2</sup> The right opportunists openly lie when they say 2,500 political prisoners support their stupidity.<sup>3</sup> Not even the government and their press have dared to claim that much.

Once we know the excuses and objectives of capitulation, we all must identify with the people and see in the people's war and the new Republic the only true hope for our liberation and actively unmask these falsehoods.

This participation by the people will allow the following: First, to deepen the understanding of our ideology by studying Chairman Gonzalo's authentic writings; second, it will allow us to further develop popular democracy, so vital to the seizure of power, as it was correctly stated in the Third Plenum; third, it will permit the development of the objectives of the rectification campaign that opposes the ROL and their plan of changing line, the leadership of the Party and people's war; fourth, to defend the new power and prepare for future struggles against the agents of U.S. imperialism's low intensity conflict and the revisionists.

## ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENT

### The pompous presentation of an unedited secret.

A headline in *La República* reads: "the following document comes from Abimael Guzmán himself." One line below is the disclaimer: "it might come from Guzmán." This is to avoid responsibility while using a secretive and mysterious tone to give it credibility. Later it states: "*La República* is making public this important, unedited document of Senderismo..." This is how they get in their first forgery: they categorically claim the document was of Senderismo, and more interesting is the claim that it was an important one. In the 14 years of people's war the reactionary paper *La República* and any other bourgeois press organizations have never acknowledged PCP documents, not even the 1988 interview with Chairman Gonzalo, as important. Rather, they treat them as pamphlets of empty rhetoric. Now all of a sudden they proclaim it to be an important document. What is the intention? Who is behind it? One does not have to look hard to understand why the document — a truly important one — the October 7th Resolution of the PCP's Central Committee is not labeled important by the reactionaries. This document unmasks the slander of the peace letters Fujimori and their objectives.

The four main ideas in the "important document" are:

1) Marxism-Leninism-Maoism—Gonzalo thought (MLM—PG) is invincible and undefeated because it is the ideology of the last class in history.

2) We are communists, Maoists, soldiers of the proletariat; our essence is Maoism, we fight with whatever arms are at hand. Always remembering what Chairman Mao taught: in the next 50—100 years... there will be new things, new struggles that must be resolved.

3) MLM—PG is our special weapon. We must keep in mind the agreements of the Third Plenary session. We will confront new problems and will resolve them by applying our ideology.

4) *Take up and fight for a New Great Decision and New Definition: Peace Accords.*

The above four guiding ideas should drive our conception of things.

It is by mixing incomplete quotes on MLM—PG, the condition of communists, the Third Plenum and the next 50—100 years that they introduce their counter-revolutionary plans.<sup>4</sup> The Chinese revisionists with Teng Hsiao-ping were champions of this style.

The political objective of the reactionaries and the ROL in introducing the phony great decision is to revise and undermine the just position of Chairman Gonzalo of Sept. 24, 1992:

"We should continue the tasks established by the III Plenum of the Central Committee. A glorious Plenum. You should know that these accords are already being implemented and that will continue. We shall continue applying the IV Plan of Strategic Development of the People's War to Conquer Power. We shall continue developing the VI Military Plan to Build the Conquest of Power, that is our task."

The keystones of the forgery are three phrases: a) It is a necessity that we do our part on the peace talks, there is indecision; b) to fight for a "New Great Decision and New Definition;" c) the four guiding ideas must decide our ideological conceptions.

### A) Comments on the phrase "necessity that we do our part... there is indecision."

The reactionaries know well that capitulation generates resistance from leaders, sympathizers, friends and the popular masses, and aims to undermine their morale. That's why they use the argument that quotes that guiding ideas don't fear capitulation. They try to make us believe that opposition and resistance to the psychological operation of the secret police and the plan of capitulation is rooted in fear and indecision.

The PCP throughout its period of reconstruction since 1964 has been firm in its decisions. Since the forging of the red fraction and the reconstruction of the Party, in all nine Plenums of the PCP in the 1970s there was never fear of making decisions. And these have always been firm and decisive in their political line that culminated in the reconstitution of the Party, and the launching of the seizure of power with weapons in hand.

For example, Chairman Gonzalo, in his speech: “On the Three Stages of Our History” pointed out a great decision made by the PCP in December 1979:

“Today we have made a historic decision. We have expressed, with raised fists, our pledge to give our lives for the Party and revolution. I also pledge in the same way you do. I think the same as you do. I also struggle and fight to smash the walls of this oppressive order and I too am a fighter in the 1st company of the 1st division of the People’s Army.”

In April of 1980 in the document, “We are the Initiators” he stated:

“There are three things that are linked: world history, the history of our nation and the history of our Party. Those are three convergences, three realities, three conjunctions of one final conclusion, one irrefutable truth, one future. Our conclusion is that revolution will flourish in our country.”

In these statements there is not only force of conviction, but knowledge of the living laws of reality. Right opportunism pretends that Gonzalo Thought is the negation of our entire practice and theory. This shows the level of corruption they have reached in their absolute abandonment of revolutionary criteria.

Since the launching of the armed struggle, the military line has reflected the political line and sustained the construction of the three instruments. The military line has national strategic plans and tactical operations, including many forms of struggle. With the rising level of mass struggles, it has reached the strategic equilibrium that today is carrying through the fourth military plan of building the conquest of power. In this entire process, the left has not been afraid to decide to continue the people’s war. Then, what is the logic behind the need for a general military retreat and a peace accord? The ROL should feel fear and shame for praising the plans of the intelligence services and Yankee imperialism. The left and the red line never had fear of deciding, not yesterday nor today, but continue the people’s war. The armed actions that continue in Peru prove it.

## **B) Comments on the phrase “Take up and fight for a New Great Decision and New Definition” (Peace Accords)**

In this phrase there are many falsifications of Gonzalo thought. The first is one of logical order. Does the decision come before or after the definition? Objectives must be defined first and later actions are decided. This is clear from history. It is valid for political and economic questions and regardless of the task or activity. The history of the PCP illustrates this logic:

“In essence, the Party is taking the historic and transcendental accord of launching the people’s war in Peru; it was defined in the Ninth Broad Plenum of June 1979.”<sup>5</sup>

And the first national conference of cadres in December 1979 which reads as follows:

“Let us forge the 1st Company in deeds! Let the revolutionary violence begin and the armed struggle flourish; we will write a new chapter in the history of our Party and of our people with

lead and our blood, and forge the 1st Company with deeds. Peru, December 3, 1979”<sup>6</sup>

The same PCP will later recognize planning as *the defining landmark, first stage of the people’s war* and the second as part of *the second landmark of the people’s war, the preparation stage*.

The ultimate definition of the situation was given by Chairman Gonzalo from prison on September 24th, 1992, who said:

“The 20th century. How are we doing? In the 20th century we are dominated by imperialism, mainly U.S. imperialism, this is real, everyone knows it. And where has it brought us? Without mentioning the 1920’s, here and now, to the worst crisis of the entire history of the Peruvian people. Learning the lesson of past centuries, what can we think? Once more the nation is at risk. It can easily be lost because of their interests. This is the situation, this is where they have brought us. But the fact is that we have a Peruvian revolution, a people’s war, that will continue to advance. Where have we gotten with this? To a strategic equilibrium. And we must understand this well.”

In sum, the above statement, and not the “new” decision is the guiding principle of the people’s war. And that is precisely the position of the Central Committee of the PCP:

“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.”<sup>7</sup>

With respect to the two line struggle in the Party and in reference to definition and decision, the Ninth Broad Plenum of June 1979 developed the struggle against the ROL that opposed the great definition of the launching of the armed struggle. Chairman Gonzalo said:

“It is necessary that we define the problem today, because we are faced with the same problem that the right opportunist line confronts, but from the left. Here the right is subsidiary, our problem is not with them. If they wish to play their role let them assume their self criticism. The problem is with us. The left represents the Party, the salt of the earth, the living tree. The rest are parasites.”

Later he outlined the tasks of the left:

“The left should burn whatever is useless, it should cleanse itself... We have had a small storm and with Marxism we can sweep it away... The left should fulfill its role. The problem is simple, including for those with hardened souls; we should open our hearts with resolution. It is easy to do it if revolution demands it.”

In the face of these two lines, he stated that we should decide for the red one:

“The problem is two flags in the soul, one red and one white. We are leftists, let us burn the white flag, it is easier if each of us does it, if we don’t others will.”<sup>8</sup>

We can conclude that the logic of Gonzalo thought is the definition first and the decision second and not the other way around.

The second falsification has to do with the necessities and tasks that reaction has taken up: to eliminate the PCP and crush

the people's war, restructure the old state and reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism. To confront these reactionary objectives, Chairman Gonzalo has clearly indicated the tasks of the people: crush the plans of the reactionaries. The intelligence service and their Yankee advisors have defined their immediate counter-revolutionary objectives: "eliminate *senderismo* by 1995" and "pacify the country." For this they maneuver to generate capitulation. They claimed that Chairman Gonzalo has given a new decision and new definition and furthermore, they have the nerve to try to reverse the gains of the revolution by calling for a second Party Congress to validate their capitulationist program. They take advantage of the total isolation in which Chairman Gonzalo is held, sure that he will not be able to expose them personally. What is serious is that the capitulation of the ROL shamefully serves this infamous end: to change the course of people's war and its line and later legitimize this with a supposed Second Congress to replace the leadership of the Party and take the electoral path.

In conclusion, the secret police first plan to invert logic: first comes the "new great decision" of capitulation and later the new revisionist line to be defined in a "Second Congress."

In reference to the Ninth Plenum, it is interesting to recall some details of the struggle against the ROL because one of the individuals who led that tiny clique in 1979 is once again up to his old tricks, this time from abroad. For many years, he misrepresented himself as a "representative" of the PCP, until he was finally unmasked. Let us read what Chairman Gonzalo had to say about dubious leaders just before the launching of the people's war:

"What have we seen here? Leaders who oppose the Party taking the decisive step of its history. For what reason? For an alleged 'lack of conditions?' Who speaks in his trembling voice? The foul jaws of oppression and exploitation, the foul jaws filled with bile and blood... We must never again hear such sinister voices in our Party, and not from communists, especially not from leaders. And to those who dare to rise up, we will crush them as they deserve. Today it is more urgent and is less permissible because it is undermining the hope of the masses, the work of five years precisely when the masses begin to take a concrete stand. In this moment pacifism is shameful..."<sup>9</sup> "He was expelled and the Party reached a new stage and a new goal."<sup>10</sup>

Among these "leaders" whom Chairman Gonzalo referred to was that treacherous person who opposed the people's war, negating the revolutionary situation, claiming the nonexistence of conditions and that there was stability in the country. As we can see in the article he wrote in the pamphlet of the Paris revisionists<sup>11</sup> he has not changed much in his old, shameful worship of pacifism that Chairman Gonzalo pointed out.

**C) Comments on the phrase: "These four guiding ideas should preside over our conception of the world."**

Chairman Gonzalo taught us that the proletariat's concept of the world has an axis: Marxist philosophy, whose essence is dialectical materialism and the law of contradiction. This conception in its development generated M-L-M which is based on the needs of revolution in a country, leading to the development of a guiding ideology. Without this ideology the revolution will not materialize and the Party will fall into right opportunism. This guiding ideology developed in Peru in the form of Gonzalo thought whose essence is the problem of the "complete seizure of power countrywide."<sup>12</sup> The most substantial part is synthesized in the general political line. The First National Conference of November 1979 accorded that the center of the general political line is the military line and this is the form in which the general political line seeks to develop. What is stated today on the military line?

"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."<sup>13</sup>

This and only this is the guide that should preside over our conceptions of things in the actual political process. All of this is consistent with the accords, the reality, and the last speech of Chairman Gonzalo and all of the previous history of the Party.

In sum, the so-called "four guiding ideas" for capitulation are only guides for the plans and wishes of the butcher Fujimori, as well as imperialism, and the gang of capitulators and traitors, who are all interested in making us believe that the empty rhetoric of "Take up and fight for a New Great Decision and New Definition" of treachery are guiding ideas for making the revolution.

Atelier d'Etudes Franco-Peruviennes  
Paris, May 1994

- 1 *La República*, January 25, 1994
- 2 BBC, January 1994
- 3 Magazine *Sol Perú* No. 2, Paris, February 1994
- 4 Mao Tse-tung, Speech before a broad work conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
- 5 *Bases of Discussion of the Military Line*
- 6 *ibid.*
- 7 Declaration of the Central Committee of the PCP, October 7th, 1993
- 8 Ninth Broad Plenum of the CC of the PCP, June 7th, 1979
- 9 Second Plenary session of the CC, March 28th 1980
- 10 *Bases of Discussion of the Military Line*
- 11 *Sol Perú*, op. cit.
- 12 *On Gonzalo Thought: Fundamental Documents*
- 13 Declaration of the Central Committee of the PCP, October 7th, 1993

N.B. In part II we will undertake the unmasking of other false theses of the "secret document": "Delaying the revolution is not capitulation", "the law of the people is to provoke disturbances...", "a Communist is one who makes compromises", "We must oppose unjust wars whenever possible", etc.

## Communist Party Of Peru

# Peace Accords: Reactionary, Liquidationist and Divisive Slander

“As we see in the world, Maoism is marching unstopably to lead the new wave of world proletarian revolution. Listen well and understand. Those who have ears, use them! Those who have understanding—and we all have it—use it! Enough of this nonsense. Enough of these obscurities. Let us understand this. What is unfolding in the world? What do we need? We need Maoism to be incarnated and it is being ingrained and this generates Communist Parties to manage, to lead this new wave of the world proletarian revolution that is coming.

Everything they told us. The empty and silly chatter of the famous ‘new age of peace.’ Where is it now? What about Yugoslavia? What about other places? Everything becomes depoliticized, that is a lie!”

Chairman Gonzalo  
Shining Trench of Combat  
September 24, 1992

Leader of the Party and the revolution, continuer  
of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao Tse-Tung.

It is of unavoidable necessity to first conduct a detailed and objective investigation of recent events, including their particularities, to determine whether the persons were involved on a voluntary or involuntary basis so as to lead to the correct explanation and interpretation of the facts. In dark and confusing circumstances, the end results of these events would be against the interests of the people and working class and although in need of the truth, they favor the wrong interpretation with the consequent embrace of revisionism and reformism. A correct analysis of the class struggle and its contradictions show that the bourgeoisie has always found the means and methods to maintain its exploitation of the rural and urban working class. One of the successful methods which has benefited them most has been class conciliation, especially in critical moments of the revolution. For this they use its institutions in a variety of forms and methods (“politics of pacification”, or “national pacification.”) To find out the truth of the events we must study and practice the transformational laws of society by applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: dialectical materialism, which when applied to events in society, becomes historical materialism. As Maoists—in this 100th anniversary celebration—we should raise high and practice the thesis of Chairman Mao Tse-tung: “Where do the correct ideas come from?” We should also cite the great Lenin when he said: “People have always been the victims of self-deceit and fraud, and will continue to be until they learn to analyze what is behind each word or moral, religious, social and political

promise; until they learn to verify the facts and the class interests behind them ...” (*Materialism and Empiriocriticism.*) Based on the above and correctly applying our ideology, we should be able to analyze the course of events before and after the capture of Chairman Gonzalo in order to understand the intentions and objectives of the genocidal government through its henchmen of the National Intelligence Service (SIN), the fundamental components of the government’s counterinsurgency; the interview with Fujimori in *La República* (“Psychological Pressure”); and carefully analyze the presentation of the “letters.” There is no correlation in the three original pages of the second letter. This suggests the *falsehood and non-authorship of such a letter by Chairman Gonzalo*. Keep in mind that this dubious letter is the foundation of the reaction’s house of cards, beginning with the interpretation of the apocryphal document “Struggle for a Peace Accord...” developed by deceived, threatened, and co-opted “comrades” in the prison of Yanamayo-Puno (victims of self-deceit and fraud.) The contents of that document are in total contradiction with the speech made by Chairman Gonzalo on September 24, 1992, and in contrast with the ideological and political structure of the Party, especially when the Chairman refers to dialogue: “Dialogue simply aims to slow and undermines people’s war, in our case it means a complete, absolute surrender...” (*Interview with Chairman Gonzalo*, p. 61.) Hence, we should pay special attention to the analysis of the events, in light of our ideology Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo thought. It is also timely to cite Chairman Mao when he said: “Those who do not investigate, have no right to speak.”

The political and ideological strength of the PCP has been demonstrated in the October 7th, 1993 Declaration by the Central Committee. The Declaration that was issued by the PCP in commemoration of the Anniversary of the Party and was legitimized by the military offensive that continues to rock the entire country. That is the best argument to crush the slander of the government that sought to discredit the ideas and leadership of Chairman Gonzalo.

Does the necessity for holding talks exist in our country? No. There is no basis for such talks, especially with that government which relentlessly submits the people to hunger and misery. Who has the need and initiative for a peace accord? Wouldn’t be this the genocidal government? Hence their huge propaganda about the “politics of pacification.” They need “peace” in the country to modernize and deepen their politics of hunger and their submission to imperialism, applying strong tax pressures and a bitter economic recession. They need peace to give the monopolies the conditions to loot and ransack our nation’s riches and

thus consolidate their dependent, semi-colonial relationship with imperialism. They need to contain and suffocate the widespread protest and class struggle. The key to achieving all this is class conciliation.

The government seeks the application of its pacification mainly to strangle the people's war, annihilating the people's guerrilla army, discredit the PCP, split and strip the proletariat and the people of their all-powerful ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. Here are the real reasons and objectives of the counter-revolutionary, liquidationist, and divisive slander of the reactionaries, shaped by agents of army intelligence (S. Luza, Jorge Sosa M., Francisco Merino,) led by the SIN. This reactionary plan was initially designed by the previous government and is being implemented by the current murderous regime.

There exists enough evidence to show and understand why the reactionaries have allowed certain "comrades" to be transferred by the prison authorities and government from Yanamayo-Puno to Cantogrande and Chorrillos-Lima to try to convince all the prisoners (are these gestures of good will, a mere coincidence?) or as some "pacifists" say—"a product of diplomatic negotiations.") In Yanamayo, the reactionaries have permitted the elaboration, distribution and discussion of the text "Struggle for a Peace Accord" and have carried out to completion their reactionary maneuver to bring afloat their aborted "peace." And thus, the reactionaries have used whatever means, cost and human resources they can muster, all of these accompanied by a massive propaganda by the media that suddenly joined the "Struggle for a Peace Accord." The objective: DIVIDE AND RULE (divide e impera.)

How did the reactionaries bring this about? This is simple to explain if we apply ideology to the interpretation of events, and those who don't, will fall into superficial and subjective judgments without being interested in how and where the sources come from and whose class interests they serve. After many years of the development of the people's war the reactionaries have not been able to liquidate the Party, politically, morally and ideologically. They have unleashed repression against the combatants, tortures, disappearances, massacres against the peasants masses which they cynically blame on the Party (never realizing that blood can not drown the revolution, it waters it.) For years they have spread tales of conflicts within the Party; splits, confrontations between "political leaders and military leaders," plots against the Central Committee and Chairman Gonzalo, his health, and periodically rumors of his death, etc. None of these have inflicted the slightest scratch on the morale of the Party, isolated the mid-level leaders, hurt morale and created intrigues, fomented ideological and political deviations that would lead to splits. After the capture of Chairman Gonzalo, the reactionaries headed by SIN, have proposed and convinced Fujimori's government to carry out the maneuver of involving Chairman Gonzalo in their fable of "peace accords" and cunningly presented

him in video. This was despite the enormous doubts with respect to the second letter, whose original version consisted of three pages, according to *Caretas* No. 1282 (October 14, p. 17): "The videos show the evidence that the letter was written more than once. The worst is what happened on page 2 which is obviously inconsistent with pages 1 and 3. The beginning of page 2 repeats the last phrase of page 1, and at the end of page 2 are some missing lines and words. One possibility is that several versions of the letter were prepared, and finally the jailors (SIN) decided to match page 2 of one version with pages 1 and 3 of another version. That is precisely why the video presented by Fujimori last Saturday was edited. Only some fragments of the second letter were transmitted."

### **In Defense of the Ideas and Leadership of Chairman Gonzalo!**

Before these obvious proofs of intentional manipulation by the reactionaries, can we submit to them? Can we transform and build an ideological and political structure totally foreign to the interests of the revolution? We are faced with two situations: 1) the letters triumphantly presented by the genocidal Fujimori and a handful of subjective and superficial "comrades," where nothing is clear, and 2) the September 1992 revolutionary speech of Chairman Gonzalo.

It is clear that the directives of Chairman Gonzalo of September 24, 1992 are the correct ideological and political guidelines for the Party, in the Marxist analysis of the international and national situation, where he clearly stated: "...As we see in the world, Maoism is marching unstopably to lead the new wave of world proletarian revolution. Listen well and understand. Those who have ears, use them! Those who have understanding—and we all have it—use it! Enough of this nonsense. Enough of these obscurities. Let us understand this. What is unfolding in the world? What do we need? We need Maoism to be incarnated and it is being ingrained and this generates Communist Parties to manage, to lead this new wave of the world proletarian revolution that is coming..." Can we ignore this masterful analysis made by Chairman Gonzalo about the international situation? Or when he clarified the directives to be implemented: "...We should continue the task established by the III Plenum of the Central Committee. A glorious Plenum. You should know that these accords are already being implemented and will be continued. We shall continue applying the IV Plan of Strategic Development of the People's War to Conquer Power, we shall continue developing the VI Military Plan to Build the Conquest of Power, that will continue, that is our task. We shall carry it out because of what we are and because of the obligation we have with the proletariat and the people..." These positions of Chairman Gonzalo are organically correct, politically necessary and concretely applicable and have been carried out in full by the Central Committee. Can there be any doubts about these directives of Chairman Gonzalo? There are still some people who talk about "submission" or even worse, distort

the meaning of, “learning from Chairman Gonzalo.” What have they learned? They have learned to abandon reason, to forget ideology - even worse than not applying it - they do not recognize the sharp edge of class struggle and of Marxism. Finally, what is the order of the leader of the Party and the revolution? “This is what I want: AND TO COMPLETE THE TASK WELL!”

“... Listen well and understand. Those who have ears, use them. Those who have understanding - and we all have it - use it! Enough of this nonsense. Enough of these obscurities!...”

Chairman Gonzalo

PCP - Northern Regional Committee, March 1994.

## Message to the MPPs, Committees of Support and Solidarity, Committees Sol Peru, Emergency Committees, Communist Parties, Progressives And Revolutionaries of the World and Members of The R.I.M.

Today it is of fundamental importance more than ever before to reaffirm support for the directives of Chairman Gonzalo elaborated in the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the PCP: “Always keep in mind the glorious journeys of people’s war; people’s war cannot be stopped. The leadership can be lost, in part, not all, but the remaining leaders can and should carry out the plans, the struggle. We are forged in the crucible of revolution and cannot be stopped, cannot be paralyzed...” Here he also describes the fate of capitulators: “Capitulation is expressed in two ways: capitulation against native reactionaries and capitulation before the world counter-revolution. It is always so. Its objective is to sell out the revolution. It is rotten, and should be razed with blood and fire (Preparatory session of the Second Plenum.)”

Today more than ever it is a fundamental necessity to crush the reactionary, liquidationist slander, to crush the opportunist line of the capitulators. We must reaffirm ourselves in the Bases of Party Unity delineated by the glorious, heroic First Marxism-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Congress, its program, statutes and tasks; reaffirm that the transformation of society can only be achieved through the road of revolutionary violence; reaffirm more than ever the accords adopted in the central document of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee where Chairman Gonzalo states: “...In the world today there is an uncontrolled determination to talk about peace, pacification and dialogue, an overflow of bourgeois and petty bourgeois positions of crudest pacifism, a fatal poison to be injected in our class, in the masses...” We must also reaffirm the accords, resolutions and decisions adopted by the First Congress, Third Plenum, and the

work session of the Second Plenum. It is necessary to launch an ideological struggle using Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the capitulators everywhere; it is just, timely and correct, to unmask them before the masses and stop their lies. Those who are silent in the face of truth, surrender to falsehood.

The National Situation: It is necessary to denounce the genocidal government before world public opinion, its politics of hunger and misery, to which they subject the people, the enormous burden of taxation on the Peruvian people that gain no material benefits from the international banks nor social gains for the people; denounce its corruption, such as summary trials without defense counsel, threats and the jailing of relatives, the blatant violation of their own laws, jailing of lawyers and innocent people without any proof; the genocidal prison policies of the regime such as harassment of visitors, surveillance of family members, detention of brothers/sisters, children, parents and lawyers of captured fighters, denial of medicines, food and clothing, etc. We must denounce the disappearances of prisoners. The reports made by human rights organizations are far from the true magnitude of the situation. They timidly denounce the crimes of the genocidal regime which are impossible to hide any longer.

With respect to the crowing over the “final offensive in Huallaga” the counter-revolutionary army has tried to mount a campaign of encirclement and annihilation of the People’s Guerilla Army (EGP), an operation that was carried out amidst the indiscriminate massacres of entire villages, with machine gunning of unarmed peasants, killing of women and children that have nothing to do with supposedly conducting a counter-insurgency campaign (the case of Molluna.) The criminal army, unable to meet its objective, was confronted by a battalion of the EGP that came out victorious, successfully breaking through the country with powerful blows to the enemy. In celebration of the 14th Anniversary, the people have come out to fight, spread propaganda, sabotage and carry out hundreds of armed actions. The EGP attacks daily military and economic objectives and annihilates stooges, informants, and paramilitary of the government.

The genocidal regime is planning a massive, brutal and indiscriminate repression of the people in July.

Communist Party of Perú  
Lima Base, May 20 1994.

## Communist Party of Turkey (TKP-ML)

### (Member party of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement)

On the 14th Anniversary of the people’s war in Peru, the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) salutes with revolutionary spirit the struggle of the Peruvian masses that are led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) is advancing towards the establishment of the People’s Republic of Peru.



The proletariat of Peru is waging an offensive against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and is inspiring the oppressed peoples of the world.

Since the launching of the People's War on May 17, 1980 the PCP has, above all, succeeded in showing the world that the science of the proletariat, M-L-M, is the leading ideology of the International Communist Movement. Therefore, our main task as internationalists is to smash the strategic attacks of imperialists and reactionaries against the PCP by means of a high tide of proletarian internationalism and world revolution.

Today, amidst the raging storm of counter-revolution led by U.S. imperialism, the main enemy of the world's people, there is another storm gathering strength from a different direction... This Wind is already manifesting itself as the force of a new wave of revolution. In pregnant silence, a mighty storm is brewing that will sweep across the world to scatter and destroy the dark era of present day reactionary swagger!

Chairman Mao taught us that the East Wind prevails over the West Wind. Our scientific world outlook, dialectical materialism shows us that this is an inevitable truth. The struggle between opposites, between the positive and the negative, between the old and the new constitutes the driving force of the universe.

The imperialist bourgeoisie and their lackeys are still dizzy on account of their victory over social-imperialism. They are proclaiming that communism is dead, that their system of wage slavery is eternal. They are spreading the seeds of national chauvinism, racism and fascism in the world... They are desperately clinging to their fantasy of a New World Order to justify their vicious campaigns of oppression, exploitation and mass murder! But the fleeting character of this temporary victory of imperialism and reaction carries the seeds of its own defeat. The change from bilateral polarization to multilateral polarization, is deepening the internal contradictions among the imperialists, and affords favorable conditions for revolutionary movements around the world.

Hence, time is running out for tyrants of all kinds. This is a clear clarion call for workers, peasants and oppressed peoples of all lands to join together in a revolutionary orchestra. A great orchestra conducted by the science of dialectical materialism, M-L-M. That stirring melody of their music is echoing in the mountains of Peru, where the People's War led by the PCP is opening the way for the People's Republic of Peru. The epic symphony of the world proletarian revolution is moving across the Americas, through Africa, sweeping along the valleys of the Himalayas in Nepal. The oppressed people of Nepal, led by the class conscious proletariat are breaking their chains and confronting their oppressors. This is the same music that can be heard in the streets of Moscow, where the down-trodden and hungry workers inspired by the light of their rich experience are shattering the dreams of the modern czars and the people, led by the All Union Communist Party - Bolsheviks, are clamoring - All Power to the Soviets! And where the red flag of the prole-

tariat is now in the hands of the workers, rather than waving symbolically from bureaucratic buildings.

The People's War led by our Communist Party of Turkey (Marxists-Leninist) is joining in with a glorious song that is reaching its crescendo in the mountains of Turkey and Kurdistan. Hundreds of comrades, including all our General Secretaries have been martyred in this relentless struggle to change the world. The fascist state of Turkey is suffering defeat at the hands of a growing struggle of social liberation led by our party and at the hands of the Kurdish national liberation struggle.

The offensive of TKP(ML) against the three mountains of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism is advancing towards the establishment of red political power. The invincible torch of M-L-M is burning bright in Turkey. This torch will light the way for the Democratic People's Revolution, for Democratic People's Power, socialism and, eventually, Communism.

All this development proves beyond any doubt that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and that the masses are the makers of history!

The bankruptcy of modern revisionism, that wore the mask of communism to disguise its bourgeois bureaucratic dictatorship, has taught us that we must be on guard against this new type of bourgeoisie and we must dare to go against the tide. Our historical experiences have taught us that the fierce struggle between the two roads, the two classes and the two lines, continues right at the center of the Communist Party and throughout the long period of socialist transformation of society as a whole.

In our view, these are the most important lessons that need to be raised to a higher level of consciousness in general. But which are the particular problems that confront us on this Anniversary of the People's War in Peru?

We are confronted with a counter-revolutionary plot in Peru currently promoted by those who are attempting to hijack the revolution by resurrecting an old discredited thesis of revisionism. This renegade gang hand-in-hand with the reactionary government are openly advocating that the people's war is not the answer, that the revolutionary forces should seek a peace agreement with the fascist state of Peru. What is more, they are claiming to be followers of "directives" of Comrade Abimael Guzmán. History has shown, time and time again, that revisionists and renegades of all kinds never hesitate in using all possible means to serve their petty-bourgeois objectives in usurping the revolution.

This bogus peace agreement is nothing but another attempt on the part of imperialism and its lackeys to reinforce their new world order and to smother the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world in general, and the Peruvian people in particular. However, they will not succeed, they will be cast into the dustbin of history!

We must also acknowledge the fact that within the ranks of the Revolutionary International Movement there is today a trend attempts to use the prestige and figure of Dr. Abimael Guzman with the purpose of securing for themselves some influence in

the international political arena. We believe that Communists cannot, under any circumstances, go along with the practice of turning their leaders into icons. Therefore, Communists must always be aware of the possible dangers that such tendencies give rise to. We must learn from the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and in the same way in which Lin Biao attempted to canonize Chairman Mao while aiming to betray the Chinese people and the Maoist line.

Similarly, today there are those who are engaged in promoting the bogus peace agreement who are using the same tactics. That is: they are making an icon of comrade Abimael Guzman in order to hide their revisionist aims.

Therefore, we hold that it is important to understand that support for the revolution in Peru and the defense of the life of Dr. Abimael Guzman (both aims being inextricably linked with each other) can not be successfully carried out by focussing on a leader and neglecting support for the people's war. This is only possible by mobilizing the active masses to carry out revolution in each country. It can only be done by advancing the revolutionary struggle across the world.

Only by contributing to the struggle to wipe out exploitation and oppression from every corner of the world will we be able to lend support to the revolution in Peru in a real sense. Each and every bullet that the Workers' and Peasants' Liberation Army of Turkey (TIKKO) fires into the hearts of fascists and imperialists, provides one of the best forms of support that can be given to the revolution in Peru.

**Glorify to the 14th Anniversary of the People's War in Peru!**

**Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**

**Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!**

**Long Live the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) and the Workers and Peasants Liberation Army of Turkey!**

**Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!**

[Editor's note: speech at the May 21st meeting called by the International Emergency Committee by the representative of the TKP (ML), TIKKO in London. The TKP (ML) is one of the more significant and powerful Maoist Communist Parties in today's world.]

## News Briefs

04/22/94 Lima. Two banks, Banco Latino (Santa Maria) and Banco de Credito (Puente Piedra) were attacked with explosives. *Diario Onda*.

04/21/94 Huallaga. An Army Lieutenant Colonel said that all civilians and peasants living in Huallaga are under Sendero's influence or control so that the indiscriminate killings are justified. *Diario La Republica*.

04/25/94 D.C. Efrain Goldenberg, Fujimori's prime minister stated that the PCP (Sendero) is a thing of the past. 90% of its leaders are dead or in jail, and the country is now pacified. *International Herald Tribune*.

04/29/94 D.C. Since the beginning of April, an upsurge in army-guerrilla clashes has taken place. PCP guerrillas have staged a series of ambushes against the military. For its part the army has launched its final offensive in the northern and central areas, but accusations that the army is again committing atrocities against the civilians are mounting. UPI.

04/22/94 Huallaga. Local campesinos in the district of Molluna-Huanuco stated that the town was attacked by helicopter gunships. Notisur.

04/24/94 Lima. Pro-Fujimori Congress (CCD) passed a resolution condemning Human Rights Coordinating Committee (CNDDHH) for tarnishing the "good image" of Peru. The CCD appointed a pro-government Committee headed by Fujimori's pawn Carlos Blanco to visit the area, draft a report favorable to the Army and discredit the Coordinadora. Thus, the CCD has become an accomplice in these regrettable deeds. The CCD Notisur.

05/04/94 Lima. The CNDDHH reaffirms its previous denunciations against the Army. The Coordinadora says the Army killed innocent civilians in the following places: 10 were butchered in Moyuna, 13 in Mohena, more than 40 in Ganaderia. Rockets and machine guns were fired on civilians from Russian made M-17 helicopters. *Resumen Semanal* No. 768.

04/24/94 Huallaga. General Alfredo Rodriguez, political-military authority in the area said that the Army did not attack Molluna and that the bodies found were of the top leaders of Sendero. He said he welcomes the Red Cross as long as they work under army escort or control. He also accused the Red Cross of "collaborating" with the PCP. The army says Sendero will be wiped out from Huallaga by July 1994. This compliments Fujimori's contention that the PCP will be completely finished by 1995. Notisur.

04/27/94 Huallaga. A 15 year old girl was raped and murdered by an entire Army patrol in Puerto Moyuna. Two other women were also raped but managed to escape. The Army also killed eight civilians in their homes. The government says they were suspected Senderistas. *Expreso, La Republica*.

05/05/94 Alto Huallaga. Army general Jaime Rios Arayco, Lt. Colonel Luis Aparicio Manrique and other 10 ranking officers were arrested for cocaine trafficking. In addition, there are 59 other officers among them General Julio Carbajal D'Angelo who is under investigation. Apparently the DEA operating in Huallaga has requested the military command in Lima to conduct the arrests. This is only the tip of the iceberg. The Army as an institution has been working in partnership with Colombian narco-traffickers for years. *La Republica*.

04/94 Aside from the spectacular army operation "Aries" in Huallaga, the significant events in Peru are the reinvigorated

subversive activities in many parts of the country. The guerrilla activities took place in Satipo (Junin), Huamanga y Lucanca (Ayacucho), Tocache (San Martin) y Huarochiri y Barranca (Lima), Puno, Cañete (Ica), Conception (Junin), Corongo (Ancash), and Tarma. *Desco, Reporte Especial* No. 36.

04/29/94 Huallaga. An army helicopter transporting the army commander was attacked by 15 bullets fired by rebels of the PCP. *Expreso*.

04/20/94 Huallaga. The last contingent of the PCP is being surrounded by army troops in the provinces of Leoncio Prado and Atalaya. So far, the army has suffered 8 ambushes by the terrorists. *Expreso*.

04/23/94 Leoncio Prado. Clashes between army/navy troops with the terrorists of the PCP were reported by the authorities. The authorities reported that 3 popular schools were destroyed. More clashes were reported in the areas known as Padre Abad, Bellavista, and Atalaya. *Desco, Reporte Especial* 36.

04/03/94 Huanuco. Five artists (musicians and composers) were arrested and exposed to the press by the security forces. They were accused of spreading "subversives" music, and allegedly belong to the Movement of Popular Artists. *Desco*, April 1994.

## Peru People's Movement Invitation

The Peru People's Movement of Europe invites all organizations and individuals interested in attending the Conference to celebrate the Centenary of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's birth which will take place on June 18th and 19th, in Lund, Sweden as part of the celebrations that are being carried out in the context of the "Long Live Maoism" campaign. This campaign is being promoted by the Communist Party of Peru and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in Peru and other parts of the world and must be developed in conjunction with the "Campaign to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo."

The following themes will be covered at the conference:

- 1) Gonzalo Thought, the Programme and General Political Line
- 2) On the Question of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism
- 3) The four fundamental questions of Maoism
- 4) Joint Campaigns: Celebration of the Centenary "Long Live Maoism" and "Defense of the Life of Chairman Gonzalo."
- 5) The People's War in Peru: Situation and Perspectives

The conference will start on Saturday the 18th at 10 a.m. and will end on Sunday the 19th at 8 p.m. During the first day, we will focus on Maoism as a vital and immensely important question. On the second day we will address the People's War in

Peru and the development of the joint campaigns to fight the fraud of the peace agreement cooked up by U.S. imperialism, the mass murderer's quisling dictatorship and the gang of turncoats who are advocating a right-wing opportunist line (consisting of infiltrators, capitulators and old revisionists).

The Peru People's Movement salutes all comrades who have been fighting ceaselessly in support of the people's war for the seizure of power throughout Peru and all revolutionaries and communists who are struggling for the world proletarian revolution and our unwavering goal: golden, shining communism.

## Acknowledgements

The MPP USA would like to credit the following organizations for their expressions of support for the people's war in Peru:

- \* Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru (Australia)
- \* Peru Solidarity Committee of New England
- \* Rank and file of the Workers' World Party, USA who support the People's War
- \* Rank and file of Progressive Labor Party, USA
- \* PCE(r) / GRAPO, Spain
- \* Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN-PR) of Chicago
- \* Black Panthers of New Jersey
- \* December 12th Movement
- \* Maoist International Movement
- \* Third Congress of MOVIMIENTO POPULAR DOMINICANO MARXIST-LENINIST: "This Congress ratifies all prior declarations of solidarity with the Peruvian people and their revolutionary vanguard, the Communist Party of Peru (PCP); against Fujimori's dictatorship and Yankee imperialism. We support the defense of the life and liberty of comrade Dr. Abimael Guzmán (Chairman Gonzalo)." *Correo del Pueblo*, Special Edition, April 1994

- \* FIGHTING COMMUNIST CELLS (Belgium):

"The CCC believes that the People's War launched and led by the Communist Party of Peru is just, and that it constitutes the voice of revolution towards socialism in that country. We completely support the Peruvian masses and their Party in their struggle with the bourgeoisie and imperialism and we call upon revolutionaries in Belgium and around the world to provide them with unlimited internationalist support. We unconditionally condemn the repression unleashed by the Peruvian bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism, and the complicity of Belgian capitalists and politicians with the counterrevolution in that country. The example of the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru

is precious, it is an inspiration for revolutionaries all over the world. This struggle surmounts terrible obstacles, without making concessions and abiding by its just principles which guide it. Moreover, they appear today as the victorious incarnation of the historical worth of the communist movement. The PCP brings to the revolutionary movement a vigorous reinforcement in favor of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with a clear theoretical, political and strategic basis. Obviously, it is a vital arm for revolution and we have no doubt that the PCP will contribute greatly to this undertaking.

We must note, however, an important difference in analysis between the Communist Party of Peru and ourselves. The Peruvian comrades remain faithful to the order of prioritizations of the three great contradictions of the epoch of Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese communists. They always give priority to the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations. For our part, we give priority to the contradiction between the international proletariat and the imperialist bourgeoisie. Aside from this ideological difference between two revolutionary organizations, we are concerned and greatly perplexed about the PCP's integration into the 'Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM).' This structure claims for itself the authority and prestige of the PCP but in Europe consists of a few tiny, openly opportunistic groups, who on occasion defend blatantly counter-revolutionary positions.

We learned with great sorrow of the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo. Concerning him, we know the *El Diario* interview where he affirmed a glorious dedication to the fundamental principles of revolutionary Marxism and his will to judiciously apply them to Peruvian reality. On this subject, we also know two things: the first — which comes from knowledge of a detestable development — is that the bourgeoisie, its lackeys and hacks, hate him. The former pursued him with all their forces, the latter insulted him with all their fear. The second is that the Peruvian revolutionaries seem to have a high idea of his value. We put these two together, and come up with an excellent opinion of Chairman Gonzalo! And we can see the fruits of the Peruvian revolution, of which he is an important builder, confirming our opinion. We also believe that the qualities acquired by the Communist Party of Peru under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo will permit it to pursue its work even though deprived of his capable and devoted leadership — up to his liberation, until victory!"

[The above excerpt is from *la Flèche et la Cible*, *Collectif des prisonnier(e)s des Cellules Communistes Combattantes*, Winter 93-94]

## Letter from Italy

Dear comrades,

In Italy there are a new series of meetings — "Peru's situation: support the people's war in Peru, defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, oppose the slander of Fujimori and his American allies."

The video "The People of Shining Path", the IEC video "You must Tell the World" and *El Diario Internacional* (Italian Edition) were used at these meetings. There was a presentation of a new book written by the journalist Giuliano Nari, *Sendero Luminoso*, as well as speakers from Comitato Solidarieta Peru - Rossoperaio Italia and local groups that support the people's war in Peru.

The meetings were May 18-20 in Rome near Le baruffe - a leftist bookstore, Circolo Verbano - a leftist circle, and Centro Sociale Ricomincio dal Faro - the IEC center in Rome. This last meeting had a large participation by workers, youth and revolutionary militants.

Other meetings were in Mantova on May 27th with Circolo Centofiori, Ravenna June 6th with the Workers Self-organized Collective, and also in June in Bergamo with the newspapers *Controvento*, in Modena with Circolo 'Che', as well as in Verona, Trento, Palermo and Milano.

In July during the G7 summit in Naples other mass actions took place. In all of these events the PCP declaration of October 7th, other PCP documents, *El Diario Internacional* (Italian Ed.), the IEC Bulletin and the 'International Conference Acts' in Italian were widely distributed. All of these meetings have taken up the primary task of telling the true situation in Peru and to struggle against the European supporters of the "peace accords."

In the autumn around October or November we wish to organize a large national conference in Rome or Milan to bring political and material aid to the people's war and the PCP.

Revolutionary greetings,  
Comitato Solidarieta Peru - Italia / Rossoperaio  
May 28th, 1994

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