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# *La Nueva Bandera*

## *(The New Flag)*



*We humans are mere fragments of time and heartbeats, but our deeds will remain for centuries stamped on generation after generation. We will people the Earth with light and happiness.*

Vol. 1, Number 3 September/October 1994

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Chairman Gonzalo, PCP

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Peruvian women in the front ranks of the People's War.

## **Peru's Winning Card: The People's War**

### **Editorial Comments**

It is with great pride that we present this new issue to the progressive movement in the United States and Europe. Our readers tell us that *La Nueva Bandera* has been the unique source of alternative insight and information on political events in Peru. This issue offers both a look back and a look forward at the developments of the people's war in Peru. In sum, it is yesterday and tomorrow. Obviously, by contemplating the events of the 14 years of People's War

through historical interpretation we can gain an insight into the pertinent revolutionary achievements of tomorrow. What does it really mean to the progressive movement in the U.S.? Well, first and foremost it means that we offer a different view on important issues than you would glean from the *New York Times* or other imperialist mainstream media that relentlessly slander the Peruvian revolution and any liberating movement anywhere.

In this issue we describe the Sendero-Watchers (Senderologists), the role of women in the revolution, the role of the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), the current political situation in Peru, and other information hidden by the mainstream press. It will tell you more about the factual situation in Peru than years of newspaper clippings filled with fabricated "news" generated by propagandists of the regime and its armed forces. We work to promote an understanding of one of the major revolutionary successes in today's world, the Maoist Revolution in Peru. Being an alternative voice for the oppressed in the U.S. also means being totally skeptical of what the U.S. government and the ruling class say and do with respect to our country or other oppressed countries.

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Much has been written and spoken about the plight of political prisoners and prisoners of war in Peru who are subjected to torture at the hands of the criminal police/armed forces and their chief Fujimori. Yet, the overall results appear to be the same---brutality goes marching on in the jails of Peru as the U.S. increases its economic/military aid. It is a situation where U.S. interests are in direct conflict with those of the majority of Peruvians. Moreover, to assure continuous influence and control of the Peruvian government, the U. S. is now promoting as "opposition" to Fujimori, a pack of discredited politicians and generals. This group is headed by the old pawn of imperialism, Javier Perez de Cuellar. He is already campaigning for the presidency of Peru. The self-proclaimed "independent" candidate---"Pelete"---Perez de Cuellar has a record that must be seriously questioned. He is a former U.N. Secretary General, a champion of nepotism and corruption, a docile pawn of George Bush during the bombing of Iraq and the invasion of Panama, a facilitator of U.S. "free trade" agreements at the Inter-American Dialogue, a former official during the military dictatorship of General Velasco, a member of the right-wing party Popular Action. Now he is trying to fool the public as an "independent." Ironically, one of his campaign managers is the "king of poverty pimps" of Peru, Mitchell Azcueta. Azcueta is an imperialist agent, anti-communist, frustrated Spanish priest, and former partner of Moyano in promoting "urban paramilitary units." Now these two bourgeois politicians are being presented by the U.S. media as "true democrats." However, it does not mean that the U.S. is abandoning its most faithful tool Fujimori. It still nurtures him. In sum, the U.S. plays with both cards in hand: The re-election of the butcher of the Andes Fujimori or the election of his "democratic" opposition, the accomplice to the butchery of Iraq and Panama, Perez de Cuellar. On the other hand, the people of Peru have only one card, the victory of the People's War led by the heroic PCP.

## Myth And Historical Falsification Of Senderology

Peru is at war. The Communist Party of Peru [PCP], declared war on the Peruvian state in 1980. At first, it appeared to be just a small group of malcontents making mischief in the hinterlands, something like today's rebellion in Chiapas, Mexico. But this idea of the insurgency was in need of serious revision after the PCP not only survived but expanded its influence countrywide after confronting the most vicious counterinsurgency campaign in Peruvian history, 1983-84. This is the scenario in which senderology, a pseudo-science that supposedly studies Sendero Luminoso, was born.

The Communist Party of Peru (PCP) was founded by Jose Carlos Mariategui in 1930 (1). The Party had many splits in

the 1960's and 1970's. Of course, the expelled fractions (e.g., Unidad and Patria Roja) still claimed to be the true Party. To avoid confusion, the parties were given nicknames of the papers they published. The Soviet franchise was named "Unidad", the Chinese chain was called "Patria Roja", and the Peruvian Maoists: PCP-for the luminous path of Jose Carlos Mariategui. But in the hands of senderologists, even something as simple as a name becomes obscure.

What a strange world we discovered when we began to understand "senderology." We were more amused than shocked by the exotic portrait painted in the first studies. Lewis Taylor, wrote; "A majority of Sendero's members originate from the highlands, especially the Central Sierra, and are little traveled. Their image of Peru, therefore, is much that of an *Ayacucho grande*. A predominantly rural, mainly peasant community possessing little industry." Mr. Taylor reveals more about his ideological outlook on the PCP as he concludes the above quote; "Mao's easily readable tracts fitting well in their limited horizons." (2) To take another example, Cynthia McClintock wrote; "Among the unusual aspects of Sendero's ideology are its blindness to nuance and its fanatical exclusivity. The Senderistas see no difference, for example between the Peru of the 1930's and the Peru of the 1980's." (3) In short, we are shown the PCP as a group of dim-witted Indians, quaint but disturbing. It was not unexpected that propagandists from Peru's electoral "left" would try to present the PCP as crazy and dogmatic. They had to keep their own followers in line for at that time most of the Peruvian left believed in the necessity of armed struggle and elections were still held in great suspicion by the rank and file.

In the early 1980's most of us naively thought that as the revolution unfolded, most of the left would support it, the right would try to drown it in blood, and the would-be reformists would babble for peace, negotiations, and human rights. We were wrong. In times of war, as Lenin noted (4), few keep to principle. In Peru, the "left" parties in toto joined each oppressive regime in turn as loyal opposition. In 1985, the "left" helped to elect the most vicious one, Fujimori and now they are getting ready to jump into the presidential campaign of Perez de Cuellar, an old pawn of US imperialism. James Petras summarized the mood of the Peruvian left and their international friends in an article he wrote in 1986 for *In These Times*:

"While Sendero now lacks the capacity to overthrow the regime, it will in the no distant future present itself as a credible alternative to an increasingly militarized society if it continues its present trajectory. This would confront the Peruvian poor with a tragic choice." (5)

The question that faced both the Peruvian state apparatuses (which includes the legal left) and US policy makers was how to conduct the counterinsurgency. It was in this

atmosphere that senderology was born and raised, and in which it is unquestionably bound to counterrevolution.(6) Thus, Senderology is an integral part of the counterinsurgency effort in Peru.

Senderology has two contradictory tasks:

1) Disinformation. To mystify reality by demonizing the insurgency as blood thirsty. Their task is to shape favorable public opinion for the regime prior to the army's raking operations. The Senderologists appear in the mainstream press as "experts on terrorism," "leftist opposition" or head of some NGOs to denounce the presence of "red zones" or "subversives" attempting to justify army assaults on civilian populations (i.e., the case of Senderologist Raul Gonzales in Raucana, Cantogrande, Villa El Salvador.)

Another component of disinformation is its metaphysical grounding.(7) For instance, reading senderologist Ivan Degregori's "How Difficult it is to be God" or "After the Capture."

2) Information. To demystify reality for the "policy makers." For instance, after the indiscriminate military repressions on non-combatants, the senderologists would hypocritically denounce "human rights excesses" in the press.

Some senderologists present the PCP as a classic communist insurgency, trying to resuscitate in the world something that is already "dead"----Communism----(e.g., *The Prophet of Terror*, Gustavo Gorriti)

Most senderology is published by scholarly presses (journals) and as such is, generally, easily found in university libraries in the US and Europe. The exceptions are books and documents of the Communist Party of Peru. Two types of senderologists abound, those who are willfully uninformed on the PCP and those who are patently opposed to it. Thus, the readers are left only with their faith since the information available to them about the People's War in Peru is biased and distorted beyond recognition.

Some senderologists in the US believe that the PCP is a particularly Andean movement, others reject this. The debate on Andean-ness is centered around the different views that the PCP is alleged to have of Jose Maria Arguedas who was a famous Peruvian writer, anthropologist, and defender of Andean culture. He killed himself in 1969.(8)

Orin Starn in his review of Simon Strong's book wrote: "Careless in its execution and misguided in its assumptions, *Sendero Luminoso* represents one of the most irresponsible additions to [Senderology]." The evidence for this tirade is the following: "Factual errors abound. To take just one example: Strong reports that the PCP considers Jose Maria Arguedas to be 'the most politically articulate cultural voice of the indigenous cause' (P. 81). In fact, the party-controlled newspaper *El Diario* has denounced the famed Peruvian novelist as a 'magical-whining nationalist' with a 'little Hitler mustache'." (9) With this fraudulent quotation, Mr. Starn tries

to make two points, first that Mr. Strong's book is factually incorrect, and second that the PCP is anti-Andean culture.

Mr. Strong makes reference to Arguedas twice in a book of nearly 300 pages (10). The first reference is about Andean messianic expression which finds voice in Arguedas. Strong goes on: "Arguedas, whose widow is in jail accused of being a member of the PCP, shot himself because he was unable to reconcile his sense of split cultural roots." [page 56] This is followed by a half page of mythology: Arguedas, Guzman, and Mao all had grudges against their fathers. The next, and last, mention of Arguedas by Strong is on page 67 [Starn cites page 81, the edition published in London by Harper Collins] and it is just part of a rhetorical flurry.

Senderologist Starn's quoting of "the Party-controlled" newspaper *El Diario* is where the problem is. In the early 1980's, the Peruvian government claimed that *El Diario* was a PCP front because it was the only newspaper in favor of the armed struggle and because it published PCP documents from time to time. However, the editorial line of *El Diario* before 1989 and the position of the Party were not always the same. *El Diario* has had various owners most of whom, if not all, have been on the left of the political spectrum. In 1987, Luis Arce bought the paper and published it in Lima legally until he left Peru in 1989. After 1990, the paper was published clandestinely by supporters of the PCP, but this time reflecting the position of the PCP. Let us clarify to those who have the tendency to equate Mr. Arce's position with the positions of the PCP. Mr. Arce has emphatically stated on several occasions (in Peru and abroad) that while he supports the People's War in Peru, he is not a member or a spokesperson for the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). We believe that is accurate. Therefore, the senderologists, by attempting to deform the principles and program of the PCP by quoting Mr. Arce's personal opinions are completely missing the point.

Back to the problem: Mr. Starn gives us no date, issue number, or any way of checking on what if anything *El Diario* wrote about Arguedas. But he quotes Enrique Meyer's, "Peru deep in Trouble."(11) quote and footnote # 30: "Cited in Degregori (1990: 296)" As we noted above is both a central text of Senderology and hard to find. Then we turned to Deborah Poole's "The New Chroniclers of Peru" (12) and found reference to the quote and check the footnote #42 and read, "*El Diario* (Lima), 9 June 1988, page 12, cited in Degregori, *Ayacucho*, p. 206." Both Meyer and Poole (including Poole's putative son Renique) are referring to the same quotation and the same book written by senderologist Degregori but they give different page numbers. The real problem is that no one who has used this quotation but Mr. Degregori, who lives and works in Lima as head of a USfunded NGO, has allegedly seen the original article

in *El Diario*; however, this quotation has been used as a key piece of evidence by US senderologists such as Starn and Poole.

To summarize, in three “scholarly” studies by four different US Senderologists we are given, as a central part of their argument, a quotation from *El Diario*, which was quoted not from the newspaper itself but from a fifth Senderologist, who like the others makes no secret of his disdain for the PCP. But what is more, we are given this quotation as an official Party line while in truth as was noted above the quotation never existed in the pages of *El Diario*, but was deliberately fabricated for disinformation purposes abroad by Senderologist Degregori.

Why the tendency to use esoteric sources when the PCP official documents are easily available? In this case, for example, the leader of the PCP, Chairman Gonzalo, has a respectful opinion of Arguedas’ most famous novel “*Todas las Sangres*” this was published in his interview with *El Diario* in 1985 (13).

The use and abuse of sources by senderologists is tied to the question of why they write. Their sources must be checked and their motives must be interrogated. The Senderologists with their grants and connections have been able to dominate political discourse and thus mystify reality. This is not an attack on scholarship, this is an attack on the arrogance of those who profit by falsifying history, excluding the masses from the discussion and trying to impose their views on others by default.

These professional intellectuals are part of the bourgeois ideological state apparatuses which play an essential role in the reproduction of capitalist social relations (14). Their role must also be understood within the context of the relationship of thought and being. (15) To explore these assertions let’s analyze Billie Jean Isbell’s account of her experience as an anthropologist in 1974-1975 in the Andean village of Chuschi-Ayacucho. (16)

Ms. Isbell gives us an impassioned account of a series of confrontations she had with the people of Chuschi during her return visit in 1974-1975. She had previously done field work in the village for seven months in 1967 and nine months in 1969-1970. Ms. Isbell had returned to “teach” and do “research” with the support and backing of the Peruvian Government, Ministry of Education, the Catholic University in Lima, and of course the local police [page 225]. Upon her arrival, she was immediately confronted by the school teachers who opposed her presence in the village. She tells us that: “One of the radical teachers gave an impassioned speech in Quechua about our presence and activities.” [page 228] Ms. Isbell claims, “[she] had not taken sides on any issues.” [237] In other words because she, was just an “impartial” scholar and the animosity against her could only be understood in terms of resentment [227]. One wonders why the people of Chuschi, the

launching ground of the People’s War, have tenaciously opposed the unwelcome presence of US senderologist Isbell. We believe there is another explanation, one that does not rest on pop-psychology (resentment.) First, the people were constantly questioning what she was doing there. She always said she was working for the Government and Lima’s Catholic University. In short, she was conducting research for State apparatuses, specifically for counter-insurgency purposes. Because of the importance of this point I must quote Isbell at length:

“The aim of the military junta of Peru is to transform the peasant masses into economically productive agriculturists for the national market. What is needed to effect this transformation is information on the economic systems of peasant communities. How many are closed corporate subsistence systems utilizing primitive technology with few or no cash crops? How many are dependent on herding? Are their economic activities directed toward the national market system? Furthermore, what is the nature and extent of economic activities other than farming and herding that propel peasant communities toward ‘open’ national incorporation?”

“Unfortunately, such information is perhaps most difficult to obtain in closed corporate communities such as Chuschi because they perceive economic dependence on an outside market system as a serious threat to their continued independence. Fortunately, other investigators have been more successful in obtaining information on Andean economic systems....” [pages 33-34] Isbell spends the next five pages reviewing the scholarship of her colleagues and then concludes with the following; “The government is moving cautiously because it realizes that such information is essential.” [page 39]

What is most interesting is that Ms. Isbell has so little understanding of the world that she is a part of that she can give us all the information on the importance of her research, as well as that of her colleagues and she can say without a trace of irony she had taken no sides. Therefore, the teachers’ assessment on Isbell’s work was correct: whether she was an agent of the Peruvian State or an imperialist spy (most likely a CIA/AID research front.) She says that, “none of the teachers were willing to talk to me about my political position in the privacy of my house, but in public I was their ideological enemy.” [237]

In summary, it was not “resentment” but Isbell’s position on the class struggle that caused her problems. Senderologist Isbell never realized that the peoples’ knowledge and participation does not come from authority but from social practice. (17)

Notes:

1. On this controversial point see Jorge Basadre’s Introduction to the English edition of Mariategui’s *Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality*, University of Texas Press, 1971, pages xxiii-xxvii. For a counterpoint see the

speech given by PCP's Chairman, Abimael Guzman in 1968, "Para entender a Mariategui" reprinted in *Guerra Popular en el Peru*, Ed. Luis Arce, Bruxelles, 1989. Everyone agrees that Mariategui wanted the Party to be part of the 3rd. International and he agreed with Lenin's famous "21 conditions" for admission to the International. For these conditions, see Lenin *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, pages 206-212, also see the important footnote No.76, on page 562.

2. Lewis Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes* 1983, page 19.  
3. Cynthia McClintock, *Sendero Luminoso* 1983, page 21.  
4. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, page 247. "Opportunism has been nurtured by legalism." Lenin goes on at length to trace the history of opportunism which led to the betrayal of the working class by the social democratic parties during the first world war. Anyone seriously interested in the rightward move of the Peruvian left in the 1980's should study Lenin's works on the War and the collapse of the International.

5. James Petras, *In these Times*, October 22, 1986.  
6. Orin Starn, New Literature On Peru's Sendero Luminoso, *Latin American Research Review*. Vol. 27 No. 2, 1992, page 221. The questions of taking sides becomes more perilous for Senderologists amidst mounting requests from the Peruvian military for information and advice. Starn along his Peruvian counterparts Carlos Tapia and Ivan Degregori were the organizers of the first Congress of the Army-run paramilitary peasant rondas. Can the Senderologists play a role in tempering the brutality of the counterinsurgency?

7. Jeanne Kirpatrick accomplished a similar feat in her essay, "Dictatorships and double Standards" [*Commentary*, 1979] where she showed how the Carter Administration betrayed Somoza. Even though this was a complete fiction it was believed because the media had already established it as a fact and all that was needed was for someone (i.e., Kirpatrick), to totalize the myth into a fact, which was then accepted by the public not because of its truth but because it was anticipated. However, Reagan and Bush, while promoting Kirpatrick's ideas, did the opposite in Haiti with Duvalier and Philippines with Marcos.

8. See the brief and moving account of Arguedas by John V. Murra in the English edition of Arguedas' book *Deep Rivers*

9. Orin Starn, *Bulletin of Latin American Research* Vol. No. 2, 1993, page 244.

10. Simon Strong, *Shining Path: Terror and Revolution in Peru*, 1992

11. Enrique Meyer, "Peru in Deep Trouble", *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1991, page 481.

12. Deborah Poole and Renique, "The New Chroniclers of Peru," *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1991, page 144.

13. *Entrevista al Presidente Gonzalo*, Comité Central del Partido Comunista del Peru (PCP), 1989, page 134.

14. See Louis Althusser's essay, "Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatuses" in *Lenin and Philosophy*, pages 127-186. Althusser notes: "The State of the ruling class, is neither public nor private; on the contrary, it is the precondition for any distinction between public and private." (page 144)

15. G.W.F. Hegel, *The Phenomenon of the Mind*, pages 236 -237. Hegel is not only noting that different classes have different "views" of the world but that the master qua master will necessarily misinterpret the world. Marx carried out this critique further.

16. Billie Jean Isbell, *To Defend Ourselves*, 1985. Isbell's information gathered (page 226) on the teachers: "In 1970, there were seven school teachers in Chuschi, when I returned in 1974 I found that two of the native Chuschino teachers were still there; a third one had finished college and had begun teaching in the secondary, school. Two of the non-native teachers had been there for over five years and the rest were new." Out of the seven teachers only three or less than half had been in the village less than five years. Her data does not back up her claim of high teacher turnover. In fact on pages 70-71 she tells us that descendants from the first teacher who had arrived three generations ago still live in Chuschi.

17. This is also the essence of the Catholic Church's critique of Liberation Theology. Ratzinger is not concerned about Marxism in his attack on Liberation Theology, his main target is the theory of praxis, that knowledge comes from the thought about being. For Ratzinger, correct ideas come from the Church hierarchy and it alone.

## Senderologists: Evangelists Of Death And Deceit

"Until now men have constantly made up misconceptions about themselves, about what they are and what they ought to be. They built their relationships according to the ideas of God, of a perfect man, etc. The phantoms of their brains have gotten out of their hands" [1]

Over the past decade a group of academics who go by the name of "senderologists" have suddenly become experts on terrorism. The use of their "expertise" goes beyond the purely intellectual endeavors. Senderologists now openly advise the security forces and army on how and when to repress the people. Senderologists justify the countless crimes of the army as necessary in these "times of fear and terror," [2] and "human rights violation by the terrorists." [3]

The senderologists (Yankee or their Peruvian lackeys) are pseudo-intellectuals who slander the democratic character and the historic perspectives of the people's war, the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) and the Peruvian people. They have become so obsessed with distorting the advances of the revolutionary struggle in Peru to the extreme of making a living out of it.

Most if these senderologists are also based in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) funded by European and CIA front organizations (i.e., AID) Their best customers are the governments of Peru and the U.S. who are in need of counter-insurgency material that serves two purposes: shape international public opinion against the people's war and "advise" the security forces. Mystification and demystification of the revolution.

### Who are the Senderologists?

The term "senderologist" comes from their nickname in Spanish, "senderologo", which is used to name those individuals who since the 1980's are speculating about *Sendero Luminoso* (this is the name that the reactionary Peruvian government has been using for the Communist Party of Peru, PCP.)

In essence, senderologists are former "leftists", infiltrators and traitors. The first senderologists were Peruvian journalists and academics who wrote extensively to distort the people's war led by the PCP.

During the early 1980's, some of these senderologists have presented themselves as militants from the Peruvian "Left" (the cases of Carlos Tapia and Ivan Degregori as members of PUM, Raul Gonzales and Bernales of IU - electoral parties.) Thus, they appeared to be more credible when they elaborated distorted explanations of an organization such as the PCP. They even suggested of having inside information of the Party. It did not take long for the people to figure out they

were working hand in hand with the security services. The first one unmasked was Raul Gonzales, writer of the *Si* and *Descos* magazines when he was photographed at the Cabitos army garrison by journalist Luis Morales of *El Diario* in Ayacucho.

However, one of the most peculiar characteristics of the senderologist from the "Left" is that they denounce violence, specially revolutionary violence, as applied against bourgeois "popular movements" and bourgeois "civil society"; at the same time, they openly support reactionary politicians (those forming the so called "United Left") and willingly participate in the pseudo-democracy that US imperialism imposes over the Peruvian masses. It is no surprise that the large numbers of killings conducted by the Peruvian government forces are only minor themes in their work.

### Ivan the Story-teller

Ivan Degregori, one of the most cynical senderologists has made countless speculations on the people's war. These tales were summarized in a book by Renique (a mediocre apprentice of senderology who lives in New York) [*Times of Fear*, Latin American Bureau.] The writings of these senderologists provide superficial descriptions of recent events in Peru, they place special emphasis on fear, death, and destruction in the country. Let's see what they say.

"For the last 12 years, Peru has been suffering one of the bloodiest armed struggles in contemporary Latin America. Over 27,000 people have been killed. Most have been non-combatants caught between the fire of fighters for the Peruvian Communist Party, Sendero Luminoso (PCP-SL) and the military. Unlike other Latin American guerrilla movements, the PCP-SL has sought to enforce its own idiosyncratic revolutionary model by declaring the peasant and working class movements its principal enemies. Thousands of popular leaders and activists, elected officials, development workers, priests and nuns, regarded by the PCP-SL as either 'revisionists', 'pacifists' or 'parliamentary cretins', have been assassinated by the party's 'annihilation squads'. Economic and technical infrastructure such as experimental farms, universities, breeding livestock, soup-kitchens, milk processing plants, and agricultural equipment, considered by the PCP-SL as part of the 'bourgeois state' or 'elements of corruption for the masses' have also been destroyed." [1]

This distorted view is based on half-truths. It simply hides the fact that the government forces as part of a strategy commit the worst crimes in Peru and Latin America. In Peru, during the 1980's, the military exterminated the population of numerous Andean villages to the extent that mass graves continue to be found to this day. Most of these victims were poor peasants accused of collaborating with

the PCP. At present, as reported even by the bourgeois press such genocidal policies continues.

Many civilians from the cities and the countryside, especially the poor, have been arrested and never seen again; they simply disappeared. One of the most recent cases involves the arrest by the Army of students at the Cantuta University, near Lima, and the finding of a mass grave containing their bodies [2]. But they intentionally ignore these events and only provide a number, 27,000, in abstract, without clarifying who is responsible for most of the killings. Rather, they come up with a figure for 1990: "More than 60% of Sendero victims were peasants, 27% were slum dwellers and only 5% police personnel." What is the source of such misleading information? These were the official figures provided by the government of Peru in February 1991. So, the information given by one of the parts in the conflict is taken as a truth. "Thousands of popular leaders and activists, elected officials, development workers, priests, nuns, regarded as either 'revisionists', 'pacifists' or 'parliamentary cretins', have been assassinated by the party's 'annihilation squads'". Again, this is the same propaganda that the Peruvian government and its senderologists keep on repeating over and over for the past decade. Their main concern is the suffering of certain elite, and ignore that millions of Peruvians, specially the poor, are abused, exploited, raped and murdered by such "popular" leaders, elected officials, bureaucrats, and even priests working hand in hand with the government. This has been going on as a state practice for centuries and that's what the people's war intend to change it from its roots. While they claim to represent the interests of the poor, they actively are supporting paramilitary rondas, IMF, AID and other props for the regime. The senderologists are tied to groups in the US such as the Peru Peace Network or PPN, which is composed of people linked with some church entities and NGOs, electoral parties in Peru, and U.S. counterinsurgency. They do not recognize the fact that U.S. corporations are heavily investing in Peru's economy and that the U.S. government is therefore militarily backing counterinsurgency. The suffering of the poor does not count, their only concern are the blows received by the big landlords, capitalists, bureaucrats, and their collaborators at the hands of the PCP. Granted, the PCP punishes active collaborators with the police such as Moyano, Huillca or Azcueta.

Senderologists not only misconstrue facts and repeat reactionary propaganda, they simply lie. A vulgar lie is that the PCP declares the peasants and workers as its enemies. Renique as mouthpiece of Degregori (Ivan), supplies a good example: "The PCP-SL has sought to enforce its own idiosyncratic revolutionary model by declaring the peasant and working class movements its principal enemies."

The reality is that the "working class movement" as seen by these reactionaries are state bureaucrats collaborating with the Peruvian armed forces, capitalists, and the big landlords. The same is true for those posing as "international aid workers" who help the counterinsurgency efforts from the state. It is not the people's war which is the cause of poverty in Peru as they claim, it is the solution. In our country which has a total population of 22 million, 15 million live in extreme poverty [3]; chronic malnutrition has reached 5.7 million in 1990, including about 50% of children under six. That is the reality and that's the cause for revolutionary violence in Peru. It is the PCP which seeks to overthrow Peru's bureaucratic capitalist regime that is subservient to foreign interests and indebted to foreign banks. It is precisely the PCP that is leading the Peruvian poor in a relentless struggle for self-reliance and the development of a popular democracy, which can only be achieved through armed revolution. The opportunist electoral "left" [the same discredited leaders who supported the regimes of Apra and Fujimori] go along with the reformist plans of imperialism for Peru: experimental farms, mixed enterprises, and other utopian reactionary solutions that will only help to maintain such extreme conditions. Most Peruvians have nothing, and now more than ever want everything, everything that the imperialists and their collaborators are stealing from them. And this requires a revolution, not "movements", not reforms or experimental farms. The PCP, as a matter of policy, does not attack poor people who attend soup kitchens or glass of milk programs, but the PCP is against those groups who traffic politically and economically with the needs of the people, as senderologists keep on advocating.

The PCP directs a revolution that relies on masses of poor people. The masses provide themselves with weapons, food, clothing, conduct intelligence gathering, military actions, etc. In the liberated areas, the people's committees establish new production relations with the corresponding new social relations. All this would not be possible without the participation of the masses: the peasants, mainly the poor peasants, the proletariat, and sections of the bourgeoisie. These are the Peruvian masses making history with the revolution in Peru. As the people's war clearly shows in practice, the peasantry is the main driving force of the revolution, the proletariat is the class that directs the revolution, the petty bourgeoisie and part of the middle bourgeoisie support the revolution. To claim that the PCP has declared war on some of these social classes, especially on the poor is a plain lie. It is also not true that the PCP sees as the "main enemies" the disgraced leaders of the tiny electoral "left." If that was truth, they wouldn't be around any longer. It's imperialism and the state apparatuses who are the main targets of the revolution.

The facts speak for themselves. The revolution in Peru started in 1980 at one location, Ayacucho. Over the past 14 years it has expanded all over the country. The People's Guerrilla Army continues to develop and grows stronger, the number of PCP militants and supporters in the countryside and the cities has multiplied, and between 25 to 40 percent of Peruvian territory is controlled by the PCP through the People's Committees of peasants and workers [4]. Some intelligence outlets in the U.S. has spread the rumor that there are only 3,000 active combatants of the PCP. This is not consistent with their speculation prior to the capture of Chairman Gonzalo in which they claimed there were 8,000. The regime acknowledged to have "captured" in that period 4,500. However, even the most fervent anti-PCP "human rights" group in Peru admits that more than 60% of those in prison are innocents. So, the analysis of the senderologists goes down the drain. The fact of the matter is that million of Peruvians actively support the people's war because of the powerful ideology of the PCP that has been ingrained in the masses.

The senderologists try to confuse progressives abroad claiming the PCP attacks "leftists." They pose themselves as both "leftists" and "victims." So, whatever they do, they still want to be considered "leftist" and treated with consideration and respect. This, even when they openly support the Fujimori regime. Renique and his mentor Ivan continued: "Guzmán wrote in 1979 that in Peru, 'the Right is secondary, our problem is not with them. The problem is the Left because [the PCP-SL] is The Party, the salt of the earth, the living tree, the others are parasites'"[5].

In reality this text is part of a speech delivered by Chairman Gonzalo to the PCP Central Committee. He analyzed the position of the factions within the PCP with regard to the inevitable launching of the people's war. The speech was published in its entirety under the titled of "For the New Flag" [we have been inspired by this masterful speech and have given its name to our newsletter.] This is what the text actually says:

"...As communists in formation, what path do we want to follow? who are we? We are nothing except communists. It is necessary to define the problem today. We face the same problem faced by the left opportunist line, but we are the left. Here the right is subsidiary, our problem is not with them, if they want to carry out their role, let them adopt self-criticism. The problem is us, the left, because it is the Party, the soil's salt, the living tree, the others are parasites. The left should burn the futile, it should wash itself, cleanse itself, remain clean, it should clean the house, strip the old skin in a frank, truthful, honest way. Each of us responds for what happens to the other, we are children of the same cause. It is easy to define the problem because we are the left; let everyone to demonstrate his/her condition as communist. We made the Party and that's what we are. ..."[6]

Again, the right and the left referred to by Chairman Gonzalo are the Right (the less advanced) and Left (the more advanced) political tendencies within the PCP, and the problem was to make the left within the Party even more stronger, to "cleanse itself" from bourgeois conceptions. The whole speech clearly deals with the Party, the PCP, and it upholds the left ideology, the proletarian ideology within the PCP. That much is clear, and consequently, it also becomes clear that Ivan and his pupil Renique are intellectual parasites engaged in misconstructions and falsifications. Their scam failed. They try to fool people, but they are only fooling themselves.

Ivan and Renique not only manipulate phrases out of context, but also introduce their myths. By omitting words, and by introducing "the PCP-SL" between words, the left and the PCP are separated and become antagonistic. Isn't that an easy way to fabricate fake theories? Ivan and his tool Renique falsify the original text and presents it as if the "left" were the revisionist left, that is the "United Left" Party in Peru made up by parasites like them. In sum, this kind of scam is not an isolated case; the presentations of senderologists, especially from Ivan Degregori (the most cynical one) are full of similar falsifications.

Senderologists not only falsify texts, events, and even deceive the progressive audience posing as "leftists" victims but sometimes they pose as "neutral" academics, and go on to show their "neutrally" by supporting the reactionary Peruvian regime and their open hostility to the people's war. Let's see again the case of Ivan Degregori, head of the Institute of Peruvian Studies which is funded by U.S. imperialism.

"The shining path project combines science and religion." "The PCP is a sect with religious identity," "the peasants are forced to support the revolution", "the PCP follows rationalist fundamentalism" [7], etc. These are nothing more than his own mythical conceptions not supported by facts at all. Degregori tries, as in the Middle Ages, to explain events as a priest of the holy ghost, through religious analogies. His obscure explanations and his connections with reactionary academics in the U.S. allow him to take the lead among senderologists. Degregori, however, has a special characteristic that the others lack; he contradicts himself and exposes his own lies.

Thus, recently in New York [8], Degregori informed us that the captured chairman of the PCP is not being tortured, despite the fact that Guzman is in isolation for the past 19 months with no one being able to visit him, not even his lawyer (who is prison for just having the guts to be his lawyer) nor visitors from international delegations [9]. Strangely enough, before ending his presentation, Degregori mentioned that "Guzmán is in a cage" and "buried alive," "he will die soon in prison." If this is not torture, what is it? Let us hope that in our country some day the situation is reversed and

stooges such as Degregori or Fujimori learn how is to be placed in a tiger cage and thrown underground.

"Guzmán's polarized world view, divides everything into absolute good and absolute evil"[10] declared Poole and Renique, "The PCP follows rationalist fundamentalism" cries Degregori, "the PCP is linked to narcotraffic" screams Raul Gonzales and Carlos Tapia, "the revolution is defeated" "Guzmán is surrendering" shout all senderologists. These slanders are continuously repeated, and all to cover up this simple truth: the People's War is advancing victoriously in Peru.

Imperialism and the Peruvian regime reward the senderologists in kind. They're the recipients of grants for desktop studies, academic appointments and frequent travels to the U.S., etc. are some of the "treats" they receive.

If Peruvian senderologists see only appearances and make up stories out of them, Yankee senderologists are not different, after all, to make up stories of people's fear and terror at the hands of the rebels is a good "stuff" not only to make their beans but it is also a marketing thing that sell pretty well in conservative circles in the U.S. with the aim of creating counter-revolutionary propaganda against the people's war.

For the senderologists, it is by terrifying the proletariat and the peasants that the PCP is making the revolution. However, the situation is quite the reverse: senderologists are the ones who are terrified when they see that the people of Peru are upholding the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, which is leading the masses to victory. The peoples of the world know that all their slanders are part of the international propaganda campaign conducted by the imperialists, chiefly US imperialists.

**The People's War will inevitably win!!**

**Let us greet the birth of the People's Republic of Peru!!**

**Down with the counter-revolutionary treachery "peace accords"!!**

**Long live Chairman Gonzalo!!**

**Proletarians of all countries, unite!!**

Notes:

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, Part 1, International Publishers, NY., 1986, p. 37.
2. *Third World Viewpoint*, Fall 1993, p. 20.
3. *Caretas* magazine No. 1282, October 14, 1993. Lima, Peru, p. 34.
4. *Cambio 16 America*, No. 1282, 10/14/93, Madrid, p. 36.
5. *Expreso* newspaper 10/12/90 as quoted by G.H. McCormick's "From the Sierra to the City," Rand National Defense Research Council, 1992, p. 38.
6. Degregori cited by Poole and Renique, *Ibid.*, p. 21.
7. Recopilation of PCP documents by Luis Arce Borja, *Guerra Popular in Peru, Pensamiento Gonzalo*, Brussels, 1989, p. 144.
8. Degregori, presentation at Lehman College, NY, 11/08/93.
9. Delegation of the US National Lawyers Guild.
10. Item 2, *Ibid.*, p. 21.



# The Psychological Warfare Campaign: Peace Accords to End the People's War and Capitulate Under the Cover of "A New Great Decision."

## Part II & III

### Position of the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP):

The CC declaration of October 7th, 1993 states: "Bureaucratic capitalism in Peru is undergoing its greatest crisis in the history of the republic. Each time it confronts greater difficulties in applying its three counterrevolutionary tasks. Of these, restructuring the old state is the most fundamental. In order to carry out this counterrevolutionary plan, and in its desperation and impotence before the advance of the People's War, and as part of its psychological war within the 'low intensity conflict,' it has mounted a sinister slander. It is a ridiculous lie that no one with two ounces of brain can take it seriously. This allegation like its predecessors shall be unmasked by the People's War."

This position was reemphasized in the CC international directive of December 1, 1993: "We reaffirm, and we should all do so, the accords of the Central Committee of August 1993. From these accords we derive the resolution, 'Long Live Maoism', the directive to study the Speech of Chairman Gonzalo from the cage, and especially the Declaration of October 7, 1993. The individuals who persist in the slander are a handful of friends of Yankee imperialism and the treacherous-genocidal dictatorship. They spread propaganda that the National Intelligence Service (SIN) has been circulating since last July as part of the psychological war." And speaking of the rightist leader in Europe who preaches "peace with the tyrant," the CC stated: "He, who abandons principles splits, and in this case, this gentleman falls head over heels. He cannot traffic with the name of Chairman Gonzalo and no one should permit this." And in the declarations on December 3, during the capture of the agency France Press in Lima, the world has seen the historic slogan painted on a wall: "Down with the Counterrevolutionary Slander!" (¡Abajo la Patraña Contrarevolucionaria!).

1. The campaign for "a peace accord to end the war," is part of the psychological war, within the criterion of low intensity warfare. It combines elements like intelligence, control of population and resources, civic actions, and serve principally the reactionary military actions.

2. It serves the accomplishment of the three tasks of the reactionaries: the restructuring of the old state, reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism and annihilate the people's war.

3. It principally serves the goal of restructuring the old state. For instance, the "peace letters" served to facilitate short-term goals of the reactionaries as an active promoter

of the "yes" referendum. Since November 93, it serves to launch the reactionary offensive against the support bases of the people's war. And to the extent that pacification can develop, it will serve the entry of foreign investment, "the heart of its economic development." Peace accords, it is, furthermore, the keystone of the regime's futile international offensive such as the overseas trips of ministers, embassies and intelligence service (in France it is led by General Robledo del Aguila and special operations group.)

4. According to the version of Fujimori's intelligence services and the "senderologists", the origins of the "peace" trap go back at least to February 1993 at the time of the transfer of Dr. Guzmán from the island of San Lorenzo to the Navy base at Callao. On July 14th, a dissident army group named "sleeping lion" revealed the game plan, the authors and the creation of the video supposedly showing Chairman Gonzalo. On October 1, Fujimori reads the alleged first letter at the annual meeting of the United Nations. On October 7th, Fujimori mentions the existence of a 2nd letter [at this time the PCP responded in kind with a resolution of its CC.] On October 29th, two days before the referendum, four "high ranking" leaders of the PCP, "affirm the historic decision of Guzmán." Raul Gonzales, a senderologist who is very close to the security services, says: "The coming months will be marked by what is done in the process of Sendero's surrender. This process will be a great challenge for the government."

5. The first part of the worldwide disinformation campaign has been completed by the regime. This task is being performed by its functionaries, journalists and intellectuals. In Europe, starting in November 1993, a small group of repentant, infiltrators and the right opportunist line (ROL) joined their efforts to the regime's psychological warfare campaign. On October 1993, the ROL had remained silent but acting treacherously by returning, negating and prohibiting the spreading of the "Declaration of the CC of the PCP" of October 7th, 1993. First they said: "It is a complex problem, we must wait", "it is a delicate problem, we can't comment on it." Later, they launched a campaign of half-truths to confuse supporters of the people's war, in which they said: "Chairman Gonzalo is a genius of dialectics and he knows better how to handle contradictions with the enemy." Then, they whispered like jealous guardians of a top secret: "Chairman Gonzalo has called us by telephone." On November 22, they forge a "Directive from Chairman Gonzalo" in which they conclude, "one stage of the revolution is finished," "bureaucratic capitalism is viable!", that "the people's war cannot grow, but only maintained", that

there are growing dangers, and a second congress is needed to change the revolutionary line into a capitulationist line. On December 1, the ROL published the document; "A New Great Decision. Peace Accords" --- by which they cross over to the enemy camp --- It was elaborated with quotes from the three letters presented by Fujimori and the alleged directive from Chairman Gonzalo. Also during the month of December, in Peru a communique signed by 300 prisoners out of 1114 in Canto Grande was released to the press. This communique was supportive of the the tale, "struggle for a peace accord that will put an end to the war." And during the month of January 1994, new letters and statements by 168 women prisoners out of 234 in the jail of Chorrillos is published, and the campaign continues but now to a lesser degree.

#### 6. Particularities of the campaign:

Because of the role Dr. Guzmán plays in the revolution: the center of party unity, chairman of the military commission and of the organizing commission of the New People's Republic, and of his prestige he has, as a great intellectual and revolutionary; the figure of Dr. Guzmán is used as the central pivot of the entire campaign. His image is placed in opposition to the central and real leadership of the PCP and the accords of the first congress. Their plan is to replace Chairman Gonzalo with counterrevolutionary intelligence agents with the goal of calling for a second congress to change the line, the Party and the people's war.

7. In Europe, the ROL employs the method of eclectic, erratic and cynical discourse. The reason is that they pretend to base their treason on a Marxist and Party viewpoint. As this tactic is not possible, they laid a smoke-screen to confuse the masses and the international supporters of the people's war.

7.1. Eclecticism: The ROL tried to disguise myth as dialectic. For example, "Chairman Gonzalo has ordered us to fight and struggle for a peace accord to end the war, since the objective of war is peace," negating that the objective of the people's war is to end the imperialist domination, bureaucrat capitalism and semi-feudalism, and the building of the People's Republic of Peru. From where did they get that the objective is merely peace, a reactionary peace? If that was the goal, there would have been no need to start the war. The ROL also sustains: "Let us keep this principle in mind: War is the continuation of the politics of peace, and peace is the continuation of the politics of war," thus, since war and peace follow each other cyclically, because there is war in Peru today, the PCP, following the logic of history, now take the path of peace.

7.2. Erratic discourse: The use of categories outside of Marxist and Party use in order to lose parameters so that the accords mean nothing, and anyone can interpret the terms and theories as they wish. In the phrase, "one stage

of the revolution has ended," the ROL denies that there are two stages of the Peruvian Revolution: The democratic stage and the socialist stage. Thus, if one stage had ended, it would be the democratic one and the socialist one should start (after the peace talks?) Since this is clearly not so, the opportunists imply that there are more than two stages. Therefore, the resolutions of the PCP on this problem are wrong and must be reformulated. The other phrase the opportunists repeat is: "Bureaucratic capitalism is becoming viable," [viable for whom?] This position negates the theory of bureaucratic capitalism and its three historic moments. In particular, its third moment: General crisis and its destruction. Chairman Gonzalo himself explained this issue in 1991: "Bureaucratic capitalism is born ailing and in a critical condition. Today it is in general crisis, approaching its doom. But if one notes the process of its development, in synthesis, there are two stages. In its first moment there is a prologue expressed in a preparatory stage. During the decade of the 20's, another stage surged when foundations were laid for the development of bureaucratic capitalism. Then, it comes a process of collapse because the intended development is not achieved, a crisis arises, and this crisis leads to further collapse. This is supported by historical facts. In the second moment, after a period of preparatory stage, the foundations are laid down, and finally the arrival of the crisis which led to a greater collapse than the one which occurred at the end of the previous moment. From 1980 onwards, we are in the third moment, the moment of the destruction of bureaucratic capitalism. We have also experienced that prologue at the beginning of the 80's, a long and complicated preparation of conditions which leads us into the decade of the 90's. Today they are laying out the foundations for the application of neoliberalism. But just as in the two former historical moments of bureaucratic capitalism, in this third moment its foundations will necessarily lead them to another crisis which in turn will generate an even greater collapse. It is important to understand the three historical moments of bureaucratic capitalism and their specific characteristics, especially the character of the third moment. In this fashion, we will understand why the three political tasks of Peruvian reaction and its masters, principally US imperialism, try desperately to refurbish bureaucratic capitalism, to restructure the state and to smash the people's war. Their tasks cannot and will not be accomplished. Their accomplishment is an historical and political impossibility." (*On the Rectification Campaign Based on the Study of the Document "No to Elections! Yes to People's War!" PCP Central Committee, 1991*)

7.3. Cynical discourse: The opportunists hide their rightism from the criticism and unmasking by the Central Committee and the left in the popular movement (Note:

do not confuse with the revisionists or electoral left, PUM, Patria Roja, Unidad, MID and others.) The sugar coat to hide their treason is the phrase, "our beloved, respected leader", "in impeccable olive drab", "with solidity and great wisdom" and "our plain, complete and unconditional subjection," "no one single step further without him," and other hyperbole to hide their treachery. The opportunists have reached the point of affirming that between the PCP declaration that qualifies the government's plan as: "A ridiculous lie that no one with two ounces of brain can take seriously and which, like its predecessors shall be unmasked by the People's War," and their treacherous pamphlet in which they call for a second congress to change the line of the PCP, forms no contradiction, because according to the Right the word "letters" doesn't appear in the CC Declaration of October 7th.

8. Perspectives on the psychological warfare campaign and plan of capitulation: 1994 is a pre-election year, and the necessities of the coming election force lackey Fujimori to show superficial (short term) advances in the economic, military, and pacification campaigns to assure his reelection.

The reactionary democratic-liberal opposition is opposed to Fujimori's reelection and considers the PCP split. They are interested in denunciations (lately using the wife of the tyrant) to weaken Fujimori's campaign, which permits them to utilize contradictions. This situation is already defined with the candidacy of the old pawn of U.S. imperialism Perez de Cuellar who most likely will also have the fake electoral left behind him. However, before the "opposition" consolidates, the regime will try at all costs to push their pacification plan forward.

The opportunists in Europe will follow the course and the needs of the regime, and will try to strengthen their campaign in the first months of 1995, and the special operations group (Fujimori's agents abroad) may strike to support them.

9. What is to be done? We must support the continuation of the People's War in Peru, support in its entirety the resolutions of the PCP Central Committee (CC). Unmask the illusions of the regime that the CC is in prison or dead by showing the fact that the CC is leading the people's war through the entire country, unleashing devastating blows to the enemy.

We must counter the campaign of the government and the opportunists abroad, work with the organizing of the advanced, in winning or neutralizing the intermediate forces and isolate the recalcitrant. Finally, we must develop new forms of organization and work to unleash the bravery of the masses.

## **"Theoretical Foundation" of Right Opportunism and their Plan of Capitulation**

"Capitulation expresses itself in two ways: capitulation in the face of local reaction and capitulation in the face of world reaction. It is always this way. Its objective is to sell out the revolution. It is not that must be rooted out with blood and fire."

Chairman Gonzalo

### **Hollow Phrases and Half Truths Support the Opportunist Line**

1. On the phrase: "One great and unforgettable stage of the proletarian revolution has ended." and the function of erratic language.

Marxism and science in general defines concepts and categories with a precise meaning, such as the concepts of era, epoch, moment, stage, period, phase, etc. Since these words have varied meanings Marxism uses them in a certain context with a specific meaning. Thus, the PCP and Marxists define the term new era as the period that marks the start of contemporary history as linked to the world proletarian revolution and beginning with the October Revolution of 1917. It is distinguished from the old era of modern history linked to the world bourgeois revolution. No one who pretends to be a Marxist can think of the new era by making it start in 1871 or 1966 and thus questioning and negating the international line.

The stages of the revolution are linked to great revolutionary events in this process as a function of the correlation of forces between revolution and counter-revolution. The PCP says with respect to this issue as follows:

"Observe the stages of the protracted war. Chairman Mao teaches us that people's war passes through three stages: strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium and strategic offensive. This thesis is not limited to the anti-Japanese war but is a fundamental part of the theory of people's war. We must also see how these stages manifest themselves in our people's war, to see what characteristics each of them has... The three stages of the protracted war have different characteristics in each period. (1)"

"On the other hand Chairman Gonzalo states that in the process of the world revolution against imperialism and reaction there are three moments: 1) strategic defensive; 2) strategic equilibrium; and 3) strategic offensive of the world revolution... it is not strange that we apply the three moments of the world revolution, since Chairman Mao applied them to the process of the protracted people's war. (2)"

What does it mean to say: "one great and unforgettable stage of the world proletarian revolution has ended"? Have we finished the strategic offensive, or have we returned to the strategic equilibrium or what? The revisionists, between naiveté and cynicism say: "a 'great and unforgettable

stage' which acknowledges the world revolution." Can a revolutionary talk this way? Caught up in the endless use of adjectives they have ended-up believing that it is enough to use hyperbolic adjectives and phrases to differentiate revolutionaries. They don't even keep the most minimal notion of primary and secondary aspects, nor dialectical criteria to distinguish them. It doesn't matter if they say "great and unforgettable stage." These are adjectives! The noun stage, its use doesn't fit the Marxist style or Gonzalo thought. It is clearly not the work of Chairman Gonzalo or any Marxist, even if the authors talk of a great, beautiful and tremendous stage they had discovered.

The document has among its objectives the loss of a point of reference to the revolutionary actions and theory and, thus, sows confusion and loss of confidence. The objective of the psychological war according to the manuals of low intensity warfare is to change public opinion against the insurgency and change the point of view of the guerrillas towards the nature of the war and of their enemies. One doesn't have to be too sharp to discover that the campaign for peace accords is a psychological operation "Made in USA."

2. Misleading statements: "In 1891, Engels in 'Introduction to *The Civil War in France*' taught that there would be retreats in the world proletarian revolution when it would not be possible to seize power."

The first question to highlight is that the reference to Engel's work is false. The analysis that Engel's made of 50 years of the workers' movement in Europe, of the material base and the military obstacles for its triumph are not found in the introduction to *The Civil War in France*, but in the introduction of 1895 to *Class Struggle in France from 1848 to 1850*. In *Class Struggle in France*, there are references to the main occurrences of the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune. It is inconceivable to think that Chairman Gonzalo who knows these basic works well could make such a simple error. It is clear to see that it was written for a population that given the state of war and persecutions against Marxism has serious difficulties obtaining books and documents. And the complicity of revisionism is apparent, who praise in words and action these crude maneuvers by the intelligence services.

The second question is that in the introduction by Engels in 1895 he did not establish that "there would be retreats in the world proletarian revolution." Engels was not a prognosticator like Nostradamus to say "within a century there will be a general political retreat." Only the revisionists and the misguided could believe this farce. The work of Engels in reference to the this problem applies to the materialist conception of history and explains the material basis of the revolutionary movement of 1848 as well as the new reactionary offensive. Thus, he says:

"The crisis of world commerce of 1847 was the true mother of the revolutions of February and March, and that industrial prosperity, which had gradually restored itself through the measures of 1848 so that by 1849 and 1850 it had reached its peak, was the animating force that gave new strength to European reaction which was once again strengthened. ... After the defeats of 1849 ... we declared in the fall of 1850 that at least the first phase of the revolutionary period had finished and that until a new world economic crisis unfolds there would be nothing to hope for... (3)"

The conditions of struggle of that time are outlined and the analysis made by revolutionaries of that epoch are given:

"History also gave us a lie and revealed our point of view at the time as illusory. It went farther than that: not only did it destroy the error in which we found ourselves, but it also transformed from top to bottom the conditions of struggle of the proletariat. The method of struggle of 1848 is now antiquated in all aspects, and it is this point that deserves to be investigated now more urgently. (4)"

On the forms of struggle he states that the struggles in the streets and the old tactics of the barricade played a role in building the morale.

"... even in the classic era of fighting in the streets, the barricade was more effective for morale than practical. It was a medium to break the resolve of the troops. ... This is the principal aspect of the question and we must not lose sight of it when the possibilities of street fighting are studied in future situations. (5)"

The technical development, the new means of transportation, the layout of streets and growth of cities, the new weapons and the increased number of troops have imposed the need for new tactics, that is to say new forms of struggle and organization, whose objective is the conscious organized participation of the majority of the masses.

"Does this mean that in the future street battles will not play any role? Nothing of the sort. It only means that, since 1848, the conditions have become unfavorable for the civilian fighters and much more advantageous for the troops. Thus a future street battle can only win if this disadvantage is compensated by other factors ... These should undoubtedly ... prefer the open attack to the passive tactics of the barricade. (6)"

Thus, he tells us that the old revolutions in which a minority makes the revolution and where the majority follows spontaneously, without knowing well what to do or where to go has ended.

"The era of the surprise attacks, of the revolutions made by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses of people, has ended. Now we are dealing with a complete transformation of social organization the masses must directly intervene, they must understand on their own

what is going on, why they give up their blood and lives. This has been shown to us by history of the last 50 years. For the masses to understand what must be done, there is a need for a long and persevering work. This work is precisely what we are doing now ... keeping this incremental work going uninterruptedly, until the system of government starts to collapse on its own; not to waste on reconnaissance this shock force which grows daily, but conserve it intact until the decisive moment. That is our principal task. (7)''

We must not forget that the work of revolutionaries in parliament played a role of criticism and preparation while waiting for the new conditions of insurrection and armed struggle.

From another side, the situation of class struggles in the latter part of the previous century demanded solutions to this problem, and the rehearsal of the revolution (1905) showed that the problem should be resolved, by the actions of a revolutionary army and revolutionary government, by detachments and plans. The phrase in the pamphlet, "Lenin resolved the problem in 1917" is therefore false. The problem was resolved by Lenin in 1905. In 1917 this was forcefully demonstrated. Even Kautsky wrote that these detachments were the solution to the problem of barricades and street battles put forth by Engels in 1895. The capitulators aren't even up to the level of Kautsky and lacking revolutionary criteria they follow with profound conviction and complete contentedness the plans of the intelligence service of the Fujimori government.

The PCP in July of 1980 commenting on a thesis of Lenin's and the development of the military line of the proletariat stated:

"It is worthwhile to study this work of Lenin's. He pointed out that the very insurrection reviews 'the highest and most complicated forms of a long civil war', as 'a series of great separate battles' for periods of 'a great number of small clashes'; thus he tells us the form and conditions that insurrection acquired in imperialist times, an insurrection different from those of the 19th Century, and one which makes us see how classes have developed forms of struggle leading up to people's war. (8)''

These then are the conditions of that time: transition from pre-monopoly capitalism to monopoly and imperialism, a defensive strategy of revolution, the old era of the world revolution and the necessity of new tactics to accommodate the new situations made possible by the use of parliaments and universal suffrage, but also not forgetting that these conditions gave rise to the labor aristocracy, the bourgeois workers' parties and parliamentary cretinism because the right opportunist line aims to base their electoral path on these conditions.

3. Speculation: "The next 50 to 100 years, or in 2010 to 2060."

In 1962 Chairman Mao in a speech at an expanded conference of the CC of the CPCh said:

"the next 50 to 100 years to come will be a great era of radical changes of social systems throughout the world; an era of enormous upheavals, an era comparable to no other in history. With regards to this era, we will be engaged in great struggles which will be different from those which have passed. (9)''

In the fundamental documents, the PCP has said:

"In the actual situation and in perspective, we have entered the strategic offensive of the world revolution, within the '50 to 100 years' in which imperialism and world reaction will fall. (10)''

In the interview with Chairman Gonzalo in *El Diario*:

"...We do not conceive of the world wide people's war as an act which will happen simultaneously in a given day and hour, but we conceive it as the projection in perspective, linked to the 50 or 100 years laid out by Chairman Mao. We see it as great waves of people's war until they all converge as legions of iron in a great world-wide red army, as Lenin himself said. (11)''

Where then, from this logic, can be found the basis for: "Struggle to comprehend the great stages, remember Chairman Mao: 'the next 50 to 100 year'. These are, 2010 to 2060". There are not a thousand ways to interpret Marxist theses. In the first place, we are not talking about a moment or stage in the future but a moment or stage in history in which we are still immersed, and logically in the part where the people defeat imperialism in 50 to 100 years the results will be self-evident. It is not a prediction of astrology that can be set however one feels like, but an affirmation deriving from the analysis of the history of imperialism, of the movements of national liberation and the international communist movement, which demands the revolutionary work of people's war and not reactionary peace.

Notes:

1. Report on the Second Plenum
2. Bases of discussion. International Line.
3. 1895 Introduction to *The Class Struggle in France*.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Lenin and Armed Struggle. *Collected Works*.
9. Speech before the broad conference of the CC of the PCP, 1962.
10. *Interview With Chairman Gonzalo*, page 4.
11. Ibid., page 73.

Atelier d'Etudes France-Péruviennes.  
Paris, Summer 1994

## Position of the “Revolutionary Communist Party-USA” (RCP/RIM) on Fujimori’s Call for Peace Talks

[The following is the position of the RCP-USA as stated in two documents received by *La Nueva Bandera*.]

The current positions of the RCP-USA and RIM on the “negotiations” controversy are based on the principled relationships that exist between the participating MLM parties and organizations, and where more importantly and most fundamentally, on an all-sided application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to evaluate what serves the world revolution and what doesn’t.

The correct position to take right now on the negotiations controversy is to recognize the seriousness of the questions that have been raised as a result of the purported call for accords; understand the responsibility it puts on the international communist movement and all who support the PCP and the people’s war to carefully examine all the issues being raised on all sides; and to carry out a thorough evaluation before coming to a position, while continuing to defend Chairman Gonzalo’s life and fight for access to see him so that the truth of what his position is can come out. It is a truly a complex challenge of urgent tasks that must be handled dialectically.

This is the kind of approach that the RIM is taking at this time. Based on this kind of approach, when RIM does come to a position, it will put it forward thoroughly and substantively in a way that enables people to discuss and debate it fully.

There is urgency for the RIM to come to conclusions and a position on the purported call for peace accords, but rushing to hasty judgments and impatience won’t help. We must be firm in principles. [The RCP] has confidence that the parties and organizations of the RIM are applying the science of MLM and fighting to lead the masses around the world the way the PCP has been doing in Peru. The PCP, the masses in Peru, and Maoists historically have shown that they are capable of overcoming tremendous difficulties. As the RIM said in the statement that was printed in the *Revolutionary Worker* (RW), “the Communist Party of Peru has proven that it is capable of confronting and defeating every kind of enemy attack, correctly analyzing and acting upon new situations as they arise, remaining firm in principle and flexible in tactics and overcoming all difficulties to achieve victory.” We would like to know what sources of the PCP are considered “reliable” on the purported call for peace accords. We know that MPP-USA is made up of Peruvians, but we want to know who exactly puts out *La Nueva Bandera* and what “credentials” or “certificate of

authenticity” they have. They surely are not certified to support the people’s war in their country by RIM. In this period there are many different forces claiming to speak for the PCP. What is the basis for *La Nueva Bandera* to claim to speak for the PCP without consulting RIM? The RCP noticed that they attributed positions to the PCP based on having contacts in Lima and Ayacucho. The RCP believes that in times like these, it is a point that the international communist movement must be careful about.

### Our Reply: With These kinds of Allies Who Needs Enemies!

(First of Two Articles)

To follow-up the campaign against opportunism and revisionism in our previous issues (i.e., “The Silence of the Lambs”,) *La Nueva Bandera* launches the struggle of two lines within the international solidarity movement in support of the People’s War.

First, we have reprinted above some of the two RCP documents sent to us by rank and file RCP members who are in disagreement with their leadership’s position on the “peace talks.” Second, we want to expose the opportunism of the leaders of the RCP and of those who allegedly support the Revolution in Peru, but do not condemn the reactionary call for “peace talks.” This tactic was used in Central America, South Africa, Ireland, Palestine and other countries to smash revolutionary struggles with little or no benefit to the people. The same is being used by US imperialism and its puppet Fujimori to crush the People’s War.

The RCP alleges that it has been “carefully studying the peace talks” for two years, but the reality is that the RCP awaits patiently the success or failure of the reactionary tactic of “peace talks” so it can jump to the side of the winner. At the same time it can continue to profit politically and financially from the international prestige of the PCP, especially from the campaign to “Save the Life of Chairman Gonzalo.” This criticism also includes opportunist elements in the IEC as well. However, we value the overall work of the IEC as a leading organization in the struggle in support of the People’s War.

We denounce the RCP leaders (the bureaucrats Avakian, Lotta, Greenberg, Dix etc.) but not its rank and file who have, for years, struggled with us in support of our cause. We condemn the RCP leaders for banning from their six profitable bookstores (Revolution Books) the official documents from the PCP and the People’s War in our country. We denounce the clique of opportunists who run the RCP for pretending to speak in the name of the greatest Maoist Party in the world, the PCP, and for using the banner of an irrelevant group they control, RIM. We believe that the RIM without the PCP is practically a ghost entity headed by the self-exiled pseudo-Maoist Avakian.

For the above reasons, we, Peruvian revolutionaries tirelessly working in the belly of the beast, call upon the PCP's new Central Committee to reorganize the entity known as RIM. We think that this group has become a brazenly opportunistic group, with many of its "members" existing only in name to allow RCP control and manipulation in votes (i.e., URC-Dominican Republic, Haitian Revolutionary Internationalist Group, etc.) Furthermore, the RCP leaders prevent the incorporation of potentially revolutionary Maoist groups into the struggle. We believe that RIM (if it still exists), under the current RCP leadership can't be developed and must be reorganized. We suggest that a reorganized RIM be based in a oppressed country where revolution is alive and not in an imperialist country (US or England.)

Lately, we were appalled by the opportunistic actions of the RCP leadership. For example, while imperialism and the government of Peru launched their propaganda offensive abroad, "the PCP was defeated and its leaders were dead or in prison," RCP leaders rushed to Philippines seeking for a new "symbol" and offering "solidarity" to the New People's Army. The Filipino group (victim of manipulation in the past by bigger Russian and German groups) rejected the RCP offer to advertise their struggle in the *Revolutionary Worker*. Now, RCP has no other option than to compete with other groups alike in the U.S. as advocates of the reformist Zapatista group (EZLN). Thus, struggle for "human rights," "clean elections," the pipe of sub-commander Marcos and an endless truce have replaced the calls for worldwide Maoist revolution. With these kind of allies who needs enemies! Obviously, the homophobic RCP is too late to join the pro-Cuban "coffer" that still has support in the U.S. left while the hungry Cuban masses are left without alternatives but to await the rotten capitulation. RCP leaders: Running a revolution is not the same as running a chain of "revolutionary bookstores" for profit. The masses in the South Bronx, El Barrio, the slums in Chicago, Los Angeles, etc., are in need of Maoist leadership. The RCP should be practicing what it preaches. The words in red ink written in RW should be matched in deeds. Instead, what is the RCP doing? It is mostly dedicated to mercantilism, profiting from the blood and lives of the Peruvian revolutionaries. We appreciate solidarity with the People's War, but a real solidarity must be based on principles rather than on bourgeois interests.

We must bear in mind what Chairman Gonzalo masterfully taught the revolutionaries everywhere: "The best way to support the People's War in Peru is to make a revolution in your own country."

**Long Live the People's War, Down with the Counterrevolutionary Treachery!**

**Long Live Maoism, Down with Revisionism!**

## On "National Identity" & Resistance of Andean Communities

The Andean, Peruvian, and in general American cultures have been invaded, violated and robbed of their own expression and realization as human communities by colonialism. This is the condition of the Quechua and Aymara people in the Andes of Peru who live under semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism since independence from Spain. The inheritors of Spanish colonialism constituted a Creole bourgeoisie who had created a Republic under imperialist domination. In other words, the bourgeoisie only adapted the imperial order into a new domination in which the Andean people were even more exploited.

The landlords were always present with different names in different times and places, denying the peasant the right to land, and with it the basis for their existence: Mother Earth.

The enemies of the Andean peoples almost always call them "savages" to deny them the sacred right to land. They call the first inhabitants of the Americas "primitives" (term used by the bourgeois intellectual Vargas Llosa). Beyond this, if they live according to their identification of basic culture (technology, science and religion), they are called "ignorant."

In reality, the Andean people were never accepted as having a culture, not a style of thought and feeling, not even a religion. The reason is that they do not belong to that society of bourgeois thieves. The oppressors justify that Andean people do not have a capacity for reason, that they are "irrational." If the people don't use shoes like the petty bourgeois, then they are "bare-footers." If they don't wear neckties, they are worthless. If they wear a *chullo* (Andean hat), they call it "native attire." If they don't speak Spanish, then they don't know how to speak. But, when elections come, they are the first to use fake dresses like ours, speak and eat with us. Just look how the lackey Fujimori dress up like a "native" for the TV in election time!

If they hunt birds, fish and plant crops, they say they are lazy, that they don't work. In sum, they have no culture. The "white man" or servants of foreigners like Fujimori say they are going to turn our lands into habitable ones, but they as the rulers are the ones who make our lands uninhabitable. Using their false demagoguery and false development, they destroy the forest and the environment as their international backers please.

From the start of oppression in our lands, resistance existed in all camps: in the economic and artistic activities, thought, style of dress and dance. This resistance goes hand in hand with oppression by blood and fire, a form of systematic class extermination that is stubbornly opposed to the emancipation of the oppressed. For that end, reaction not only relies on all forceful means and a systematic

superstructure, as they do now, but also on imposing on the people their way of thinking. Thus, the American culture was snatched away and replaced by the Greco-Roman religion of the papacy.

In our times, the colonial inheritance makes the "white man" an integral part of the bureaucratic-landlord state, who feels superior to the Andean man and uses racial slurs like "*cholo*", "primitive", "useless", "native", "savage", "people with no capacity for reason", "a barbarian backward society", "the enigmatic Indian," etc. On top of this, there are intellectuals, creole and mestizo ideologues, strongly alienated and assimilated into the bourgeois system, who also unleash their prejudices on the Andean people. This is especially true in the educational field, in schools and universities, where nothing is done beyond repeating the initial errors of interpreting the oppressed of "Andean societies."

## The Religious Factor

In the great European universities they thought that "Indians" had no rational soul. They actually launched great debates to define the rationality of the American man, to see if the Indian possessed a rational spirit, or lacked of it in any way. They even asked: is it possible for them to reach god's salvation or not? In the Christian world view, the salvation of man only applied to Christian Europe in the 15th Century. In finding other people outside Europe, it was first necessary to clarify if the indigenous were people or not, in order to make them participants in salvation, eternal life and the resurrection of their souls.

That's why the retrograde ecclesiastical hierarchy based in Europe has sent out missionaries and priests to gather "lambs," for the kingdom of their gods, among the Quechua, Aymaras, Ashaninkas, etc.

However, when they reached Mexico and Peru, they encountered very advanced civilizations, comparable to that of Europe of the 16th Century. Since then, they baptized a great empire ruled by Charles of Spain, which the Roman church yearned for. Comparisons between those two cultures which has always exalted the European Christian culture and undervalued the Latin American culture, especially in regards to religion. Thus, any other culture that was non-Christian was considered a "diabolical work" (like the Andean gods that were labeled demons). The oppressors imposed themselves as they do today in all aspect of human affairs, whether it be the study of science, religion, language, technology, customs, art, thought or social sciences.

## The Reactionary Sermons of "Recovering our Identity"

For the Andean peoples the cry for "recovering our own identity" is a reactionary slogan. The Andean peoples have

nothing to recover or surpass on the margins of the class struggle against exploitation and oppression.

Thousands of Andean people, without knowing one word of the bourgeois Political Constitution of the State, are fighting for their definitive emancipation. The great problem for them is oppression and neglect to which they have been subjected to for centuries.

The bourgeois intelligentsia plants the idea that the problem is that the mestizos (mixed race) have no cultural identity. It is improper for mestizos to talk of their "cultural ancestry" or of the "culture of the great American empires," hiding and fearing his/her own culture. Rather, they should talk about the culture of the oppressed, of those who have been victims of constant ethnocides, genocides, imposition of forms with respect to the means of communication, the educational system, newspapers, magazines, television and schools that force us to westernize or to be colonized by the rotten and now moribund bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism that dominates Peru today.

In sum, the problem is not one of "national identity," but one of the development of the Peruvian nation. Part of the solution to address the problem of races is the class struggle: ending semi-feudal exploitation and imperialist oppression that weighs down 90% of the Peruvian population.

Source: *El Diario*, Lima - Peru

## Poor Peasants not "Indians" are the Driving Force of the Revolution

In the United States, and all over the world, it must be clear WHO is making revolution in Peru.

The Communist Party of Peru (PCP) makes it very clear what social classes are making the democratic revolution through the people's war. To perceive it as based on an ethnic group (as previous pseudo-revolutionaries have done) can only lead to opportunist misconceptions. In the main, such outlook stems from a very superficial understanding of Peru's history, people, and the scientific analysis conducted by the PCP following Mariategui's work.

Let us recall some events. It is well known that Christopher Columbus, a.k.a. Cristobal Colon, was trying to reach India, but he found some islands on the way; after weeks of being at sea confronting mutiny from his crew, Colon gladly believed that he had reached India. Therefore, the territories and the people that were found were called "Indies". The Spaniards that followed Colon to the "Indies" came to make fortunes, to impose their feudal mode of production, and to exploit the population and resources of this continent. Aztecs, Mayas, Incas are some of the civilizations that were in great part exterminated in order to supply the European empires with gold, silver and other precious metals. In the case of Peru, other civilizations that existed



under the domination of the Inca empire (Mochica, Chimu, Wari, Chanca, etc.) also suffered great exploitation. At one time or another some of these civilizations---for their own reasons---joined forces with the Spaniards against the Incas, but in the end it did not matter, they were exploited in similar ways. For the Spaniards, the inhabitants of the Andes were simply *indios* (or indians), ignorant, uncivilized, good for work in the mines or as beasts to transport cargo across the Andes. For them, *indios* were not even christian, they had to be "converted" to the faith of God; still, it did not matter, *indios* were *indios* and continued to be exploited as slaves; the Spaniards were the superior masters.

Thus, it is clear that the use of the term "indian" or *indio* to describe the various people who live in the Andes comes from the time of the Spanish conquest and colonization of Peru. *Indio* is the name the Spaniards imposed over the people they exploited in the Andean region and other regions of the continent. Such a name was imposed over the population of the Andes regardless of the various cultural and ethnic differences that continue to exist among them. To this day, in Seville (Spain) the "Archives of the Indies" still exist. It mainly contains documents of commercial transactions in Spain's former colonies.

Over time the term *indio* was so widely used among *criollos* (people of Spanish descent) that it became normal to use it to describe people from the Andes as one of the Spaniard's feudal legacies. After the independence from Spain, the people migrating from rural and urban Andean areas to cities in the coastal region of Peru---mainly Lima---continued to be called *indios* as well as *cholos* in reference to their physical appearance, lack of education, little knowledge of the Spanish language, and their ignorance of the ways of life in the big city. *Indio* and *cholo* are two misnomers imposed by oppressors for the inhabitants of the Andes.

To understand how accepted the term *indio* became, one can read J.C. Mariategui's works and see that in the 1920's he used the title "the Problem of the *Indio*"[1] for his analysis of the condition of the population in the rural areas of Peru's Andes, that is the peasantry working the land. But the actual text tells the real problem; Mariategui's work concentrates on the Indian problem in so far as it relates to the "Land Problem", that is in relation to the semi-feudal mode of production that subjects the rural population to serve a master: the landlord exploiting the peasants, mainly the poor peasants. Mariategui simply employed a misnomer to deal with the problem of the peasantry. This becomes more obvious in his writings that followed the famous "Seven Essays of Interpretation of Peruvian Reality"; "the socio-economic situation of the indigenous population of Peru"[2] is the title of a later analysis; in another he deals with "the importance of the racial problem", including Peruvians of African and Asian de-

scendent, but always in relation to the prevailing mode of production in Peru (class analysis).

It is essential to uphold Mariategui's analysis, his scientific method, his proletarian class perspective and ideology, but not a misnomer that at a time may have seemed appropriate.

The PCP has taken Mariategui's work and developed it further. The PCP clearly defines the social classes to join and lead in the people's war, in the creation of New Power against Old Power. These social classes are: "the proletariat, the mainly poor peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie depending on the conditions of the revolution".[3] The PCP clearly views the peasantry (*campesinado*), mainly the poor peasantry, as the driving force of the revolution, and such is proven in practice.

Let us get this clear, there is no reference to "indian people", or "indian peasantry" or "indio" in the analyses conducted by the PCP. Not a single PCP document refers to the peasants, specially the poor peasants, as *indios*. This shows the ideological leap in the PCP, its proletarian class consciousness clean from feudal and bourgeois misconceptions. Labels on oppressed peoples do not drop from the sky, they reflect a historical development and a class perspective. In Peru many opportunistic, nationalist, reactionary groups have tried, and continue to use the term "Indian people" for their opportunistic aims. Indian peasants, in abstract, leads to confuse the rich peasants with the poor, they look alike, they are "Indian." What about the exploitation of the poor by the rich? Why should this be secondary to the interests of the "Indian Peasantry"?

Some people in the RCP-USA should clear their thinking; who do they support? Why do they support the revolution? Do they support the poor peasants and proletarians leading the revolution in Peru? If so, they should say so. Do they support it because "Now these same *indios* are leading the revolution and are preparing to run a whole new society" as Heriberto Ocasio declares in the *Revolutionary Worker*? Are they playing the racial card? Then, they should clearly say so, and make it clear where their story comes from. The PCP says it is the proletariat, the peasants, mainly the poor peasants, and parts of the bourgeoisie that are making the revolution. Who are these "indians" that the RW refers so much about? Is this a social class?

It is important to study the analysis conducted by the PCP, to understand it and develop it further. Some RCP leaders claim that the audience in the US can only understand "indians" when referring to the poor peasants in the Andes. If so, the audience is dominated by bourgeois ideology, then should the RCP follow it? Why not educate the audience with the truth?

Some in the RCP see the People's War as an "Indian thing", as Indians following the PCP. They have got it wrong. It is not an "ethnic thing", it is class struggle, it is

the poor against the rich regardless of race or gender. Let us get to the essence of the issue.

The Spaniards have imposed the name *indio* (indian) over the people they exploited in Peru. The Yankee imperialists continue to use it. The PCP is doing away with it; thus, it is breaking away from feudal and bourgeois traditions and misconception. And now comes the RCP in the *Revolutionary Worker* calling the poor peasants in Peru "Indian peasants", "Indian people", "indios". These supporters do a disservice to the revolution using the words of the feudal oppressors.

It seems that in the minds of RCP leaders it is "the Indian peasants against the white man" and so they take the side of the oppressed, the "Indian peasants." The revolution in Peru shows that the *poor peasants* are the driving force in the revolution, and the PCP, leading it, has clearly expressed so; moreover, in the course of the revolution many rich peasants opposing the revolution have to be confronted. But the version of RCP leaders, after 14 years of people's war in Peru, continues to be that "the *indios* of Peru today are inspired by a vision of a new socialist society", that "now these same *indios* are leading the revolution and are preparing to run a whole new society".[4] A clear misrepresentation, to say the least.

Why is it so difficult for some in the RCP and the *RW* to clearly describe and consciously support the social classes making the revolution in Peru? Once again these classes are: the proletariat, the peasantry, mainly the poor peasantry, and parts of the petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie.

Some RCP leaders mumble that it is only a "name" thing, or that it is "a name that you do not like." These pseudo-radical opportunists say that in the US the native people are proud to be called "Indians," and consequently, the peasants in Peru should be called "Indians" as well. By the same logic, Peruvian peasants could call the North American Indians "red-skins", because red-skin is not insulting in Peru; and African Americans would be called "negroes" because such term does not mean a thing in Peru, actually some Peruvians may be proud to be called "negroes." And should the PCP's analyses follow so, regardless of the historical factors, and class domination that generated such names? This would be similar to the stand being taken by the RCP in the *Revolutionary Worker*. What would result if the PCP followed such opportunistic practices?

Let us see how much support some in the RCP would get if they go around proclaiming racist remarks: "Support the LA4+ negroes!!".

Overall, it is necessary for all proletarians and oppressed people of the world to unite, prepare, and make revolution. Unity is important, and to raise the issue of clarifying WHO is making the revolution in Peru, to clearly present which social classes are participating in it, can only aim at that, at unity, at

making unity stronger by breaking away from old class misconceptions. The peasants, mainly the poor peasants, in Peru are united and organized as the driving force in the revolution, to refer only to the "indian" peasant not only reflects misconceptions but also, more importantly, excludes other classes participating in the revolution. This needs to be rectified.

Unity is essential, but where there is unity there must be struggle, since "contradiction is the sole and fundamental law of the incessant transformation of matter".[5]

Notes:

- 1 Jose Carlos Mariategui, *Siete Ensayos de Interpretacion de la Realidad Peruana*, Amauta, Lima—Peru, 1965, p.29
- 2 Jose Carlos Mariategui, *Ideologia y Politica*, Amauta, Lima—Peru, 1979, p. 34.
- 3 Comite Central, PCP, *Bases de Discusion*, Ediciones Bandera Roja, Septiembre 1987, p.43.
- 4 *Revolutionary Worker*, "The New Power in Peru", November 28, 1993, p. 10.
- 5 *PCP Programme*, First Basic Principles.

[*Editor's Note: this article was submitted by a supporter of the People's War in the U.S.*]

## Women in Struggle

### The Surge of Proletarian Feminism

The great Lenin has defined the thesis of proletarian feminism. He said: "At present the thoughts of all working women should concentrate on the proletarian revolution. This idea will create the basis for an effective renovation of the conditions of marriage and the relationships between genders."(1)

In Peru, during the past 14 years, a powerful People's War is developing. During this time, Peruvian women, as parts of social classes, have been in the foreground of the revolution by giving up their precious blood and lives for a better future. We have various examples on how women combatants of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) have fallen in combat, for a just and correct cause.

Women's participation in the revolution as the only way to achieve their emancipation is the demarcation line between revolutionary women and "feminist groups." The bourgeois pacifist movements, vainly trying to ignore the class struggle, attempt to suppress the revolutionary potential of women.

### Feminism in Peru

In 1924, J. C. Mariategui, the founder of the PCP stated as follows: "In Peru, feminism does not appear artificially nor arbitrarily. It appears as a result of the new forms of intellectual and manual work of women. Women of a real feminist orientation are those who work, those who study.

The feminist idea prospers among women who are engaged in intellectual and physical work. Women find an adequate environment for their development in university classrooms as well as in labor unions where working women increasingly join organizations to struggle for equal rights. As in other places, in Peru there is a spontaneous and organized recruiting effort by a pedantic feminism agenda, a dilettante feminism. This kind of 'feminism' turns real feminism into a simple literary exercise, a mere fashionable sport."

Mariategui clearly places women as part of social classes with their corresponding class problems when he states: "No one should be surprised that women do not join in a single feminist movement. Feminism necessarily has various colors, diverse tendencies. It is possible to distinguish in feminism three fundamental tendencies, three main colors: bourgeois feminism, petty-bourgeois feminism, and proletarian feminism. Each of these feminisms formulate their demands in different ways. The feminism of a bourgeois woman reflects the interests of the dominant classes. The proletarian woman relates her feminism to the faith of the revolutionary masses in a future society. The historic fact of class struggle is not a mere theoretical speculation. It is reflected clearly in the feminist issue. Women, just as men, are reactionary, centrists, or revolutionaries. They cannot, therefore, unite to fight the same battles. *In today's world, the class condition differentiates the individuals more than the gender.*"(2)

Mariategui added: "This feminist plurality does not depend on theory itself. Rather, it depends more on its practical anomalies. Feminism, as a pure idea, is essentially revolutionary. The thought and the attitude of women feeling at the same time feminist and conservative lack, as a result, an intimate coherence. Conservatism aims at maintaining the traditional organizational structure of society that precisely denies women's rights. The feminists of the bourgeoisie accept the injustices resulting from the existing order, except those that oppose the demands of women. They tacitly embrace the absurd thesis that the only necessary reform for society is the feminist reform. The protest of these feminists against the old order is too exclusive to be valid."(3)

From the above, we learn that the theories regarding feminism correspond to two ideologies and social classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The movements emerging around these two positions necessarily respond to their class interests and necessities.

It is necessary to clarify how the two trends of feminism are adopted by women. In these times, bourgeois feminist movements are proliferating. They propose the thesis of women's liberation, but their demands are based in the struggle for formal (legal) equality with men within the capitalist system.

Proletarian feminism is based on analysis and synthesis. It has a dialectical base according to the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. It follows workers' conceptions and the proletariat's struggle for the transformation of society, for socialism, and the elimination of classes.

Men and women are social products that change according to the level of historic development of the social conditions, mainly class struggle. This dialectic conception explains that the conditions of women in history as well as their place in society, change. The origin of unjust conditions for women stems from the private property of the means of production and its reflection in the bourgeois family and the Bourgeois State. Consequently, the emancipation of women requires the destruction of the existing system of exploitation and the structural transformation of society through revolutionary violence to create, develop and defend a New Power and New State against the decaying and putrid old State.

"Women's liberation," per se, is a reactionary thesis. It is a bourgeois feminist outlook which views the women problem as a "battle of sexes", hiding the true origin of the problem: private property of the means of production. Such gender-focused feminist struggle is one-sided and serves the dominant classes to maintain their system.

The thesis of women's emancipation emerges, in turn, as part of the liberation of the proletariat. It formulates the solution in both, the elimination of private property of the means of production and the transformation of society. In this respect, women from the oppressor class and the oppressed class cannot fight together. Their organization and struggle must be class oriented.

## Women And The Revolution

The memory of the international proletariat contains the crucial role of women as a living part of its history. As victims of double oppression, and once free from feudal oppression, superstition, old customs, and bourgeois morality, women workers assume their position as combatants, and tenaciously struggle for socialism along with their brothers.

In the heroic line of fire, of those who rise up against oppression and misery, women are always there, with tenacity, and without fearing death in the struggle, never give up an inch of ground before the class enemy. Women such as Chiang Ching, Krupskaya, Comrade Norah, Edith Lagos, Janet Talavera, and many others, have proved their unbreakable revolutionary morale. They are the best examples of how principles should be defended, even at the cost of their own lives.

In Peru there are many women who in midst of the People's War have given their lives, showing in practice

their revolutionary heroism. The women prisoners of war are a wonderful example of what it means to be a woman in these times.

As Lenin stated, victory is not possible without the participation of women in the revolution, because women constitute half of the world.

## **The Decrepit Peruvian State Generates Hunger and Homelessness for Women**

The major incorporation of women in the process of production, and the deep class struggle in the country necessarily raises the issue of political awareness of women as an indispensable part of the People's War.

Women, as an integral part of the oppressed classes find themselves ever more marginalized and humiliated by their oppressors. The ruling classes, to satisfy their greed for profit and power, deny women basic opportunities in society. Women are the main victims of the political and economic measures that hurt the broad popular masses. To survive and feed their children women are forced to sell their labor as workers, street vendors and domestic servants. Others, in the midst of poverty as part of the oppressed class, are forced into prostitution and petty crime. Below are few examples on how women feel in today's Peru:

Margarita is a mother, a widow with six children. She came to the capital Lima from Cusco six years ago. She works as a street vendor: "I can't get work anyplace because I have had to work with my children in my care. My older children work as vendors on the public buses. If they didn't how would we eat? We only have money to barely live." "Hunger and misery will end in our country when a new order is in place. In many settlements in Cusco, the military kills the peasants, that's why the guerrillas of the PCP kill those murderers. We, mothers as head of families, understand that the guerrillas fight for us, the poor and exploited and for a new country. It is important to join the struggle."

A textile worker told us that because of the poor economic situation of her family, she couldn't finish high school. She had to work in a factory to support her family. "I had to be at work from 7:30 AM to 3 PM, earning a miserable wage of \$2.00 a day and I came to understand how women as well as men are super-exploited by those miserable bureaucrats, who in the end profit from the fruits of our labor."

### **Bourgeois Laws Against Women**

The laws promulgated by various bourgeois governments in Peru, especially those by the reptilian Fujimori, are unfair to women. On paper they appear to protect

women, but in practice women are more exploited. Women make up only 26% of the economically active part of the population. They must work overtime and must retire when they reach 60. Supposedly they get a pre- and postnatal leave which has been restricted under Fujimori to one month. As a result, new legislation for women that touches some aspects of their conditions will only be seen with the advent of a new order in which women can be in equality of conditions with men. In the interim, the main task for women is to participate actively in the People's War that has been raging for over 14 years in our country.

### **Women: Half of the World**

Chairman Gonzalo bases his views on Mao's mass line of reaching out to the people. A major objective of this political line is the mobilizing and organizing of women.

In Peru, the different feminist organizations of the old state such as the secretariat for women's affairs of the General Labor Organization (CGTP), the Flora Tristán and Manuela Ramos groups among others, preach women's liberation, simply making some adjustments to this decrepit society. These organizations act as social cushions; at heart they have bourgeois and revisionist positions and serve as instruments of oppression and backwardness for women with the aim of pulling them off the path that the proletariat and people have traversed with the People's War.

The secretary of women's affairs of the CGTP says: "The grave economic situation that our country is facing is the result of the neo-liberal, pro-IMF politics of the Fujimori government. The anti-labor offensive and growing militarization, makes it ever more urgent that our people organize themselves against hunger, poverty and unemployment, and to struggle for life, work, wages, dignity and future. Let us reassess the work and the role of women, a fighter with her own voice within the process of social change."

A similar position is taken by feminist ladies, who in their role of traffickers, mercenaries and wheedlers, unleash a struggle restricted only to the feminist plane.

Oppressed women in Peru see that the problems they face, such as the lack of opportunities, misery, hunger and injustice, will disappear only by destroying the roots that generate them. Therefore, their emancipation is linked to the liberation of the proletariat and the people.

It is necessary for women to join in organizations of a new type, like the Popular Women's Movement (MFP) which has been generated by the proletariat. MFP raises, defends and applies Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought and assumes the political tasks that history demands. As Lenin said, "The success of the revolution depends on the degree to which women participate"; this is what thousands of women live up to in Peru today.

Source: *El Diario*, Lima - Peru

# Marxism and the Emancipation of Women

Marxism, the ideology of the working class, sees mankind as a group of social relations that vary in history and change as a function of the social development. Thus, Marxism is absolutely opposed to the thesis of "human nature" as an eternal reality, an immutable thing beyond the boundary of social conditions, a reactionary and idealist position. The Marxist position also implies the obsolescence of mechanical materialism (that of the old materialists before Marx and Engels) that were unable to comprehend the social and historical character of humanity as the transformer of reality, senselessly falling back on metaphysical or spiritual conceptions, as in the case of Feuerbach.

As Marxism considers man as a concrete reality historically generated by society, it does not accept the idea of "feminine nature", as this is no more than a complement to "human nature" and as such, reiterates that women's nature is eternal or immutable. Worse, as we will see, idealism and reaction understand "feminine nature" to be inferior or deficient by nature to that of men.

For Marxism, women, like men, are seen as a combination of social relations historically formed and changing as a function of the variations in society as it develops. Women are thus a social product and their transformation demands the transformation of society.

When Marxism focuses on the woman question it does so, by and large, from a dialectical materialist position and scientific conception that allows for complete understanding. In the study, investigation and understanding of women's conditions, Marxism treats the woman question in relationship to property, family and the state, since in the historical process the condition and position of women is intimately linked to these questions.

An extraordinary example of the concrete analysis of the woman question, from these points of view, are contained in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* by F. Engels, which noting the substitution of maternal right with paternal right as the beginning of the oppression of women, wrote: "Thus, as wealth increased, it gave on the one hand, a more important role in the family than women, and on the other hand give birth to the idea of taking advantage of this to change the order of inheritance of their sons for the better ... That revolution ---- one of the most profound that humanity has known ---- had no need to touch even one living member of the gen. All the members could continue being what they had been up to now. It was enough to simply say that in the future the descendants of a masculine member would stay in the gen, but those of a feminine member would leave, passing to the gen of her father. Thus the maternal affiliations and matriarchy were abolished, substituted by masculine affiliations and patriarchy. We

know nothing of what caused this revolution in the early civilizations, as it refers to prehistoric times ... *The overthrow of maternal right was the greatest historical defeat of the feminine sex in the world. Men took the reins in the household; women became denigrated, converted into servants, slaves to the lusts of men, a mere instrument of reproduction.*" (Our emphasis.)

This paragraph of Engel's lays down the fundamental thesis of Marxism on the woman question: the condition of women is perpetuated by property relations, in the form of property that is exercised over the means of production and in the productive relations that are built upon them. This Marxist thesis is very important because it shows how the oppression of women has as its root the formation, rise and development of property rights over the means of production and that as such, women's liberation is linked to the destruction of such rights. It is indispensable for a Marxist understanding of the woman question to start with this great thesis and today more than ever before when so-called revolutionaries and even self-proclaimed Marxists pretend that the oppression of women started not with the formation and rise of property, but simply with the division of labor between the sexes that would have given women less important work than men, reducing women to the domestic sphere. This position, in spite of all the propaganda to make it appear revolutionary, is little more than the substitution of the Marxist position on the emancipation of women with a bourgeois one, that in essence are new forms of the supposedly immutable "feminine nature."

Developing this materialist, dialectical point of view, Engels teaches us how on this basis the monogamous family was instituted, of which he says: "It was the first form of family that did not base itself on natural conditions, *but on economic ones, and concretely in the triumph of private property over primitive communal property, which originated spontaneously.*" And: "As such, *monogamy* does not appear in any way in history as a reconciliation between men and women, much less as the highest form of matrimony. On the contrary, *it enters in the lowly form as the enslavement of one sex by another*, like the proclamation of a conflict between the sexes, unknown up until then in prehistory." (*The Origin of...* our emphasis).

After establishing that private property sustains the monogamous family structure and that it sanctions the oppression of women, Engels established the correspondence of the three fundamental forms of marriage with the three great stages of human evolution: savagery and group marriages; barbarism and polygamy; and civilization and monogamy "with their complements, adultery and prostitution." Thus, the Marxist classics developed the thesis on the historically and socially variable condition of women

and their position in society, signaling as the feminine condition this intimate relationship with property, the family and the state, which is the mechanism that legally organizes those relationships and imposes them and sustains them by force.

This scientific position systematized by Engels is a product of Marxist analysis on the condition of women with respect to history, and the most basic study will clearly prove the truth and validity of this position. It forms the foundation and point of departure of the working class' understanding of the woman question.

Source: *El Diario*, Lima - Peru

## The Process Of Peruvian Society

"We must think with a historic perspective. Let's examine the history of Peru. We believe that the 18th Century was a very clear lesson. There was a common denominator. It was Spain and where did that bloodsucking domination bring us? To a very deep crisis. As a result, Peru was divided. From there comes the origins of today's Bolivia, that is a fact. The last century, English domination in the midst of its rivalry with France. Where did this take us? To another big crisis: the 70's of the last century. The war with Chile. We must not forget it. And what happened? We lost territory. Our nation suffers defeat despite the blood shed by heroes and the people. We must learn from this! The 20th Century. How are we doing? In the 20th Century we are dominated by imperialism, mainly US imperialism. This is real, everyone knows it. And where has this brought us? To the worst crisis of the entire history of the Peruvian people. What have we learned from the lessons of the past centuries? Once more, the nation is at risk. It can be easily lost, it can be dismembered or divided. That's the situation, that's where they have brought us. We have a fact, a Peruvian revolution, a people's war, and it is, and will continue to advance. Where have we gotten with this? To a strategic equilibrium...What have these 12 years served for? To plainly show before the world and the people of Peru, that the Peruvian state is a paper tiger, that it is rotten to the core."

Chairman Gonzalo, September 1992 (Speech from the cage).

Revolution can not be made without understanding the historic roots and without analyzing the specific historic events of a country. Our country has a long tradition and history. Twenty thousand years ago, men arrived to these lands in a very primitive way. In about 4-6 thousand years they began to develop agriculture and build basic

shelters to protect themselves from extreme weather conditions, and also they started wearing covers to protect their bodies. Eighteen thousand years later, we already had a very developed agriculture and became part of a great agrarian system. The community develops and the ayllu[1] starts to be forged. Then, a surplus is generated along with the creation of class differences, property and the State.

Approximately seven hundred years ago, the State begins to be developed. It expanded and as it grew, exploitation came into existence generating oppression. Thus, the people were divided between oppressors and oppressed. The ancient Peruvian culture Wari is an example when the Incan empire was formed. Inca Pachacutec brought more imperial order and reorganized the State, making it stronger. This show us that in ancient Peru there were nations that exploited others, where the existence of classes was evident, there were exploited and exploiters, but they didn't last in such a petrified kingdom.

**XVI Century.** Strange men came and disturbed the existing order. But it is not true that the people of the Americas fell on their knees. They have resisted and defended their self-made order of exploitation, but it was a rotten system. They sank when confronted by a deteriorated European order, but one that was militarily superior to the existing one. The rebellion of Manco Inca among others is the clear example of the resistance of our people to the European tyranny.

That is how a long process of feudal oppression and exploitation started. The peasants resisted and defended themselves. They were forcibly taken to the mines, and their blood was transformed into gold and silver for Europe. We view the development of capitalism in Europe as the product of the flesh and blood of our ancestors.

**XVIII Century.** After many centuries, many rebellions succeeded, especially the mobilization and uprisings of peasants led by Tupac Amaru, who mobilized 100,000 men. It shook up America, the system trembled. At the time, capitalism worldwide was in development and the emancipating spirit of the masses was temporarily suppressed. The rebellion initiated by Tupac Amaru was followed by uprisings in the cities, such as the uprising of Zela in Tacna and the guerrillas in Cangallo (Ayacucho), Yauyos among many others. Finally, the clash of great armies determined the future of our people in the battle of Ayacucho. That was the end of Spain's domination. However, the social classes were not eliminated, nor was the land problem resolved. The sovereignty of the new nation was not achieved.

**XIX Century.** Involves the transformation of the feudal order into a semi-feudal order, and from colony to semi-colony. We changed masters from some Europeans to others. From Spanish hands we passed into the English hands. The new exploiters were enthroned, they were more cruel and

sinister than the previous one, but the people, always the people rose up with strength, combating without truce in arduous class struggle. The ruling class took us to the war with Chile, territory is lost, leaving us in a great crisis.

**XX Century.** In the latter part of the XIX Century the new imperialist order, that of the United States, surged. It arrived early in these lands and established its domination in the 1920's. A new class emerges, the proletariat. Thus, the history of contemporary Peruvian society begins. Here we must view the three great weights (mountains) oppressing our people:

**Imperialism**, produced by the bourgeoisie, that is a plundering monster and oppressor of the world's peoples. For us, it is principally Yankee imperialism. That rotten giant with feet of mud, today heading the general counter-revolutionary offensive against Marxism and pretending to erect itself as hegemonic superpower. But it knows that it is an unburied corpse with an open tomb, the longer it lays around, the worse it smells, resisting to its burial by the proletariat.

**Bureaucratic Capitalism** now in its third stage of general crisis and maturing the conditions for the conquest of power by the people.

**Semi-feudalism**, which along with the other two is being destroyed from its deepest roots with our People's War, led by the PCP, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Party.

This is the heroic history of our people. A people who are always in struggle, rebelling against exploitation and the oppression of the dominant classes, resolutely accepting the heroic sacrifice of blood and lives needed for demolishing the old order and building a society of new democracy in a path toward socialism.

We reaffirm our democratic revolution as the true emancipation of the proletariat, of the people, of the oppressed classes, an unprecedented event in our country. It is not a second emancipation. If yesterday the leaders, the heroes who founded this republic, were persecuted, repressed and assassinated by the exploiting classes, today it can be no different, for such is their rotten plan, such is their law even if we do not want it so, such is genocidal politics.

## **People's War and Politics of the Old State**

The People's War is the continuation of class struggle in our country through armed struggle. It is the highest form of struggle and the best military theory of the proletariat. It is the invincible People's War, a real hope that is developing since its launching, victoriously inflicting powerful defeats to the police and armed forces, executors of genocides for the old state. People's War, which today in strategic equilibrium develops mobile warfare, pressing forward the preparations for the insurrection, preparing at the same time the

strategic offensive, in the course of the conquest of power in the whole country.

As a counter-measure, the old State is applying and developing a counter-revolutionary war, supported and guided by the world counter-revolution, headed and assisted by Yankee imperialism. It was so with Belaunde and Garcia Perez and today with Fujimori who continues adjusting it more to the criteria of the so-called low intensity warfare, realizing it through the police and the armed forces, applying their politics of genocide against the people and the People's War, employing as methods repression, incarceration, torture, rapes, assassinations, disappearances, mass graves, destruction of whole towns, plunders, thefts, etc.

According to the official data, the crimes of Fujimori surpassed the ones committed by the governments of Belaunde and Garcia. In his first 18 months in office 5,000 were assassinated, while the government of Belaunde killed 8,000 in five years.

In addition, there is the most brutal reduction in salaries and a neglect of the people's education and health, the most systematic negation of the rights and benefits conquered by the proletariat and the people, the continuous and growing repression of the masses, the introduction of mortgages and usury and the new concentration of land property, to plunder mainly the poor peasants. There is a profound recession of the Peruvian economy which sets back by decades the income of the masses, the destruction of the nation's productive system, the biggest sale of the country to imperialism, reaching the extreme in actually selling the Peruvian patrimony; violating individual rights, lacking all national spirit, the butcher Fujimori is a faithful servant of Yankee imperialism, who like Belaunde and Garcia Perez, continues the politics of genocide against the people and the People's War.

Part of Fujimori's politics is the policy of genocide against political detainees and prisoners of war. But let it be known to the entire world, those persecuted today are tomorrow's heroes, the ones who will hold high the torch of history. They are now in concentration camps where all their rights under the law are negated, confined to filthy jail cells, blackmailed and tortured to death if they do not submit themselves to "repentance" or "peace talks" with the criminal regime. They are savagely tortured, starting with psychological tortures, such as sham firing squads, and drowning in ponds of dirty water, electric shocks on the genitals, burnings, rapes through the introduction of objects (sticks, metal bars, even rifles) to both men and women, trying in vain to break their revolutionary morale and forcing them to sign self-incriminating confessions as "repentants," "capitulators," or "advocates of peace talks." These tortures are conducted in police and army installa-

tions, mainly at DINCOTE (a gestapo type police unit), as well as in military bases. Thereafter, the prisoners are transported to jails, true concentration camps, where they are deprived of food with the aim to systematically annihilate them through inhumane conditions (tuberculization).

In spite of the cowardly methods of the enemy, the majority of Prisoners of War never fell to their knees, rejected the trap of "peace talks", and continue to fight, mobilize and work to transform the sordid dungeons into Shining Trenches of Combat.

Why such rage against Prisoners of War? Because they are the best sons and daughters of the people, because they firmly carry forward the principles of the Party and the Revolution, because they are the concrete expression of "the masses make history" and "the rebellion is justified, it is right to rebel"; and today, their commitment is greater because the aim is the highest.

## Day of Heroic Resistance

The 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th of May mark a Historic Resistance, new political, military and moral triumph for Chairman Gonzalo, the Party and the Revolution, a new lasting sign of victory, a day of glory, example of what our heroic masses really are, our combatant people of the heroic detachment, communists, Marxists-Leninists-Maoists, Gonzalo Thought, with courage of steel, whom with their precious blood sealed their decision and commitment so many times reaffirmed, an example of not only living but also of dying heroically.

## PCP Demolishes Reactionary Tactic of Imperialism: "Peace Talks"

After the capture of Chairman Gonzalo, some believed that such an unfortunate event would deal a devastating blow to the People's War and that it would be an easy victory, a simple success. But shortly after their wishes were shattered by the relentless military and political actions of the combatants of the PCP, who with torrents of heroism, and upholding ideology, valor and courage, which smashed and defeated the reactionary plan of crushing the revolutionary struggle. Thus, the PCP is exposing with deeds the lies of the reactionaries before our people and the peoples of the world. The People's War has already weathered the worst of the repressive blow caused by the capture of Chairman Gonzalo and has made a bold recovery based on the strength of its forces, the heroic masses of Peru. How are Fujimori and his armed forces seen before the people? As they are: defeated executors of genocides. Cowards who are being defeated by the People's War countrywide, especially now in El Huallaga, cowards who only show their weakness and lack of morals when they torture and blackmail political

prisoners and their relatives in their futile attempt to split our indivisible PCP. Aren't they respectful of human rights?

This new campaign occurs within the major reactionary attempt of the old State to conduct its three counter-revolutionary tasks: reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism, restructure the old State and annihilate the People's War. We should examine this process and its background that brought us to this point; its decrees and laws from November '91, the coup d'etat in April 5, etc., all to give a legal framework and prepare the conditions to apply a major genocide against our people, against the People's War, and as part of this against political prisoners and Prisoners of War.

We must expose and fight the sinister campaign, in particular the mass media, these mercenaries paid by the reactionaries, servants and advocates of imperialism doing no more than spreading lies in defense of the exploiting classes.

In their impotence to stop the advance of the People's War in the battlefields, they seek to feed their rage by directing it against the unarmed masses, *those in their claws*, believing them to be weak, without rights, so as to obtain a phony triumph in their impotence to achieve a real one, to cover up their defeats and difficulties evolving from the April 5 coup. Why? Because it was painful for them to see such high demonstration of life organized collectively, with tenacious proletarian discipline in all aspects of prisoners' lives, not in order to suppress anyone, but in order to develop further everyone's faculties and possibilities. It was a defiant expression of our future People's Republic of Peru, along with the Open People's Committees and the Committees of People's Struggle in the cities, because it is the negation of the old and putrid State.

In sum, because of their politics of genocide, because such is the law of historic development, the path is concretely established in the definition of Strategic Equilibrium.

The PCP has been taught to fight with intelligence for a cause. What cause does Reaction have? None. What real benefit did Reaction obtain? A decisive political, military and moral defeat. **Politically**, the false claim of "triumph on terrorism," "Sendero is divided," their "respect for human rights" was shattered into pieces by their actions, left without dignity before the world, trampling their own declarations to international organizations of which the Peruvian State is a member. **Militarily**, the People's War is bold as ever, thousands of military actions across the country are the evidence, two significant and successful armed strikes in 1994, hundreds of attacks against military installations, the downing of helicopters in the Huallaga and Ayacucho, many armed general strikes in the central areas and the north of Peru (Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Apurimac,



Ancash, etc.) The enemy's countless weaponry such as tanks, helicopters, bazookas, rockets, explosives, large numbers of elite troops from the police and armed forces (army, navy, air force), and their attacks on unarmed civilians are being crushed with the fist of our class. The bullets are being silenced by the revolutionary voice of the people. The explosions are being contained with massive heroism. **Morally**, the vermin Fujimori and his armed forces are repudiated. PCP combatants were taught to defend their class morale, no matter how many of their leaders fall, to uphold the class morale. The enemy exaggerated the use of weaponry, but history shows that those using less sophisticated weapons have always won when armed with ideology and the political understanding of a Communist Party. Many combatants were cowardly assassinated in the prisons, with their morale high with fists raised high, holding hands, singing the class anthem.

All plans reflect an ideology. A reactionary ideology engenders a reactionary plan. It should be said clearly, the plans of the reactionaries are being defeated by an infinitely superior plan and ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought.

All the heroic struggles in Peru are being led by the Communist Party of Peru, and based on Gonzalo Thought arming their minds and hands following the example of our dear and always remembered comrades fallen in combat, giving their lives for the Party and the Revolution. Such exemplary lives will be with us forever in our minds and hearts. We will follow their luminous example. The precious blood is already making more fertile the paths of the Revolution.

Fujimori is responsible for the genocides in the prisons as well as his Council of Ministers, the Joint Command, the armed forces and the police, the Director of the Prison, Gabino Cajahuanca, the President of the Supreme Court, the Attorney General, (that pig crossed with hyena: Espichan), the leaders of the political parties, and the church hierarchy, the mass media, all who participate in the crimes against our people, especially against the prisoners of war. We reaffirm that these crimes will not remain unpunished. The People's War will crush these criminals.

### **People's War: The Strategic Equilibrium's Development and Perspectives**

During these last two years, the enemy is attempting to recover positions in order to maintain its system; while we construct the Conquest of Power. That is the people's task. The people undertake it and will do so even more with their own hands. The political definition is correct, certain and specific for the strategic equilibrium. It is not an idea outside the material process, it is part of it. It emerges from it as its perspective. It is part of the development of this

material process, it is the expression of the unstoppable movement of matter. There we see that a petty individual, a puppet who usurps the title of President of the Republic, pretending to stop the wheel of history, wanting to stop such an immense process of more than 15 thousand million years. It is his subjective wish. How ridiculous! What did he obtain from the genocides he committed? What was the result? Was he able to destroy the People's War? What did he achieve? In sum, by carrying out their greatest reactionary campaign against the people and the People's War, they have managed to fall even deeper into the trap. It is the payment for their destruction, the beast fatally wounded will resort to genocide.

Meanwhile our People's War develops, victoriously carrying out the agreements of the III Plenum, defending the life of our dear, heroic Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Party and the Revolution, a task that we firmly and resolutely undertake with the proletariat and the oppressed people of the world, forging and developing the powerful People's Army of Liberation and the People's Front of Liberation, constructing the conquest of Power in the whole country for the proletariat and the people as part of serving the World Proletarian Revolution. Our perspective is brilliant although the road is tortuous. There is no other class with the historic future of the proletariat. Nothing and nobody will stop us, not even their hooded judges nor life sentences, nor death sentences, not the cowardly cry of a handful of prisoners who under torture cry for "peace talks." Today the flag flies on a high summit. We make the commitment to raise it to a still higher peak. We will wipe imperialism off the face of this planet, together with revisionism and the world's reactionaries. It is our task to bury them, it is our task to march to the final objective, the golden and always bright Communism.

**LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!**

**IN DEFENSE OF THE LEADERSHIP AGAINST THE GENOCIDAL DICTATORSHIP!**

**GLORY TO THE FALLEN HEROES, LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION!**

**LONG LIVE MAOISM!**

**LONG LIVE THE XIV ANNIVERSARY OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR!**

**THE PEOPLE'S WAR WILL INEVITABLY TRIUMPH!**

*Note: This is an edited English translation of the document sent by Peruvian Peoples Aid (Comité de Socorro Popular del Peru.)*

# Newsbriefs From Peru

**May 05. Lima.** Army general Jaime Rios Arauco stated that he was only a scape goat of the Army's involvement in cocaine trafficking. He said the real culprits were transferred as military attaches abroad by General Nicolas Hermoza Rios. The new Army chief in Huallaga revealed that there were 10,000 flights with drugs from that zone annually. *La Republica*.

**June 1994, Lima.** Subversive actions continue through the entire country. The press can't report on them. In May, 112 subversive actions by the PCP were not reported by the national press. In June, the PCP carried out 115 subversive actions, this time our data includes press reports and information provided by DINCOTE. *Reporte Especial Desco* p.4-5.

**June 1994, Lima.** Desco reported that it has obtained a secret document from SIN (Peruvian CIA) that allegedly is from a handful of political prisoners calling for "peace accords." Item 5 of the letter states that the prisoners are seeking concessions from the government so that they can be allowed to fight better against the PCP. The advocates of "peace accords" hope that Dr. Guzman be allowed to meet the press. But analysts believe Fujimori will do it only before the elections. *[Note: In a coordinated action, the government's press will publish soon in Lima a communique from the IEC asking that Dr. Guzman be allowed to meet the press.]*

*Reporte Especial, Desco, p. 11.*

**June 01. Tarma.** PCP combatants took over the cities of Acobamba, Vilcabamba, Pircoy and Muruhuay. In Muruhuay, the people were looking for the priest Marlon Rivera suspected of being a police informant. Rivera and the police fled in panic. Desco.

**June 02. Huamanga-Ayacucho.** PCP cadres took over the main public market of the city. Merchants and public generously made contributions to the Armed Struggle. Desco.

**June 02. Victor Fajardo-Ayacucho.** PCP combatants captured the Governor of Racjaya, in the district of Apongo, Maximo Huaman Sanchez. He was a prominent figure in hundreds of crimes committed by the Army-run paramilitary peasant rondas. In a public meeting, the local people democratically chose his execution. Desco.

**June 02. Puno.** Due to the surge of PCP subversive activities, the government extended the state of emergency for 60 days in the provinces of Carabaya, Sandia and San Antonio de Putina. Desco.

**June 03. Pasco.** PCP combatants took over the villages of Pango and San Juan de Libertad, placed revolutionary murals and shouted, "Viva el Presidente Gonzalo." "Abajo la Dictadura Genocida Vendepatria!" Desco.

**June 03. Cangallo-Ayacucho.** The Army arrested the head of the Teacher's Union (SUTEP), Elmer Parado

Perez. He is being falsely accused of being a "terrorist." Desco.

**June 05. Trujillo.** PCP combatants attacked the Army base Juan Alfaro in Huanchaco. Desco.

**June 06. Huancasanos.** PCP combatants took over the state farm of Sacsamarca. A prominent member of the paramilitary ronda with hundreds of crimes and debts of blood, Nacimiento Garcia, was captured. Desco.

**June 06. Lima.** The police claimed that it has captured 4 Senderistas for distributing *El Diario. Expreso*.

**June 06. Lima.** Subversive materials were spread in at least 12 areas in metropolitan Lima. The documents read, "Unmask the reactionary trap of peace accords." Desco.

**June 06. Huancabamba.** The PCP called for two days (June 4-5) of armed strike in the entire province. The strike was successful. On June 10, 25 PCP combatants supported by hundreds of peasants of Huancabamba took over the farm known as Radiopampa. The abusive landowner and his police protection fled in panic. Desco.

**June 06. Lambayeque.** PCP supporters in Lambayeque electronically interfered radio "Naylamp" and PCP slogans were heard by listeners in the entire department, "Long Live the People's War," "In Defense of the Leadership, Against the Genocidal Dictatorship!"

**June 06. Santa.** PCP supporters throw an explosive into the house of Lt. Governor of Cascajal Bajo who was directly involved in death squads and counter-insurgency. Desco.

**June 06. Mariscal Caceres.** PCP combatants took over the villages of Capirona and Pajarillo. The Senderista contingent was made up by mostly women (15). Desco.

**June 06. Huallaga.** A PCP contingent attacked an Army patrol in Sancache. In Colpa another Army patrol was smashed; 7 soldiers were killed, the rest were freed after they had given up their weapons. Desco.

**June 09. Tocache.** PCP attacked the military garrison of Endepalma. Desco.

**June 06. Picota.** PCP took over the village of Jorge Chavez and spread subversive propaganda. Desco.

**June 06. San Martin.** The Army conducted raking (search and seizure) operations in the villages of 9 de Diciembre, La Merced, Gonzales Prada and Micaela Bastidas. Several civilians were murdered, hundreds were arrested and shown to the press as "repentant leaders of the PCP." Desco.

**June 09. Chanchamayo.** 20 PCP combatants took over the community of Alto Zotani.

**June 09. Ica.** PCP paintings appeared along the road of "Pampas de Ocas." "Free Chairman Gonzalo." "Viva la guerra popular, Abajo la Dictadura del Genocida Vendepa-

tria Fujimori, la guerra popular vencera inevitablemente!" Desco.

**June 09. Sucre-Ayacucho.** PCP combatants attacked the police garrison of Querobamba. Desco.

**June 11. Washington.** *The Washington Post* claimed that PCP leaders are hobbled, "Sendero Luminoso is strategically defeated." The imperialist paper give as its Peruvian sources the Yankee "priest" Gregory Chisolm, who works in Villa El Salvador, and Isabel Coral, a head of a NGO funded by the AID. The paper also informs that the US has asked Fujimori for the resignation of Peruvian Air Force (FAP) Commander José Naval Payva, and appoint instead Enrique Astete---the military attache in Washington. Fujimori readily complied with this request.

**June 12. San Martin, Huanuco, Amazonas** Due to the surge of subversive activities, the government extended the state of emergency in the entire department of Huanuco and San Martin. Desco.

**June 13. Trujillo.** PCP combatants took over the district of Sarin-Sanchez Cerro, distributed propaganda and waved red flags. Desco.

**June 13. Chanchamayo.** PCP combatants attacked the military garrison of Sanchirio-Palomar. The Army reported no losses. Desco.

**June 14. Huancayo.** PCP combatants blow up the municipal building where a government sponsored "XIX congress of University Students" (FEP-Patria Roja) was being held. Desco.

**June 14. Leoncio Prado.** A PCP column clashed with the Army in Tingo Maria. The Army reported that large quantities of ammunition were recovered from the "terrorists." Desco.

**June 14.** A PCP column clashed violently with the Army in the district of Shapaja. The Army reported 3 subversives dead, in another clash in Sacancha Monte, the Army reported to have captured two young wounded "subversives," Jose Guerrero Diaz and Willimas Coronado. Desco.

**June 15. Lima.** A group of combatants of the PCP attacked the military post at the University of San Martin. The police garrison was easily overran. Desco.

**June 16. New York.** Latin American Weekly Review reported that a meeting sponsored by SIN (Peruvian CIA) took place between Dr. Guzmán, Morote (the chief capitulator), and Felipe Tenorio Barbarán (he is being tortured at an Army garrison.)

**June 17. Barranca.** Red flags were posted in the housing complex of "El Porvenir." Desco.

**June 17. Huancayo.** The Mormon church was blown up by PCP cadres. This church was suspected of being a nest of foreign spies.

**June 17. Lima.** PCP combatants placed red flags on several buildings in Collique. One of them was the hospital

Sergio Bernales. The PCP launched bombs at the military attachments at San Marcos University. Also explosions were observed smashing Banco Continental in Jiron Dante, at Banco Wiese in Avenida Jose Grande. The PCP actions caused heavy material damage to their targets; casualties of civilians were carefully avoided. Desco.

**June 18. Lima.** Bombs were thrown by PCP combatants at AFP (police club), in Avenida Tupac Amaru. Another bomb went off at Banco Wiese of Tahuantinsuyo. Desco.

**June 18. Coronel Portillo.** PCP combatants clashed with navy forces in Chirimbal. Government sources claimed one dead in both sides. Another clash occurred in the hill of Cashiaco. The military claimed that a PCP meeting was sabotaged and that they captured the PCP "leaders" Jaguar and Henry.

**June 19. Bolognesi.** PCP combatants attacked the Army base of Pachapaqui in the district of Chiquian. According to Army sources, only two soldiers were eliminated. Desco.

**June 19. Huamanga.** A huge red flag is posted near the dam of Yanacocha along with red warnings to the Mayor of the district of Quinua. Desco.

**June 19. Arequipa.** PCP supporters posted large red flags in Centenario park of the shantytown of "Porvenir." The same happened in the high school "Ignacio Alvarez de Tomas." Desco.

**June 20. Lima.** PCP combatants attacked with rockets the police patrol in Avenida Proceres de la Independencia of San Juan de Lurigancho. Lima. Three members of Army hit squads were eliminated. That same day red flags were placed on several buildings in Motupe, including on the roof of churches. Desco.

**June 21. Chanchamayo.** A contingent of the PCP intercepted the civilian bus "Transmar" that was found filled with dozens of undercover police. The captain and an officer in charge of the operation were wounded. The PCP spared the lives of the others. Desco.

**June 22. Huamanga.** Army death squads operating in Ayacucho murdered the wife of university professor Fernando Ataucisi. She was murdered in her home. The Army claimed she was a "terrorist" sympathizer. Desco.

**June 24. Alto Amazonas.** Police forces and paramilitary rondas using tear gas and bullets ejected 32 families of the Ashaninka tribe from their homes. Desco.

**June 24.** PCP combatants took over the asparagus processing plant "Flores Esmeralda" in Supe. A vehicle was burned. Desco.

**June 26. Lima.** In several Army raking operations of homes in the shantytown of San Juan de Lurigancho, some base supporters of the peoples war may have been captured. DINCOTE alleged they were "top" members of the PCP. Desco.

**June 26. San Roman-Juliaca.** PCP cadres took over the pedagogical institute of Juliaca, spread propaganda to the supportive students who shouted slogans in support of the people's war. Printing equipment was confiscated. Desco.

**June 27. Tocache.** Army death squads assassinated Feliciano Ruiz, who was the president of the parent's association of the villages of Cesar Vallejo and Loma de Maronilla. Desco.

**June 28.** An Army patrol hurled a propelled grenade to the public at Jiron Jose Carlos Mariategui. The minor Graciela Ayala was killed. Desco. June 17. Cañete. Eight graves at the cemetery of San Vicente were painted red. That is the resting place of the bodies of 8 PCP combatants fallen in combat. The hammer and sickle and the initials P.C.P. were conspicuously engraved on them. Desco.

**July 02.** Simon Calder of the "Independent, Newspaper Publishing PLC," wrote that Maoist guerrillas in Peru had a "policy of killing foreign spies." More foreign "visitors" have perished in Peru in the 14 years of conflict than in Florida in the past year. The Maoist PCP "aims to shift Peru back to pre-Columbian society, a subsistence economy free of foreigners." [Note: Ignorant Calder misses the point since Florida is not at civil war, nor does the PCP attack foreigners. Yes, the PCP targets blood suckers such as Camdensus of the IMF or murderers such as British General Clutterbuck who are frequent visitors to Peru.]

**July 04. Ayacucho.** British counter-insurgency expert, General Richard Clutterbuck visited Peru to advise his Peruvian counterparts. Richard Bauer, *Swiss Review of World Affairs*.

**July 04. Aucayacu.** The Canadian priest Daniel Leblanc of the Toronto based Inter-Church Community in Latin America is a staunch anti-communist fighting the rebels in the area. Richard Bauer.

**Summer 1994. Washington.** Disgraced senderologist Gustavo Gorriti [8/94, *Covert Action* magazine] exposed the Montesinos-Fujimori-Hermeza regime as drug dealer and head of the death squads. These assertive accusations appeared first in *El Diario* of Lima in 1992. What moral right does Gorriti have to expose murderers like Montesinos? Gorriti, as an Israeli trained operative worked from 1982-1990 as advisor to the intelligence services of Peru (SIN). His record is no better than Montesinos'. His cover was to pose as "journalist of *Caretas*." To promote sworn enemies of the people (Perez de Cuellar, Generals Robles, Salinas and others) as an alternative to Fujimori does not serve the interest of the people. Only the people of Peru will judge and punish criminals like Fujimori, Montesinos, Garcia Perez and others. [Note: Our sources informed us that Montesinos and the government of Peru will sue *Covert Action*, unless the magazine reverses its position.]

**August 15. Sao Paolo.** The daily *The Folha De Sao Paolo* reported that a former captain of the Brazilian army, Benedito De Oliveira, has volunteered to fight with the rebels in Peru. He presumably is a fighter of the PCP.

**August 27. Lima. Interpress Service.** Fujimori's plan of defeating the Maoists of the PCP has failed. The government will scrap its law of repentance in November. Fujimori was counting on the peace overtures from some of the prisoners, allegedly led by Abimael Guzmán to sign a peace agreement and be reelected. But the Maoists outside have firm control of the organization, they had manifested: "The Maoist prisoners calling for peace are dead Maoists," they are separated from reality and therefore from the organization. According to DINCOTE (antiterrorist police), the "pacifists" were separated long time ago. Now, the subversives have a new directorate. DINCOTE assumes that is led by "Feliciano." The internal debate within the organization is over, and the hardline faction (red line) has won. DINCOTE also reported that in July the "terrorists" have come up with a campaign of 4 phases. The remaining 3 phases are: in September they will hit economic targets and selective executions of government collaborators. In October, the target is the transportation system, and in November they will resolve on what to do with the "capitulators." In July, SIN (Peruvian CIA), conducted a mandatory survey of all prisoners to find out how many supported the "peace talks," more than 50% rejected it and they openly recognize "Feliciano" as the leader. Fujimori suspended the negotiations. He got the "peace letters" from the prisoners and propaganda for his government and Guzmán got 100 of his followers released. [Note: *Interpress Service* is a news organization hostile to the PCP.]

**September, 10. Lima.** The teacher's strike of 9/7-9/8 was successful. The teacher's union SUTEP reported that 96% of teachers did not work. More than 300,000 teachers pressured their leadership to strike. The strike was against the meager salaries, privatization of the education and the release of hundreds of teachers who are political prisoners in the dungeons of Peru.

Several teachers were arrested accused of being supporters of the PCP. British Broadcasting Service.

**September 10. La Oroya.** More than 12,000 miners of the state Co. Centromin will carried out an indefinite strike beginning on September 19. The workers are against the privatizations, low wages, and massive layoffs, and the release of the miners who are political prisoners. The regime is using death squads and security forces to threaten participation in the strike. Reuters.

## Head of the IMF, Mitchell Camdensus is Back in Peru.

On August 25, the prominent bloodsucker of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was back in Peru. Heavily protected by army personnel, Mitchell Camdensus visited Ayacucho accompanied by the tyrant of Peru. They observed the developments of the IMF financed counter-insurgency plans and programs. Camdensus described the exploitation and oppression of the people who do not earn even subsistence wages in those projects as "government successes." He also labelled as a success the repayment of Peru's six billion dollars debt to foreign banks, at the expense of the hunger and misery of Peruvians. What are these "successes"?

- \* The deep recession, decline and destruction of national production.
- \* Unemployment and reduction of the real standard of living.
- \* Exorbitant taxes to raise funds and pay the foreign debt.
- \* Total neglect of people's health and education.
- \* Destruction of the peasant agrarian economy.
- \* Widespread torture, disappearances and killings of civilians and prisoners of war being committed with impunity by police and armed forces.

**Down with the imperialist tool I.M.F.!**

**For Land, Salary and National Production!**

**For People's Rights and People's War!**

**For the People's Republic of Peru!**

## Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru (Australia)

### Statement

We, the members and sympathizers of the CSRP in Australia, express our commitment to the victorious People's War in Peru, which is living proof of the vitality of the invincible and all-powerful Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology.

We are witnessing in Australia the counterrevolutionary role of the media controlled in the main by United States agencies, which tell lies and slander the heroic People's War in Peru and magnify the black role played by its Peruvian puppet, Alberto Fujimori.

These last months a group of renegades, overseas organizations and individuals, who previously supported the valuable Peruvian revolutionary process, are now playing a shameful and reactionary role. They are united with impe-

rialist and reactionary forces against the Peruvian Revolution, calling for a phony "peace agreement" to stop the Revolution's final victory. We will not tolerate their betrayal.

We know that this "peace agreement" is an old imperial trick, used by imperialist powers not only against victorious revolutionary movements, but also to deceive their own people. We reject this totally, as well as the fraudulent claim that the agreement was made by Chairman Gonzalo. Chairman Gonzalo deserves our respect and strong admiration. His teachings and persistent work in Peru have had repercussions throughout the world and furthered our understanding and comprehension about our revolutionary ideology. He clarified and reinforced Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. We cannot play with his name and his revolutionary stand.

We remember vividly this powerful revolutionary man, from his gaol on 12th September 1992, telling his comrades that the revolution in Peru should go ahead and that it inevitably will win. He also told us to work hard to build Communist Parties under Maoist leadership and be prepared for the great wave of the world revolution which is to come soon.

Inspired by our sisters and brothers in Peru, who are fighting in this victorious People's War, we are working in difficult conditions in this imperial Australian society, in order to build our Communist Party. This society, along with other imperialist powers, is facing many problems, which are the product of the general crisis in the capitalist world order. Nowadays, the demagogy of the traditional politicians does not work any more either at a national or international level. Their reactionary domination relies on the use of their fascist armed forces. Therefore we oppressed people around the world need urgently a Maoist party to crush this hated establishment.

From Australia, we send our revolutionary greetings to our heroic Peruvian comrades, who are fighting all over Peru, destroying the old and rotten state. They must understand that in this part of the world we are following closely and learning from their valuable experience. At the same time, we are working, campaigning and supporting them strongly.

The brilliant prospect of victory in the People's War in Peru is almost a reality, because after fourteen years our Peruvian comrades are close to taking power. It makes us proud to belong to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and apply the all-powerful and scientific Maoist ideology creatively to our reality. The world revolutionary movement and progressive forces have the urgent need and duty to support and to defend the People's War in Peru, because it belongs to us, the oppressed people of the world.

We are working closely with the IEC to save Chairman Gonzalo's life by continually protesting to fascist Fujimori about the conditions in which Chairman Gonzalo is living. We also protest on behalf of his incarcerated lawyers, political prisoners and prisoners of war and the people of Peru, at the same time working among Australian people and sympathetic political organizations to further our aims.

Finally, we call on all honest and sincere people around the world to be united in these testing times with the heroic People's War in Peru. We urge them to reject totally the lies and slanders against Chairman Gonzalo and the revolutionary war he leads. The world must know that the information about Chairman Gonzalo and the war is organized by the Yankee imperialists and all their cheap and miserable agents, both inside and outside Peru, to undermine the efforts of oppressed people everywhere.

**Long live the People's War in Peru!**

**Down with all counterrevolutionary agents!**

**Glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**

**Defend Chairman Gonzalo's life!**

**The People's War will inevitably win!**

## **Support For the People's War in the U.S. and Europe Continues to Grow:**

Events celebrating the Day of Heroism, the Second Anniversary of the Speech from the cage of Chairman Gonzalo and the reaffirmation in support of the December 1993 international directive against the counter-revolutionary slander "peace accords," were celebrated in several cities in the United States and Europe. On June 19, at the Community college of Passaic a talk and video film (speech from the cage) followed by a lively discussion and music on the people's war was successfully organized by the Peru's People Solidarity Committee of New Jersey. Copies of *El Diario*, *La Nueva Bandera* and leaflets were handed out to the public. Also, in July at the pro-zapatista and pro-Cuban rallies, a group of supporters of the people's war carried out agitation and propaganda, distributing hundreds of PCP leaflets, *El Diario* and *La Nueva Bandera*. In July 28, a day of unity action by the solidarity committees of the Northeastern region (New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania) was implemented during the Peruvian parade in New Jersey. About 4,000 people participated in the parade organized by the Peruvian community living in the U.S. Early in the morning, the main route of the parade (Main Street) had hundreds of posters placed conspicuously on the walls, they read as follows: "Long Live the 14th Anniversary of the People's War. PCP" Dozens of activists openly spread thou-

sands of leaflets and copies of *El Diario*, and held up a large banner: "Peruvian Brothers and Sisters: Let's Unite In Defense of our Leadership Against the Genocidal Dictatorship of Fujimori. Real Peace will be achieved only with the victory of the revolution. Honor and Glory to the People of Peru! PCP." Hundreds of Peruvians in the march applauded the activists. Many in the public made voluntary contributions. The members of the Peruvian government (embassy and consulates) present in the march were surrounded by body guards and security. They were scared and shocked. In the afternoon, the Consul of Peru in Paterson, drunk and with his body ridiculously wrapped with a red/white rag (trapo, flag) appeared with a police squad shouting "terrorists!" trying to seek the arrest of the pro-PCP Peruvian and American activists. By then it was too late, they all fled.

In the New England area a number of people are organizing in support of the People's War. The Peru Solidarity Committee of New England/IEC organized a film showing of *The People of Shining Path* and other videos in Boston. Approximately 30 people showed up and participated in a lively discussion. Another film showing is scheduled for September 27th at Roxbury Community College. Students at the University of Connecticut plan a similar film showing for the 29th. The Peru Solidarity Committee of Rhode Island organized a film showing on September 17th to inform people about events in Peru. Several people attended, and a discussion on the People's War followed. In many areas of the US people are learning about the People's War for the first time and are encouraged to organize support groups.

From London, we received the following announcement:

**In Commemoration of the Second Anniversary of the Speech given by Chairman Gonzalo from the Cage of the Fascist Tyrant Fujimori on 24 September, 1992.**

Committee Sol Peru, London invites the public to a conference:

### **"Fascism, the Old and the New, and the Revolutionary Tasks of the Proletariat"**

A synthesis of the historical developments of the 20th Century up to the situation in the Peruvian and world revolutions in the context of the current counter-revolutionary fascist offensive of imperialism against the peoples of the world. The question of the necessary revolutionary united front for the victory of the Peruvian and world revolutions. A reaffirmation of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary line against right wing capitulationist trends and 'left' deviations. The significance of the historical message of Chairman Gonzalo, the imprisoned Maoist leader of the People's War and of the Communist Party of Peru.

Sponsored by the Stalin Society of Great Britain

# The Voice of the People: Victory to the Revolution not Peace Accords

“In the hearts of the reactionaries there is a contradiction. Some seek to annihilate the revolution and others to disintegrate it from within, but both defend the system and are opposed to the revolution. They are two sides of the same coin.

In the face of the revolution, the reactionaries adopt a double tactic, armed repression and the offer of amnesty and isolation: capitulation. But, the focus of the two lines is rejecting or accepting capitulation.”  
Chairman Gonzalo

In the face of the victorious advance of the people’s war now developing into the strategic equilibrium, lead by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), Yankee imperialism, the great bourgeoisie and the big landlords represented in the government of Fujimori, have dictated Legislative Decree #748 which seeks to promote capitulation, denunciation and informing under the guise of repentance or of betraying Party leaders to DINCOTE (Peruvian FBI).

What does repentance mean? It is capitulation, dropping the banners of the revolution and raising the banners of counterrevolution; joining the ranks of the enemy, because the confessions of “repentance” will be used to create public opinion against the Party and revolution, to justify repression and the genocide against those who carry and will always raise high the banners of the revolution. Can a revolutionary or a person of goodwill bathe themselves in the blood of their own people? NO! Only traitors do this, they are only a handful that history condemns and detests.

Is it possible to sign for repentance and later keep struggling for the revolution? NO. This is the reasoning of revisionists and opportunists to justify their treachery and to drag the unwary behind themselves. As it has been said, the confessions of repentance will be used to create counterrevolutionary public opinion. Thus it is incompatible and antagonistic to ask this question precisely because what the revolution needs today is to create favorable public opinion to seize power nationwide.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought teaches us that the reactionaries use both hands or a double standard to combat the revolution: Armed repression and the offer of amnesty and enlistment. The first form we see on a daily basis in the genocides carried out by the armed forces and police, as they did in Barrios Altos, Lima, where they killed 17 people suspected of being involved in that neighborhood in actions supporting the revolution, also in the university La Cantuta and in many other places. Thus,

signing repentance is to admit that one has had ties with the Party; later the reactionaries use the other hand of armed repression and kills them. An example of this is the capitulation of M-19 in Colombia, which disarmed and capitulated only to be later killed by fascist death squads. Not even Carlos Pizarro León, one of the principal leaders and promoters of capitulation, escaped this fate. Look at El Salvador, what did capitulation brought to the people? Nothing. This is a living example of the application used by the then revisionist counterrevolutionaries based in Moscow and their agents in Latin America. Those treacherous actions developed in parallel with the campaign of imperialism against Marxism. Because of this, the people’s war carries out what Chairman Gonzalo has taught us: Fighting against capitulation is important because it is part of the struggle of the Party and the people in their efforts to adhere to Marxism, to fight revisionism and for staying on the revolutionary line.

On the other hand, the very reactionaries recognize that the leadership of our Party, our Central Committee is unyielding, thus their exclusion from this offer which seeks to divide leaders from base has failed. This is a foul dream they will never realize because we count on the great unanimity that the PCP Congress has given us, which is deeply rooted in the militants, combatants and masses who will give their lives for Chairman Gonzalo and the Party leadership, because leadership is key and we count on the just and correct leadership of the PCP, and our Party has known how to forge leadership corresponding to the revolution. Thus, this sinister plan will completely fail and will be reversed by our Party by unleashing a higher level of cohesion in the Party, People’s Guerrilla Army and the masses, empowering to higher levels in the people’s war that marches unstopably towards the seizure of power and communism.

**Long Live Chairman Gonzalo!**

**Honor and Glory to Comrade Norah!**

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

**Down with the Plan of Capitulation, Peace Accords!**

**Adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought and Combat Capitulation!**

Movimiento Popular Peru (MPP), August 1994.

# Gonzalo Thought: A Maoist Victory.

Now that social imperialism is gone, which was no less pernicious than the savage imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, it is time to debunk those obscure arguments that try to disconcert the masses by propagating the vulgar idea of Marxism's failure. And as such, the end of socialism and communism. This idea is appropriate for simple minds who because of the collapse of their own "cultural values" and the sinking of their desires accept the perpetuation of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

For the joy of humanity in general, and the people of Peru in particular, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist seed has germinated in Peru. Here there is an unstoppable force whose fertilizing roots make the hopeful eyes of the world turn towards our country, in whose cradle has also developed a fertile ideology from which has surged the Guiding Thought for the emancipation of humanity. The thoughts of a man, we believe, will open the path to a socialism of our times, as the preceding stage to the golden communist.

The Editors of *El Diario*, Lima

What appeared to be a historic retreat, is nothing more than the decisive end of a decrepit situation, which by persisting so long, has sharpened the contradictions. In today's world a pernicious system has surged under the name of "liberalism," "neo-liberalism" or "savage liberalism" as the current ruler in the Vatican has called it.

The cult of the divinity of the "free market" is nothing more than the death rattle of the beast which will die trapped and displaced by its own deformed creation. That is the design of all political regimes which are based on the exploitation and corruption of men and women, whether they call themselves imperialists, capitalist, liberal, neo-liberal, democratic pluralist regimes, etc.

Marxism is the science of the development of society, the science of proletarian revolution. As a science, it is not, nor could it be, stagnant. On the contrary, it is always in development. Marxism under Chairman Mao Tse-tung, has reached a new, third and higher level: Maoism. This sums up the revolutionary practice of the international communist movement of today's world. It formulates an a series of scientific thesis, which has enriched the theoretical treasury of Marxism and is influencing the orientation which the revolutionary peoples of the world should follow to conquer a true independence and a real freedom, persisting in socialism and in the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, Chairman Mao has given the international communist movement fresh experiences with which

to combat and prevent revisionism, to prevent the restoration of capitalism and to build socialism.

The deeds Chairman Mao has accomplished for the benefit of his people as well as for the international proletariat and the revolutionary peoples of the world are immortal. It is for that reason that he had captured love and respect of the world's revolutionary people. Upon Chairman Mao's death, there was a need for a new process to take forth his supreme cause, persisting in the taking the class struggle as a key and the plain adherence to the fundamental line of the Communist Party of China (CCP) and preserve the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## The Leadership of the Communist Party.

Also upon Chairman Mao's death, there was a need for a new leadership which would continue strengthening the unified direction of the Party, firmly defending the cohesion and unity of the party, tightly binding it in turn, to the Central Committee.

There was a need for a new development in order to reinforce the organizational and ideological construction of the party in the course of the struggle between two lines, and which was to be carried out with firmness under the the principle of triple integration of cadre: elderly cadres, middle aged and young cadres, according to the five requisites for the preparation of the continuation of the proletariat's revolutionary cause.

Upon Chairman Mao's death, there was a need for a guide and teacher to continue the consolidation of the great union of people of diverse nationalities led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance. To continue the consolidation and development of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution's victories, restrict bourgeois rights and each time consolidate even more the struggle to maintain the path under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Upon Chairman Mao's death, the new guide should take us to continue developing the three great revolutionary movements (the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation) and the building of socialism adhering to the principles of independence, arduous work, self determination, industriousness and thrift; putting all forces into play, determined to march forward and following the rules of quantity, speed, quality and economy.

Upon Chairman Mao's death, there was an undeniable need to resolutely apply the line of building the army, strengthening it and that of the popular militia, reinforcing the preparations to carry out the war, heightening vigilance and being ready at any moment to annihilate all enemies. Substituting the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie for the dictatorship of the proletariat; to defeat capitalism with socialism.



## Marxist Doctrine Reaches Higher Summits

Chairman Gonzalo has taken the torch left by Chairman Mao for the application of the ideology of the international proletariat (in its category of universal truth) to the genuine and concrete conditions of each revolutionary process, in this case Peru's. In the struggle, he has generated Gonzalo Thought, which is a philosophy and action at the same time, it constitutes the weapon which will take us to the conquest of power for the global proletariat. This is a Thought which today comes to be in another time and place, essentially, the creative application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the reality of this country (Peru), but taking into account the analysis and the evaluation of the specific conditions which the situation presents.

The development of Maoism in Gonzalo Thought is not seen by the fact that Chairman Gonzalo conceives Peruvian reality in the same manner that Chairman Mao conceived Chinese reality at that time, that is to say, a society oppressed and exploited by imperialism, by bureaucratic capitalism, as well as by semi-feudalism; but rather by the solution to the problems of revolution and its advance in history.

Marxism, in its global advance, in each one of its stages has generated a leader and each one has developed it even further. Thus, we had Leninism, then the contributions of Stalin followed by Mao Tse-tung Thought. These are doctrines which were forged throughout historic periods of intense struggle to apply Marxism to the reality of each country and during each era. Now, the world has Chairman Gonzalo, whose Thought develops those inherited from his immortal predecessors, above all chairman Mao who brought forward the organization of the power around the Party, which commands the gun.

From this starting point, Chairman Gonzalo has established the theory of the militarization of the communist parties to conquer and defend Power through people's war.

The principles of Gonzalo Thought constitute precepts for the theory and action of the Party which are basically the following:

1. Contradiction as a fundamental law, unique in the incessant transformation of eternal matter.
2. The masses make history and it is right to rebel ("rebellion is justified.")
3. Class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism.
4. Necessity of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party which will firmly apply independence, self determination and self reliance.
5. To implacably and unceasingly combat imperialism, revisionism and reaction.
6. Conquer and defend power with the people's war.
7. Militarization of the party and concentric construction of the three tools of the revolution.

8. Two line struggle as the driving force of party development.
9. Constant ideological transformation and always putting politics in command.
10. To serve the people and the global proletarian revolution.
11. A just and correct style of work.

The Communist Party of Peru is based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, mainly on Gonzalo Thought. It is worth saying that the proletarian ideology, understanding it as the highest expression of humanity, its scientific essence is, as such, true and irrefutable. It is in the general political line of the Communist Party of Peru which is the combination of these laws which control the class struggle for the seizure of power. This is the line that has been established by Chairman Gonzalo, and which encompasses five elements: 1) International Line; 2) Democratic Revolution; 3) Military Line; 4) Line for Building the Three Instruments of the Revolution (the Party, the highest organization, the Army, as the main form of organization and the Front as the Third instrument); 5) Mass line.

Chairman Gonzalo, inspired and forced by the realities which Chairman Mao was not able to encounter, has proposed the militarization of the Party and Communist Parties as a political directive and as a keynote for the democratic revolution, socialism and cultural revolutions. This is the Party of new type, from whose fertile heart has come forth Gonzalo Thought, guarantee of triumph of the Peruvian revolution. An ideology that was generated by the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Chairman Gonzalo. That's the ideology under which the PCP shall inevitably take the class and the people to communism.

It is opportune to recall that it was with Chairman Mao Tse-tung that the Party (or organism of the new type), the Party of the proletariat, which today characterizes itself as Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, was nourished on the fiber of the People's War, whose objective is the conquest of power; and once conquered, will defend it for the benefit of the proletariat and other oppressed. It is necessary to bear in mind that the fundamental of Maoism is Power. Power for the proletariat, Power based on an armed force directed by the Party. Chairman Gonzalo, retaking and developing the Thought of the founder of the PCP Mariategui, and the Thought of Chairman Mao has principally conceived for Peru a Communist Party dedicated to the struggle for the seizure of Power with the goal of installing the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will be followed through cultural revolutions to the conquest of the final goal: Communism. That is the reason for which the Party should and must absolutely lead everything. Everything, without any exceptions.

Without knowing the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, it is not possible to conceive or conceptualize Gonzalo Thought because it comes to be the creative application of that universal truth to the concrete conditions of the

Peruvian Revolution, which, like all revolutions, defines itself as being on the side of the poor. And poverty is scientifically organized by three requirements: ideology, people's war and Communist Party. Understanding poverty as "the most beautiful song of honor and dignity, it is never an insult."

## **Revolutionary Violence is the Essence Of Marxism**

The People's War is the application of the Party's command of the gun (and never the reverse) and whose materialization consists of the militarization of the Party as the vanguard of the armed masses.

Thus, the People's War is indispensable. "First a military action takes place, then political change occurs." It emphasizes Gonzalo Thought as the elevation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism towards a new and superior development in the struggle for the proletarian leadership of the revolution and the building of socialism in Peru and the world. Gonzalo Thought reaffirms itself in the law of revolutionary violence as a universal law and it takes the military theory of the proletariat as the most elevated of the class and applies it as the essence and substance of the process. We take into account that the political sense of "violence" is inseparable from "revolution." On its side, "revolution" is the violent action to obtain social change. From there it follows that "violence," whether it is the impetuous force unleashed against a reactionary force which resists and provokes it; is necessary for the victory of a revolutionary struggle.

In Peru there is no other option, nor is there any other path than that of revolution via violence. It is worth saying that after victory in our country the People's War will extend itself into the international arena to support the liberation of the entire world. By then, global revolutionary violence will have to defeat the global counterrevolutionary violence.

The truth is that today, on the horizon of this planet plagued by revisionism, opportunism and felonism, the only Party with revolutionary legitimacy shines in Peru. For this reason, the eyes of the exploited and oppressed of the world are turning towards our country, where the Communist Party today constitutes the only subject of hope and faith for the world revolution

## **Background to Understanding Gonzalo Thought**

To achieve full knowledge and implement Gonzalo Thought, three requirements must be met. First, a theoretical comprehension of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism. Second, a correct interpretation of history (applying historical materialism.) Third, a good management of the practice of politics. It is also important to understand the political directives and guidelines proposed

in function of strategy and tactic to achieve the three revolutionary stages: Democratic Revolution, Socialism and Communism. In today's Peru, by virtue of the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru, we are assisting in the development of the Democratic Revolution, having as its goal the conquest of power throughout the country. The general program of the Democratic Revolution is being currently implemented.

Source: *El Diario*, Lima - Peru

## **Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs): Buffers of the Old Order and Traffickers with the Needs of the People**

### **1. Class Character of the NGOs**

NGOs within the framework of the old state, are associations, centers or private institutions which carry out "non-profit" activities, as such, the economic base of the NGOs are part of the superstructure of our society.

As institutions created and protected by the decadent state, the NGOs serve only to defend the existing system of economic relations. It is a fact that virtually all NGOs collaborate with the dominant class through the government in place. NGOs contain and placate sectors of the population with the specific goal of winning them over to reformism and counterrevolution, and thus trying to contain and stop the advance of the People's War.

Our assessment is based on a document published by Peru's National Association of NGOs. It reads, "we are working at regional levels, supporting macroeconomic programs." They collaborate directly with the old State, unconditionally serving the government in its plans to reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism. The same document states: "It is necessary to determine where the role of the State ends and where the NGOs work begins. The NGOs cannot and should not do it all. Nor should the State. The equitable distribution of tasks is not a simple thing. No doubt it is indispensable." In despite, NGOs pretend to be the promoters of development, these above statements expose the reactionary class character of the NGOs before the people. The fact of the matter is that NGOs squander the foreign technical cooperation and aid with the support of the State in exchange for trying to put the population to sleep and attempt to isolate the people (too late) from the path of People's War led by their political vanguard, the PCP; which in perspective it is advancing in the conquest of power countrywide and it is currently evolving in the level of strategic equilibrium.

## 2. International Funding in exchange for Reactionary Tasks.

The influx of funds to the NGOs in Peru comes from other NGOs in the U.S., European social democracy, revisionism, and the World Bank among other financial sources. But these "grants" do not come without defined objectives. Quite to the contrary, they seek a direct economic benefit from these donations (to obtain new profits or to maintain their investments), at the same time to maintain and/or to change a political situation in accordance with their interests.

In Peru, the promoters and managers of these NGOs are in their majority the big wheels of the reactionary parties (Libertad, PPC, AP, APRA, SODE, CAMBIO 90, Nueva Mayoría, Perez de Cuellar, etc), the reformists and revisionists of all stripes (UDP, PUM, Unidad, PSR, Trotskytes, MDI, MAS, Patria Roja, Bolsheviks, etc.) to which must be added the sellers of happiness after life (Evangelicals, Catholics, Lutherans, Mormons, etc.). These politicians and clergy have been using funds provided by the International Technical Cooperation, ensured by the landowning-bureaucratic State through its inefficient and incapable National Planning Institute, which is the state organism charged with registering these private beneficiary institutions with external resources.

In exchange for contributing to the decadent State, NGOs have a green light in the distribution of funds in the manner that suits them best. This is how their executives, advisors and their associates are the highest paid in the country, including constant pleasure trips abroad under the pretext of attending international events, thus selling information, begging for more "aid" or seeking funding for some desktop investigation.

Are all NGOs' activities "non-profit"? No. In reality, they act like any commercial enterprise, obtaining fat profits and earnings which are wasted and enjoyed by few bosses and big wheels of the NGOs, leaving a minimal "utility" or "loss" which then becomes the liability of the institution.

Such is the level of corruption in the NGOs, and the notoriety with which they act with the funds they receive. For example, the pro-government daily *El Comercio* (page 2, Suplemento Dominical, 10/27/91) states with regard to the allocation of \$10 million dollars destined to Peru by the U.S. AID: "For million for the State, and the remaining 6 million dollars shall be for one single NGO. Then follows the manner in which it will use this money, which for us is not a small sum." It also states: "Therefore, they agree that these organizations don't impair their objectives and become simple instruments for a few to be able to receive high remunerations, much higher than they would normally receive in the public sector as well as in the private sector." This confirms how these resources are managed, how the

funds are distributed in the payment of salaries, criticism that comes from their own tips.

Another daily on October 13, 1991, states that AP congressman named Ruiz "... has officially requested that an investigative commission be formed to examine in depth the manner in which the hundreds of thousands of dollars which are annually received by the NGOs are used, every time they come working in areas which need help." "In some of these NGOs, their main goal is to pay elevated salaries to their members, which are based on the need for investigation, attention or study of national problems; they worry more about obtaining extremely high remunerations. It is said that there are currently salaries which surpass five thousand dollars a month."

For the masses, the fundamental problem is not in the management of the funds. It is to unmask their counter-revolutionary role, since they work for the international monopolies and the old reactionary state. They work against the future of the class and the people who are building the New State in Peru.

## 3. The NGOs and the Liberal Current

The leaders of the NGOs, like good charlatans, adjust their "analysis of categories" and their work according to the situation. Following their chameleon-like policy, they adapt themselves to the needs of their masters: The European Social Democracy, the U.S. and Canadian NGOs, the revisionists, AID, International Development Bank, IMF, The World Bank, etc. The businessmen of the NGOs have been worried because the liberal current is marking time for the imperialist powers, revisionists and European countries, who fear seeing cutbacks in their ample budgets originating in said countries. However, they have easily found new ways to stay afloat and to obtain financing from other sources as well as to finance themselves.

Because of this, they are implementing networks and consortiums of NGOs throughout the country. For example, the NGO-PRES Consortium, formed by DESCO, CIPA, ARARWA, CEDEP and CIPCA, recognized by the Dutch cooperative. In the same manner, like good "nonprofit" businessmen, they frequently go on business trips abroad. Such is the case initiated in 1990 by SURNOR which exports candied pecans to Belgium.

On the other hand, other NGOs are self financing and converting themselves into agents selling credits for the CCC, Continental and Weiss banks, granting loans with actual interest rates several points above those existing on the financial markets. In good measure, these institutions have not only converted themselves into public relation and credit agents for private and state banks, but they also extract profits from the small producers and merchants not subject to credit.

In the same manner, these institutions, like good defenders of the current system of exploitative relations, are adapt-

ing their strategies and actions to the reactionary policies which are being implemented by the genocidal Fujimori, such as the marches for peace in the poor neighborhoods (e.g., Villa El Salvador), marches for peace in the wealthy Miraflores barrio, the organization of counterrevolutionary urban patrols and the collaboration with information to the National Police and the Armed Forces.

#### 4. The NGO's Main Fields of Action

The NGOs find themselves spread throughout all sectors of society, in the economic base and the superstructure. In the economic base, the institutions which carry out technological research and development without taking into account property relations, the existing relations of exploitation and distribution merit attention. For the reactionaries, revisionists and reformists, property relations are not taken into account, rather what they are interested in analyzing is "what it is produced?" "how is it produced?" "who is the producer?" and "who owns the means of production?" Such is the case with the agrarian sector with the National Agrarian Organization (ONA), a refugee for the old landowners whose new front is now a NGO. Together with them are the providers of rural education (SER, INCA-GRO, CIPCA, IDEAS, etc.); the promoters of technology (PROTERRA, CIDER, RUNAMAQUI, SEPRICA, IAS, CAME, IDECO, etc.); the traffickers of Alpaca ranching (CEPIA, PROALPACA and others).

We also have the NGOs promoting "development" (GRADE, PROMCAD, INCIDES, MINKA, IPID, INIDES, CIPDEL), the open mouthpieces of the reactionary state such as the Liberty and Democracy Institute (De Soto, Advisor to Fujimori), Institute of Peruvian Studies (Ivan Degregori), Democratic Thought and Action, Support for Life, CEAPAZ, Love and Peace Association, the snitching "Force of Law," NGOs of Raul Gonzales and Carlos Tapia. There is also an NGO for the sanctuary of the bourgeoisie, the Exporters Association (ADE) and the Children of the Manager's Garden in the purest Yankee style, the Graduate School for Business Administration - ESAN, which receives donations and is the most expensive institution of higher education in the country.

In the university sphere, the Cayetano Heredia (medical school) and Pacific University, CEPRODEE, IINAP, ADEU, etc., shine as recipients of foreign resources. In communication and political organizations there are IPAL, TAREA, CALANDRIA and many others who publish magazines, own radio station, videos, mural papers in the universities and the management of various publishers. Special mention should be given to the NGOs which try to influence women through the Flora Tristan Women's Center, Arequipa Women's Center, ADIM, Peru-Mujer, and especially the Manuela Ramos Movement, which in the pure cartoonish Yankee style publish photo novels such as "Love in the

Shadows", seeking to dissuade women from the role they have to accomplish, trying to diminish and intimidate women's revolutionary conscience.

In the same manner, reactionaries, with the goal of neutralizing the shantytown dwellers, have established an NGO called Central House of the Young Towns Institute, vainly seeking to impede the population from joining, even in greater numbers, the Program of the Communist Party (PCP).

The Apristas and revisionists (patria roja, PUM), who, through CEDEP, CEPES, IDESI, ALTERNATIVA, CASI, traffic with the credit needs of small merchants and producers. In reality, it is estimated that there are more than three thousand organizations working throughout the country. Nevertheless, the problems of the old state have increased: hunger and unemployment gallop through the streets and factories, epidemics menace the population through the three regions and 23 departments, children are dying of malnutrition, education has become elitist, factory production has declined (factories and workshops continue to close), the judiciary is more corrupt each day, the police and armed forces are more demoralized each day, the tyrants CCD "parliamentarians" cannot even maintain their role as buffoons (nothing that they do can awaken the people's interest); Fujimori and his lackeys of executive power (ministers) have been exposed (even by the same wife of Fujimori) as bribe-takers and servile stocking suckers of imperialism, principally the U.S., without national dignity, deflowered by the Yankees. Faced with this panorama of injustice, the New State in construction rises up clean and shining, in whose Bases of Support life is crystalline, without pestilence, selfishness and most importantly without corruption. The glorious PCP leads the People's Republic of Peru in formation and its Central Committee is the center of its leadership. No NGOs or reactionary thesis or "investigation" will prevent the triumph of the revolution which is the only solution to all the ills that today plague the Peruvian people.

Source: *El Diario*, Lima - Peru

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