

**COLLECTED WORKS**  
**OF THE**  
**COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU**

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*Proletarians of all countries, unite!*



CHAIRMAN GONZALO

REST IN PEACE

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# CONCERNING THE TWO HILLS



Apart from the usual study and analysis to contribute to the debate on the problem: we must pay special attention to the facts that refer to the apparatuses where we work.

## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

### Quotations

“The second stage may be termed one of strategic stalemate. At the tail end of the first stage, the enemy will be forced to fix certain terminal points to his strategic offensive owing to his shortage of troops and our firm resistance, and upon reaching them he will stop his strategic offensive and enter the stage of safeguarding his occupied areas. In the second stage, the enemy will attempt to safeguard the occupied areas and to make them his own by the fraudulent method of setting up puppet governments, while plundering the Chinese people to the limit; but again he will be confronted with stubborn guerrilla warfare. Taking advantage of the fact that the enemy’s rear is unguarded, our guerrilla warfare will develop extensively in the first stage, and many base areas will be established, seriously threatening the enemy’s consolidation of the occupied areas, and so in the second stage there will still be widespread fighting. In this stage, our form of fighting will be primarily guerrilla warfare, supplemented by mobile warfare. China will still retain a large regular army, but she will find it difficult to launch the strategic counter-offensive immediately because, on the one hand, the enemy will adopt a strategically defensive position in the big cities and along the main lines of communication under his occupation and, on the other hand, China will not yet be adequately equipped technically. Except for the troops engaged in frontal defence against the enemy, our forces will be switched in large numbers to the enemy’s rear in comparatively dispersed dispositions, and, basing themselves on all the areas not actually occupied by the enemy and co-ordinating with the people’s local armed forces, they will launch extensive, fierce guerrilla warfare against enemy-occupied areas, keeping the enemy on the move as far as possible in order to destroy him in mobile warfare, as is now being done in Shansi Province. The fighting in the second stage will be ruthless, and the country will suffer serious devastation. But the guerrilla warfare will be successful, and if it is well conducted the

enemy may be able to retain only about one-third of his occupied territory, with the remaining two-thirds in our hands, and this will constitute a great defeat for the enemy and a great victory for China. By then the enemy-occupied territory as a whole will fall into three categories: first, the enemy base areas; second, our base areas for guerrilla warfare; and, third, the guerrilla areas contested by both sides. The duration of this stage will depend on the degree of change in the balance of forces between us and the enemy and on the changes in the international situation; generally speaking, we should be prepared to see this stage last a comparatively long time and to weather its hardships. It will be a very painful period for China; the two big problems will be economic difficulties and the disruptive activities of the traitors. The enemy will go all out to wreck China's united front, and the traitor organizations in all the occupied areas will merge into a so-called "unified government". Owing to the loss of big cities and the hardships of war, vacillating elements within our ranks will clamour for compromise, and pessimism will grow to a serious extent. Our tasks will then be to mobilize the whole people to unite as one man and carry on the war with unflinching perseverance, to broaden and consolidate the united front, sweep away all pessimism and ideas of compromise, promote the will to hard struggle and apply new wartime policies, and so to weather the hardships. In the second stage, we will have to call upon the whole country resolutely to maintain a united government, we will have to oppose splits and systematically improve fighting techniques, reform the armed forces, mobilize the entire people and prepare for the counter-offensive. The international situation will become still more unfavourable to Japan and the main international forces will incline towards giving more help to China [...] Widespread guerrilla warfare and the people's anti-Japanese movement will wear down this big Japanese force, greatly reducing it and also disintegrating its morale by stimulating the growth of homesickness, war-weariness and even anti-war sentiment. Though it would be wrong to say that Japan will achieve no results at all in her plunder of China, yet, being short of capital and harassed by guerrilla warfare, she cannot possibly achieve rapid or substantial results. This second stage will be the transitional stage of the entire war; it will be the most trying period but also the pivotal one. Whether China becomes an independent country or is reduced to a colony will be determined not by the retention or loss of the big cities in the first stage but by the extent to which the whole

nation exerts itself in the second. If we can persevere in the War of Resistance, in the united front and in the protracted war, China will in that stage gain the power to change from weakness to strength.”

“In the second stage, the above changes on both sides will continue to develop. While the situation cannot be predicted in detail, on the whole Japan will continue on the downgrade and China on the upgrade. For example, Japan’s military and financial resources will be seriously drained by China’s guerrilla warfare, popular discontent will grow in Japan, the morale of her troops will deteriorate further, and she will become more isolated internationally. As for China, she will make further progress in the political, military and cultural spheres and in the mobilization of the people; guerrilla warfare will develop further; there will be some new economic growth on the basis of the small industries and the widespread agriculture in the interior; international support will gradually increase; and the whole picture will be quite different from what it is now. This second stage may last quite a long time, during which there will be a great reversal in the balance of forces, with China gradually rising and Japan gradually declining. China will emerge from her inferior position, and Japan will lose her superior position; first the two countries will become evenly matched, and then their relative positions will be reversed. Thereupon, China will in general have completed her preparations for the strategic counter-offensive and will enter the stage of the counter-offensive and the expulsion of the enemy. It should be reiterated that the change from inferiority to superiority and the completion of preparations for the counter-offensive will involve three things, namely, an increase in China’s own strength, an increase in Japan’s difficulties, and an increase in international support; it is the combination of all these forces that will bring about China’s superiority and the completion of her preparations for the counter-offensive.”

“China moving from inferiority to parity and then to superiority, Japan moving from superiority to parity and then to inferiority; China moving from the defensive to stalemate and then to the counter-offensive, Japan moving from the offensive to the safeguarding of her gains and then to retreat [...]”

“At this point, the exponents of national subjugation and of compromise will again rush in and say: ‘To move from inferiority to parity China needs a military and economic power equal to Japan’s, and to move from parity to

superiority she will need a military and economic power greater than Japan's. But this is impossible, hence the above conclusions are not correct.'

[...] This is the so-called theory that 'weapons decide everything', which constitutes a mechanical approach to the question of war and a subjective and one-sided view. Our view is opposed to this; we see not only weapons but also people. Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. Military and economic power is necessarily wielded by people."

"People's War. Mass war led by the Party. Countryside is central to the People's War and its displacement to the city to conquer power throughout the country. Great leap in the incorporation of the masses into the People's War. To broadly and organizationally incorporate the masses, the people, into the People's War; key to the Conquest of Power throughout the country, especially for the insurrection, and for the defense of the People's Republic, Future Great Plan of Conquest."

"The protracted war and its three stages. The three specific stages of the protracted People's War in Peru. The strategic stalemate and preparation for the counteroffensive; the enemy, to recover positions to maintain its system; we, to prepare a strategic offensive through Constructing the Conquest of Power. Therefore, reaction is faced with the need to annihilate the People's War and the Party and the people, who Construct the Conquest of Power."

"The three stages of the revolutionary civil war have different characteristics from those of the war of anti-imperialist resistance; in the former, the strategic defensive is more prolonged, and goes from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare which is the main one."<sup>7</sup>

"Prolonged character derived from the correlation of three situations: 1) ours; 2) that of the enemy; and 3) the international. This last one is the one that today and in immediate perspective presents problems, but apart from the revolution expressing more concretely its condition of main tendency spurred by the counterrevolution itself, the main thing is to rely on our own forces and conquering power, to serve the development of the World

Revolution, to continue developing our own socialist revolution building socialism and dictatorship of the proletariat.”

“Encirclement and annihilation campaigns and counter-campaigns, main form. Through them, expanding and developing them, mainly maintaining the initiative we have reached the strategic stalemate. We have not had any great defeat, preparing ourselves so that this does not happen, but if it were to happen (which would require major direct or indirect action by Yankee imperialism), it would only be a partial and relative defeat within a perspective of development of the People’s War aimed against Yankee imperialism and its puppets, within national polarization and towards the Conquest of Power. Furthermore, the international situation and above all proletarian internationalism and the support of the peoples of the world will be expressed more broadly and decisively.”

### **POLITICAL SITUATION IN WHICH THE III CAMPAIGN UNFOLDS**

The international class struggle has confirmed the positions agreed upon at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum of the Central Committee. The new convergent offensive of imperialism and revisionism has unfolded and we have entered the general counter-revolutionary offensive at world level commanded by Yankee imperialism. Revisionism has passed from its general decomposition to its total bankruptcy; an irrefutable proof of this is the failed “putsch” of the fascist faction against the demo-bourgeois faction in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The policy of imperialism continues to develop areas of domination and redistribution of the world as evidenced by the Gulf War, the situation in Eastern Europe, the war in Yugoslavia and the apparent solution of old points through the United Nations (UN) such as Kampuchea, the Middle East and El Salvador. And the revolution as the main tendency in the world is lived with greater force in the torch in the People’s War of Peru, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought, demonstrating the validity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism. The class struggle in the country was characterized by the conjuncture of a year of a new reactionary government led by the cynical and crafty Fujimori, the most shamelessly pro-Yankee imperialist ruler to date. A government that was born highly discredited before the people and that in its first year in office acted within the framework of the application of the three tasks

that were presented as necessities to Peruvian reaction and imperialism: to give new impetus to bureaucratic capitalism, to annihilate the People's War and to restructure the old State.

In the first task it has revealed false successes, since inflation, despite the shock of 08.08.1990 and the measures of December 1990 and January 1991, with the corresponding change of Ministers of Economy has not been avoided; the recession has been maintained for the third consecutive year and particularly this year it has become more accentuated; a "low", fictitious price of the dollar has been maintained in order to pretend low inflation. The tonic has been to adjust to all International Monetary Foundation (IMF) demands, applying a plan that is internationally considered one of the toughest in the world. The social cost, recognized by the very economists of North American imperialism, has been extremely serious and, if yesterday there were 12% Peruvians living in poverty, today there are more and most of them are in critical poverty. Their stabilization plan has failed, and they need a new one, their "reinsertion" has been reduced to being declared eligible by their Yankee imperialist masters; the debt was not even minimally condoned, but refinanced to increase payments. Thus, 1992 will be a difficult year; the situation of the masses will be worse, the demands of imperialism greater. This apart from the fact that '91 did not mean to stop paying or receiving the much-trumpeted fresh money; for, to the few dollars that come in must be added more from where there are none to pay the part of the debt that corresponds: and, moreover, in '93 they will assume the heavy payments contracted. On the whole, inflation has not been kept at bay, the recession continues and deepens, and the "reinsertion" has not been completed; therefore, the desired stabilization has not been achieved and the economic reactivation is postponed even further. As a consequence, in the task of re-launching bureaucratic capitalism they have not achieved the objectives they set themselves, and the law of bureaucratic capitalism of maturing the conditions for the revolution is fulfilled; thus, in our case, the conditions for the conquest of power in the whole country are maturing.

The task of annihilating the People's War has not achieved either great or small successes. Meanwhile, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign has been fulfilled as a great, shocking and forceful expression; proof of this has been that the simple

diffusion of the greeting to the proletariat and the people for the great triumph of having entered the strategic stalemate generated immediate and great repercussions in Peruvian and world reaction, as evidenced by the debates in the Congress of Yankee imperialism itself, the cover page on the People's War in one of its magazines with a 6-page article, the denials and affirmations of the starving mercenary of Yankee imperialism Fujimori and his cronies, the Ministers of Defense, of the interior and of the president of the Joint Command of the genocidal Armed Forces and the expletives of the armed revisionism of the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) and of the worshippers of parliamentary cretinism like the Unified Mariáteguist Party (PUM); in addition to the growing garbage dump of "violentologists", "senderologists", etc., lackeys and plumíferos. Also the editorials and columns of the various reactionary newspapers and magazines, and of the unrepentant revisionists like Red Fatherland. Repercussion that in the proletariat and the people has been one of jubilation and satisfaction for such a transcendental people's triumph that demands their indeclinable decision to continue fighting for the conquest of power through the People's War.

Finally, with regard to the third task, the old State is marching towards its greatest reactionarization, there are systematic violations of its Constitution, norms and laws; rights and conquests of the proletariat and the people are being cut back. Fujimori, described as "authoritarian", has continued to subjugate the Legislature, exceeding the powers granted to legislate in specific matters as in the recent issuance of 126 legislative decrees, 23 of them against the People's War and most of them to transfer the State monopoly to the non-State, restrict the functions of the State and fire public employees; furthermore, these legislative decrees, like previous provisions, are part of the State restructuring. Fujimori has also introduced the legal sarcasm of amending laws through errata. His tonic is the olympic contempt for the Parliament and the Judiciary; but the response of the former has been mediatized, expressing deep group interests, abdicating more in the exercise of its functions of legislating, auditing, especially in what refers to the budget and national accounts, demonstrating the rottenness of the old State. His complementary municipal elections have been a resounding failure. Fujimori continues to rely more on the armed forces, on elements of the big comprador bourgeoisie and on direct servants of Yankee imperialism such

as Hernando de Soto, director of the Institute for Liberty and Democracy (ILD); and he continues his genocide and sinister policy of burning everything, stealing everything, and killing everyone. All these signs reveal the growing reactionary nature of the old Peruvian State; its bourgeois democracy is creaking and tottering, the fragility of the Peruvian State and its institutions is further proven. What is not yet defined is which group or faction of the big bourgeoisie will impose itself in the restructuring of the State, with advances being observed in the comprador bourgeoisie and fascist positions in Fujimori who is moving more towards absolute centralization and concrete absolutism of the Executive, more specifically presidential absolutism.

As for the situation of the masses, the masses-government contradiction has sharpened; learning from the People's War, they strengthen and elevate their struggles and continue to develop within the tendency towards revolutionary crisis, broadly joining the People's War.



## CHAPTER II. THE COUNTER-SUBVERSIVE WAR AND ITS ALLIES

### 1. THE COUNTER-SUBVERSIVE WAR

#### ABOUT STRATEGY

The “New Strategy”. Establishments by Fujimori and the Authorities.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum justly and correctly said:

“The ‘new strategy’ is totally false, they aim at a more developed counter-subversive war, that is, to wage it in all fields; without forgetting that of the four: psycho-social, economic, political and military, they will necessarily focus, and at the end of the day, on the military, hence we must keep in mind what was stated and ‘be vigilant so as not to be surprised’ and ‘be superior to the enemy’. The so-called pacification is part of the so-called low-intensity warfare of Yankee imperialism, hence the search for social participation and national agreement and legitimization.”

This forecast is accurate and arms us in the face of Fujimori’s counter-revolutionary actions. We are armed with Gonzalo Thought; while the cynical and crafty one is unarmed because he never imagined what it means to face a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought People’s War, even less so in its second stage of strategic stalemate on the way to the conquest of power throughout the country.,

What criteria are Fujimori developing? In the first place, he has protected the genocide committed around the ‘90s general elections, promoting impunity; he has neither denounced the perpetrators nor expressed his condemnation or asked for their sanction. Secondly, it has continued with the policy of genocide. Already in the balance of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Campaign of the Plan to Impulse and its extension we denounced part of the savage crimes committed by the Armed and Police Forces under Fujimori’s mandate which, as always, remain in impunity or are hidden by the same military and civilian authorities who commit them. The first thing we want to add here is how Fujimori’s own words confirm our affirmations:

“For 10 years the people of Peru have been suffering from subversive violence [...] more than 15.000 victims and damages for 17.000.000 dollars [...]”

He gave that figure when he took office. According to the Special Commission on Violence and Pacification of the Senate, up to September 1991: 23.196, we have that during the Fujimori administration, from July 1990 to September 1991, in a little more than a year, there were 3.761 deaths. Using the same source, the total number of deaths during García's five-year term was 9.660 and Belaúnde's was 8.103; compared to Fujimori's 3.761 in one year and 2 months, they show him to be far more genocidal than his predecessors. This apart from the fact that the figures of this organization presided by Bernaldes are based on information from the Ministry of Defense; however, their data says that the first year of García's term resulted in 1.268 deaths compared to the 3.761, how to qualify Fujimori?

The second fact that proves what we affirm is the fact that he endorsed that the Parliament not approve the genocide accusation against his predecessor and dear fellow Aprista; he gave the slogan to his party Cambio 90 so that it would vote for it. Thus Fujimori remains in Peruvian history as the one who allowed the genocide of the Shining Trenches of Combat of 1986 to go unpunished and as the protector of the demagogue and genocidal García Pérez. A third fact, in December 1990 he issued Supreme Decree No. 171 by which he protects the genocide and corruption of his Armed and Police Forces, since he converts all his crimes into crimes of function, therefore under the impunity of the military or police jurisdictions. Fourth, the public homage paid to the Armed and Police Forces in the message of his first year in office and, even more, the set of homages, cults and obeisances paid to the cowardly and genocidal Armed Forces, experts in defeats, despite being qualified as violators of human rights by international organizations. Fifth, not to investigate and rather to hide the Army document that the journalist Hildebrant presented on television, about how the Armed Forces, states that “the best terrorist is the dead one [...] to extend it to relatives and friends [...] to execute without leaving a trace”; a fact that has antecedents such as the exculpation of the genocidal Noel and what was said by General E.P. Monzon, former president of the Commanders of the Armed Forces

(CFA) in 1986, in the parliamentary commission that ventilated the genocide of García Pérez:

“The military action is combat action that inserted in the ‘anti-subversive strategy’, it is subtracted from the humanitarian law of war, and at the margin of the Geneva Convention, it legitimizes in genocidal conception the violent retaliation, the extrajudicial executions and the disregard of the human rights of the subversives and of the presumed subversives.”

Facts that prove the genocidal policy of the Peruvian Armed Forces in the fight against subversion since the first genocidal government of Belaúnde; but that, sinisterly hiding it, Fujimori, the new genocidal president, was satisfied with the cynical version of his Minister of Defense who said:

“It was a slip of an officer and does not reflect an institutional position.”

Sixth, the Presidential Directive on human rights approved by the Council of Ministers in September, issued precisely when the Yankee government was supposed to unblock its contribution to the counter-subversive war. The Directive extends the police function, so the National Police of Peru (PNP) interferes more in the judicial process, to see witnesses, evidence, etc. and:

“[...] coordinate with the judicial authorities the creation of specialized courts [...] to put penitentiary policy into practice.”

That is, to create a different and special judicial system, goodbye judicial power! It also creates a new penitentiary policy based on the dispersion of prisoners of war (to barracks?, concentration camps?) and isolation of prisoners; it proposes “intellectually trained judges”, that is to say, adequate to the President’s policy, who submit to his orders; it discriminates against those accused of terrorism and drug trafficking, giving full value to circumstantial evidence, a monstrous violation of bourgeois law, a complete change of criminal procedural law. And, finally, everything “[...] will depend directly on the President and his political responsibility reaches the president of the Council of Ministers [...]”; meaning that everything remains in the hands of the genocidal Fujimori.

Other proofs of his genocide in progress: the 540 deaths in the month of June, qualified by the reactionary newspapers themselves as “the bloodiest month”; or the denunciation by CEAPAZ (Center of Studies for Peace)

that "the Caceres Region leads in the political assassinations as well as disappearances". Here is the proclaimed "new tone" or that "the Armed Forces will no longer enter with rifles only but with picks and shovels". But the evidence does not end there, Peru was qualified for the third consecutive year as the main violator of human rights by international organizations. Finally, his genocidal acts, which we will describe below, prove conclusively that Fujimori is the greatest continuator of the policy of genocide and violation of so-called human rights.

On this basis, we will analyze his speeches to unravel what "new strategy" he applies, taking into account how devious and cynical he is, since one thing he says and another he does, apart from the fact that from one speech to another he contradicts himself, we start from the fact that, due to the responsibility of his function, he should have informed the country about the situation of the People's War and the counter-subversive action but, as always, reactionary regimes care nothing for the people and lack respect for their own institutions. In the May guidelines, during his electoral campaign, in his first message and in the report of his ex-premier Hurtado to Parliament, he put forward simple ideas and a so-called general pacification plan.

He began to speak of a "new strategy" as a result of the seizure of videos in February 1991, using the fact to hide his failures and divert the pressures of groups and factions of the big bourgeoisie on the economic problem, mainly. He proposed: "a new strategy based on intelligence", and that from now on they would no longer aim at repressing "downwards" but at the top, presenting an organizational chart which was a raid of the three instruments of the revolution. Intelligence, first, was nothing new, since it is a constant in every war, the two previous regimes used it and aimed at developing it. Second, the "successes" he celebrated derived from the action of the APRA government. Why then did he speak of intelligence as part of his "new strategy", to adjust to the plans of the "low-intensity warfare" of Yankee imperialism; for the Americans this war has a series of "non-military" components: intelligence, psychological operations, civil affairs and control of the population and resources, intelligence being the first of these and aiming, all four, to develop their military action; it is considered the foundation of all low intensity operations. Therefore, enhancing

intelligence is part of their low-intensity warfare, to which we counterpose raising our fight against the political police and higher clandestinity.

In March '91, at the Army headquarters in Lima, overwhelmed by the shocking beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign, he announced the final triumph over subversion based on intelligence, praising the genocidal Armed Forces: "They will be crushed [...] the enemy is identified, cornered and without arguments [...]"

A clear expression of his wishes and part of his meager campaign of psychological warfare; a verbiage to cheer himself up and raise the morale of the Armed Forces and police, since their operations were about to begin, and let us emphasize that we are not borrowing failed strategies like the one who badly repeats that of his imperialist masters, mainly Yankee. Furthermore, withdrawing his praise to the Armed Forces, he said:

"I am a witness [...] of the intense love that their actions inspire; [...] of their professionalism and preparation."

Apart from their public pact of mutual defense, he wants to make believe that they are respectful of the so-called human rights and that they are capable of handling the counter-subversive war, one of the demands of his boss Bush to give the economic "aid".

Within their low-intensity warfare, the Americans propose that the reactionary governments must introduce readjustments of various kinds, among them the modification of the conduct of the armed forces towards the population; let us remember what they say:

"The objective is fundamentally political, aimed at winning the minds and hearts of the people. One instrument is civic action, but another substantial one is the humanization of war."

It is within this that Fujimori moves, which is why he makes fanciful statements that do not correspond to reality:

"The initiative has been retaken and now it corresponds to consolidate the social initiative based on joint action, solidarity and identification between the Armed Forces and the civilian population."

He ends with another cynical statement:

“The whole country has confidence in its Army.”

With this, what he does is to give them more power, he endorses them, since he takes refuge in the genocidal Armed Forces bathed in the blood of the people, those that will never win neither the minds nor the hearts of the people because the people are witnesses of the monstrous and unpunished crimes they commit systematically, given the reactionary class character of the old landlord-bureaucratic State they support. And, if the objective of the low-intensity warfare is political, it is centered on the military; and if they propose “reforms” these are nothing but the three tasks of re-impulse, restructure and annihilate. The instrument of civic action in the hands of the Army and the Navy is minimal and formal, based on imperialist “aid”, mainly Yankee and through the International Development Agency (IDA), because the deep economic crisis, will also cut their means, and the “works” they intend will be for military purposes of counter-subversive warfare, using as always the free labor of the masses supported by some lackeys. This is why Fujimori has soldiers and marines working on highways, occupying towns, painting hospitals, intervening in universities, entering and occupying slums and helping to distribute food and medicine donated to other organizations. Thus, such “humanization” is impossible because their counter-subversive war is reactionary and unjust, and is only another imperialist condition for both their low-intensity warfare and their “reinsertion”.

As the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign develops further, he proclaims the Armed Forces, mainly the Army, “vanguard of the struggle for development and social justice”. This clashes with what he said in 1990: “not exclusively military solution” or with “it is predominantly the people who, with the support of the government, will fight subversion”. Worse still, if shortly after having spoken of a new strategy and new intelligence, we hear him say “with that same intelligence” and “only adjustments [...]” and in the face of growing criticism “I have explained the strategy in a message and I cannot give more details”, revealing another of his many inconsistencies. In the 1990 message he spoke of attacking structural causes by eliminating marginalization and injustice and of giving priority to the development of the convulsed Andean and jungle zones; but what are the development actions he has started? None. With a regime of exploitation, a nation will never be able to develop,

but rather grow against the interests of the people and with greater constraint of the productive forces.

Another orientation of Fujimori is to arm the *ronderos*. He says:

“The Armed Forces are providing them with defensive weapons [...] This is part of the change of defensive strategy. It is no longer only the police and the military but the entire population that fights against subversion [...]”

Or:

“We will win the internal struggle by having the population on our side [...]”

And he began his trips to hand out shotguns to the *ronderos* until on 28.09.91 he paraded them in the capital as part of the military parade and in his message he called them “*ronderos*, brave soldiers of civility, authentic army of democracy”.

Yankee imperialism in its low-intensity warfare conceives as a factor of this war the control of the population and resources, whose objective is to dismantle the infrastructure of support to the revolutionary movement and to avoid new adhesions to its cause. To achieve this, it combines intelligence actions, psychological operations, civil affairs and other measures of a military nature. The “pacification” projects contemplate incorporating these elements and aim to win the minds and hearts of the peasants, improve the villages and achieve economic and political security in them (underlined because it is the same word used by Fujimori on 28.09.90). It implies forced resettlement, formation of strategic hamlets and the obligatory incorporation of the people to the defense tasks through the constitution of civilian self-defense forces or patrols.

What is the experience of population and resource control in Peru? For the Peruvian reaction, the peasant patrols emerged as:

“Complementary alternatives to public security, organized in a peaceful, democratic and autonomous manner, under the protection of the law, that defend their property, their lands, their crops and their lives from social and political banditry.”

For them, they have become “firm allies of the Armed Forces and a barrier against terrorist actions” and “contribute to social peace”. The demagogue and genocidal García Pérez promulgated the law of “*rondas*” with the consent of the United Left (IU) and placed them under the control of the

Armed Forces and the Ministry of the Interior; but they are linked to the criteria of Velasco's Civil Defense; and furthermore, the genocidal Noel applied them when the army entered to fight us by disposition of Belaunde in 1983. Proof of this is the celebration, in April '91, of the "7<sup>th</sup> year of the Hatum Pampa peasant patrols" in Huayllay, province of Huamanga, when men, women and children paraded armed with weapons made by themselves, a ceremony presided over by General (EP) H. Martinez Aloja, chief of the Huamanga Front. Thus, there is nothing new about them, except that Fujimori is developing them within the criteria of "low-intensity warfare". Furthermore, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum already warned us that they would begin to develop their plan of mesnadas but in new conditions of 11 years of People's War, the peasant patrols are being formed as counter-revolutionary forces complementary to the Armed Forces, since these are insufficient to fight us; that the ronderos are called "soldiers of democracy", implies conceiving them as "people's forces of self-defense" based on natives organized according to their ethnic, social, religious, racial, etc. conditions, and part of the control of the population and resources, according to the theory of "low-intensity warfare" of Yankee imperialism.

It is from 1989 that they will infiltrate marines and soldiers, as they also did in 1983 before the first great bloodbath, and they will form companies of 50-100 men of false combatants of the People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) to discredit us before the masses; in the Center, the captured marines of the intelligence service confirmed it. They used the supposed division, set up an espionage network and dressed as civilians they razed and murdered the masses; in many points they forced at gunpoint to organize under their control on pain of being annihilated as subversives. They have also relied again on some graduates apart from lackeys, preferably rich peasants. The composition of these armed counter-subversive forces is, one part of black heads, infiltrators and lackeys, another of supporters and a third, the great majority, pressured masses. As Marx taught us, the reactionaries use the most backward part of the peasantry to counterpose masses against masses.

Again like yesterday, they used a soft hand with the services of the Catholic Church, the IU and the MRTA. They have also pressured with leaflets saying "if you want to plant you have to defend yourself against the terrucos" or denounce "the murderous terrucos", etc. And after the



genocide they handed out poisoned candies; in their so-called civic actions. But they have done all this in the face of fierce resistance from the masses, as evidenced by the 1.000 dead in the Center, the graves in Huanta, the bodies dropped by helicopters in Pucallpa, among others.

On the other hand, the arming of the peasant patrols has been promoted since mid-April 1991 when the Army delivered the first batch to the communities of the Central Highlands, in Upper and Lower Tulumayo, organized in patrols. The aggressive character of these reactionary armed organizations is concealed behind the word "self-defense"; but by their actions, they are offensive and bloody forces as demonstrated by the *ronderos* of Andamarca, in Junín, one of whose chiefs, a "peasant chief", handed over 14 heads of "Shining Path members" to the military Chief of the Mantaro Front, as reported in the Yankee magazine *Newsweek* of 26.08.91. Or the raids and mass killings in Huanta; or the actions of the *rondas* such as those of Quinua whose leaders are denounced for their barbarity by some reactionaries; or the raids unleashed by the *ronderos* of Apurímac, in the Yanachoc payment, district of Julcamarca, in Huancavelica, capturing and harassing wives of PGA members "whom they accuse of committing terrorist actions", as well as the capture of two "supposed Shining Path members". The constant denunciations before the Ayacucho Prosecutor's Office against the *ronderos* for their atrocities, further demonstrates their reactionary character, such as the murder of a child, in Miraflores, San Francisco, La Mar, or that of a merchant in Quimbiri, pretending, as usual, to blame the Communist Party of Peru (CPP), etc. All of these actions are propitiated or instigated by the Armed Forces because they have not only organized and trained them in their systematic genocidal policy, but also lead them to genocide under their command, complicity and cover-up. But, in addition to their constant patrols, incursions and persecutions, in many cases they act at the vanguard of the armed forces and police who act jointly in a 10-1 relation, receiving the main blow of the confrontations, they are, therefore, cannon fodder for the soldiers, marines and police who hide behind the *ronderos*. Other times they act alone without the "forces of order" arriving in time for a thousand and one excuses to "defend" them. All this, in addition to being led by known criminals such as the publicized commander Huayhuaco of the

Apurimac valley patrol, today imprisoned for murder, drug trafficking, robbery and abuse of authority.

As for weapons, their regulations stipulate the use of 12 or 16 gauge shotguns, shot by shot, they only give them to a few and the head of the patrol is responsible for the weapons that must be concentrated; the recommendations of "not using them to solve internal or inter-community problems" are constant. Fujimori's pretensions to develop an army complementary to the genocidal Armed Forces reveal: 1) The People's War is advancing; 2) they lack sufficient forces; 3) the ronderos continue to be cannon fodder; 4) they clash with the idea of humanizing the counter-subversive war by focusing on the military; and 5) it is part of the control of the population with resources from the Yankee strategy of "low-intensity warfare".

As for the strategic hamlets. In '83-'84 they made nuclei, which we penetrated and destroyed with actions from inside and from outside; concentrations that in themselves were already failed given the total change of habits, the subjugation, the prohibition to go out to sow and harvest alone, since they could only do it escorted by the soldiers. The tendency today is to decentralize and that the communities assume their productive work; they organize in the communities themselves civil defense committees or armed patrols, they provide them with a local person in charge who is the most lackey if not one of those trained for this type of work. The blowing up of settlements is nothing but the destruction of barracks of counterrevolutionary forces complementary to the regular forces; and the constant confrontations are armed clashes, they are combats with these militarily trained forces, it is not therefore the "massacre of peasants" that they accuse us of and propagandize.

These armed patrols developed by Fujimori's government have met with diverse responses, from the most high-flown support, as echoed by Senator Bernales, who proclaims: it is "correct to arm them in self-defense"; to the opposition of a part of the big bourgeoisie for considering them a violation of the Constitution, such as that of journalist Ricketts, to the shameful support of those who say "it is insufficient", such as that of S. Pedraglio of the IU. Or those of some hierarchs of the Catholic Church who fall into the simplicity of considering them a "show that does not solve anything", while

priests bless the weapons that the government gives to the ronderos; although lately they pronounce themselves against this armament, a hypocritical attitude since they argue that they are not prepared to carry them. Within this range we transcribe that of the journalist awarded by Yankee imperialism for his article "Terror in the Andes", published in the New York Times magazine:

"It is positive to arm the ronderos for self-defense [...] opposition to giving arms to the ronderos encloses a tone of racism and distrust of the popular peasant organizations, surprising above all if it comes from the left [...] I trust more in a farmer who defends his life's work [...]"

Just as he covers up the application of the Yankee strategy in the counter-subversive war in Peru, in this opinion he hides behind "people's peasant organizations" the spawn of counter-revolutionary forces complementary to the regular Armed Forces, because as a journalist, he knows that they are black heads, rich peasants, lackeys, and pressured middle and poor peasants. But, just as he says that it is an advance, he considers that at the same time it is a danger because we can reverse them or turn them into a vehicle for the transfer of weapons as happened in Vietnam, that is why he demands that this plan must be accompanied by an "aggressive, creative and comprehensive" internal defense strategy. Here we can see the role played by Peruvian reactionary journalists paid by imperialism to implement its counter-subversive war plans; they are active counter-revolutionary elements.

Finally, they have generated the proliferation of types of "rondas", thus Bishop Gurruchaga of Ancash organized the "rondas for peace" and welcomed in his diocese "combatant volunteers for peace" in Peru organized and directed by the Pope. In the same Chavin region were organized, according to the Prefect, "federated patrols" of the IU contrary to those formed by this authority, the "democratic patrols". But as the People's War developed throughout the country and expanded to the cities, in parliament they began to propose "urban patrols", at the proposal of the PPC, based on the concept of civil defense and self-defense, which they would coordinate with the PNP and the Public Prosecutor's Office. These urban patrols were applauded by the Minister of Defense who, according to the Express of 17.07.91 before 50 foreign correspondents, affirmed that if the citizens decided on their own initiative to form urban patrols, they would have the

support of the Armed Forces. Following this orientation of the Armed Forces, in Juliaca, (Puno) a graduate, Emilio Gonzalez Andia, formed "anti-terrorist brigades" with military discipline, uniform and authorization to operate thanks to a resolution granted by the Third Military Region with headquarters in Arequipa, which even exempted 4 young men from military service. In Lima, "capitulants" have appeared in several middle and upper class residential neighborhoods; in the human settlements, neighborhood patrols against subversion have been organized "spontaneously" and are seeking recognition from the Ministry of the Interior. However, there is fear that they may go beyond the limits of "self-defense" and exercise popular justice, and they are asking for a definition of their functions within the defense of the rule of law; they are conceived, therefore, as part of the control of the population and means for "national pacification".

But what is the result to date? Lately, the Institute of Peruvian Studies has held an event with representatives of the *ronderos* and has concluded that they are indeed "cannon fodder"; moreover, this opinion has been very significant:

"From the province of San Marcos to Cajabamba and all the surrounding river contour, the subversives have eliminated the peasant patrols."

This was expressed by the president of the Coordinating Committee of Peasant and Urban Patrols of the Northeastern Region of Marañón who also asked for government support to implement "authentic patrols". Some leaders say that they are growing and defeating subversion, but demanded more help, weapons and means of communication, radios to communicate; among these, the leaders of the *rondas* of the Apurimac River Valley, of Ayacucho and of the Tulumayo Valley and Upper Cunas, in Mantaro, stood out.

In summary, Fujimori understands by control of the population and resources, the formation of armed peasant patrols as part of the counterrevolutionary forces in the countryside and urban patrols with the same objectives, behind his false self-defense, violating his Constitution and further undermining his democratic order.

Another of the "advances" of his "new strategy" highlighted in the message of the first year of government is the intervention in the national universities, which is nothing but part of the control of the population and

resources and civic action to pretend that the Armed Forces serve the university development. This intervention violates the principles conquered with the blood of students and the people in general, such as university autonomy, which implies academic, economic and administrative autonomy that requires the inviolability of the university campus and co-government to guarantee freedom of thought, concretized in freedom of teaching, etc., according to the principles and conquests of the university reform, to which the most profound development of the popular struggle has added free education, linkage with the masses and serving the people in their emancipation. Fujimori, acting like an emperor, loaded in a litter by the genocidal Armed Forces, began to erase resplendent sickles and hammers, slogans and murals alluding to the People's War, clashing directly with the university students of San Marcos, La Cantuta, fleeing immediately frightened under the just rain of stones and agitations of student fighters. Everyone has seen it, the Fujimori aggression was repudiated and today we are winning the war of graffiti in the universities in spite of the desperate cries that impute us to be "infiltrated delinquents who violate university autonomy" and "control by terror". But he left his genocidal henchmen imprisoning, infiltrating, raping, controlling dormitories, checking books, closing student residences; and, under military occupation and curfew, he subdues the national universities under the command of the army and the police. What is being applied? Another resource of low-intensity warfare to win the minds and hearts", as the regulations of the Yankee Army state, but, on the contrary, it put on the agenda the "Defense of the university" and reaped repudiation and condemnation from the youth.

Linked to the need he has to legitimize himself, he strives to change the image of Peru, thus Fujimori declares to the Brazilian press: "To change the image of Peru in the world scenario is one of the main goals"; and his premier in Chile: "Terrorism has been exaggerated" a little. "President Fujimori has total control of the country"; also his marginalized vice-president, the evangelist García, in La Paz, Bolivia repeats "the Shining Path" is merely terrorist", and in Mexico: "The framework in which they fight in Peru is inhuman and bloody. They (the Shining Path) do not accept dialogue" precisely when they differentiated terrorism from subversion in order to promote dialogue with the armed revisionism of the MRTA after

their armed propaganda in Rioja. To the National Radio of Spain, before his tourist trip as an “image salesman”, by telephone:

“Peru will have achieved its pacification in 1995, before the end of my mandate [...] to confront in an integral manner [...] the Shining Path is not a guerrilla but criminals without ideology; [...] financed by drug trafficking [...] it is the hit man group of the drug traffickers.”

And while in Madrid he said:

“[...] in spite of the process of de-ideologization that the world is currently undergoing, in Peru there are still groups that, disconnected from the new world political currents and debased by their alliance with drug trafficking, as is the case of the Shining Path, dream of achieving what Pol Pot failed to do”; “it should be noted that these criminal actions are the cause of human rights violations, which we reject and are correcting [...] but it is necessary for Europe to know that the most atrocious human rights violations are caused by the Shining Path and MRTA terrorists, and what constitutes complicit silence is that the organizations that defend human rights have not denounced it [...]”. “They have also organized themselves here in Europe, they present themselves as an incredible revolutionary movement! How can they be revolutionaries who have no respect for life, who have fallen in love with death after so many years of walking with it?”

Likewise, one of their most faithful followers, Senator Bernales, upon his return from Geneva, said: “The European community has recently formed a clear idea against the Shining Path, which it considers the most cruel, the most violent, the most bloodthirsty of all those who practice terrorist methods in the world. The NGOs have begun a better handling of subversion information”. For this reason, Fujimori also describes us as the main obstacle to the economic development of the country, exonerating himself, his government, the Old State and his genocidal Armed Forces, and, with the same cynical, crafty and impotent tone in the face of the overwhelming advance of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign, he says that the first signs of an involuntary process are noticeable, that we would have gone back to the initial stages of crimes, savagery, etc. Vain dreams of the Peruvian reaction and part of the psychological campaigns aimed at discrediting us, and verbiage that otherwise qualifies him as genocidal and a traitor.

Lately, in November he has promulgated 126 legislative decrees, using the powers granted by the Parliament, in this regard he said:

“There is an authentic integral strategy against terrorism, which we have made known to the country through the last legislative decrees, they are part of a conception of the fight against terror, without any verticalism whatsoever. On the contrary, the national pacification plan that we have outlined is the result of the diverse social expressions of self-defense and organized participation of the Peruvian people.”

And he stressed:

“The union between military action and civic participation, because only in this way will we achieve a sense of national solidarity, the seed for the final triumph over terror.”

Adding:

“My government does not justify a single violation of human rights by the State, because I know very well the weapons of democracy.”

In December at the Military School of Chorrillos, he said that in order to eradicate terrorism he will carry out development actions in backward areas and thus overcome social and economic disparities; develop intelligence actions to locate the ringleaders and prevent actions; he stressed that “the Armed Forces together with the people are the only guarantee that this will be so” and that “the Armed Forces are the primary basis of national pacification”; and criticizing the increase in the budget of the Chamber of Deputies: “It must be made very clear that the combat against this social scourge (subversion) is not carried out in the legislative chambers but in the highest fields of the highlands [...]”. And to the Washington Post he declared that he expects his government to eradicate subversion before 1995.

In synthesis, protecting and continuing the genocide, the “new strategy” invoked by Fujimori and never explained, is based on praising and giving more power to the genocidal and corrupt Armed and Police Forces, based on them, mainly the former; developing intelligence and civic action activities; arming *ronderos* and pretending to organize them as counter-subversive forces complementary to the regular forces; seeking also to control the neighborhood and university population; aiming at changing

the image of Peru, charging us with “genocide” and “counter-subversive forces complementary to the regular forces”; to arm ronderos and pretend to organize them as counter-subversive forces complementary to the regular forces; to seek also to control the neighborhood and university population; to aim at changing the image of Peru, accusing us of “genocide and violation of human rights” and to qualify us as narco-terrorists in order to receive crumbs from imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism. All of which implies that he acts within the Yankee strategy of the so-called low-intensity warfare, aiming at a more developed counter-subversive war; criteria which, however, he applies only half-heartedly; he overvalues the military, undervalues the reactionary parties themselves and tries to subjugate the people’s organizations; he has not achieved to this day the agreement for the so-called pacification which he said was easy to achieve. The “legitimization” is reduced to respecting, in words, the proclaimed human rights and to a mere publicity campaign that conceals greater genocide; preparing conditions for a greater Yankee intervention with the objective of annihilating the People’s War.

Debate About Strategy and the Leadership of the War.

Chairman Mao teaches us:

“Yes. Systems of government in wartime may generally be divided into two kinds, as determined by the nature of the war — one kind is democratic centralism and the other absolute centralism. All wars in history may be divided into two kinds according to their nature: just wars and unjust wars. For instance, the Great War in Europe some 20 years ago was an unjust, imperialist war. The governments of the imperialist countries forced the people to fight for the interests of imperialism and thus went against the people’s interests, these circumstances necessitating a type of government such as the Lloyd George government in Britain. Lloyd George repressed the British people, forbidding them to speak against the imperialist war and banning organizations or assemblies that expressed popular opinion against the war; even though Parliament remained, it was merely the organ of a group of imperialists, a parliament which rubber-stamped the war budget. The absence of unity between the government and the people in a war gives rise to a government of absolute centralism with all centralism and no



democracy. But historically there have also been revolutionary wars, e.g., in France, Russia, and present-day Spain. In such wars the government does not fear popular disapproval, because the people are most willing to wage this kind of war; far from fearing the people, it endeavours to arouse them and encourages them to express their views so that they will actively participate in the war, because the government rests upon the people's voluntary support. China's war of national liberation has the full approval of the people and cannot be won without their participation; therefore democratic centralism becomes a necessity. In the Northern Expedition of 1926-27, too, the victories were achieved through democratic centralism. Thus it can be seen that when the aims of a war directly reflect the interests of the people, the more democratic the government, the more effectively can the war be prosecuted. Such a government need have no fear that the people will oppose the war; rather it should be worried lest the people remain inactive or indifferent to the war. The nature of a war determines the relationship between the government and the people — this is a law of history."

In the Preparatory Session of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum of the Central Committee, Chairman Gonzalo comments on this quotation, such comments are absolutely valid. It is within this framework that the debate on strategy and direction of the war unfolds in Peru. Some maintain that a counter-revolutionary war can be conducted with democracy, but they crash against reality, as we are seeing in the country, because a counter-revolutionary war can only be conducted with absolute centralization; and it implies impossible true unity between the people and the reactionary government, and that all institutions become more and more formal until they become a complete negation of bourgeois democracy. This is precisely the tendency expressed by the Fujimori government, which has continued the path of its predecessors, greater reactionarization of the Peruvian State and greater absolute centralization; and no matter how much democratic disguises and demagoguery it squanders, the Fujimori government is moving towards absolute centralization, expressed in a presidential absolutism based on more power for the Armed Forces. This path is the one that the imperialists are taking today in the reactionary regimes of the 3<sup>rd</sup> World to apply their "low-intensity warfare", promoting legislation on counter-subversive warfare in order to act within "legitimate" frameworks, even though these

laws sweep away their bourgeois-democratic principles, since the legal formality, the democratic appearance, is enough for them.

Others said there was no strategy (today they say it is incomplete). As we have seen, Fujimori spoke of a new strategy; the concrete thing is that, at bottom, it was a question of reformulating the counter-subversive strategy they were applying, drawing lessons from what had been done and giving greater participation to Yankee imperialism which is increasingly acting in the People's War in Peru. In synthesis, their problem today is to rethink the counter-subversive strategy within the criteria of the so-called low-intensity warfare, but adjusted to the situation of general crisis of bureaucratic capitalism and in the framework of a People's War which has entered into strategic stalemate.

In February 1991, Prime Minister Torres y Torres Lara informed parliament that what had been announced by former Prime Minister Hurtado would be created for the Ministry of Defense, the Unified Command for Pacification and the Operational Command for the Anti-Subversive Struggle, which would be presided over by President Fujimori, as well as the Council for Peace at the level of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and considered an "advisory support body". This means that the so-called new strategy required organic forms that would allow it to be applied. Fujimori wanted to control the strategy himself in order to give this control to the Armed Forces: he was not interested in this pacification body and the operative apparatus was to give more power to the genocidal military and to put himself above the political parties: his objective was to manage directly, to reach a national agreement but to personally direct the "pacification" process under the protection of the Armed Forces. Thus, a long and difficult debate on strategy and conduct of the counter-subversive war was generated; let us take a look at some of this debate.

Among the so-called Senderologists, the sociologist and verbal juggler, ignorant of the theory of the People's War and its specification in Peru. Raul Gonzales, as Fujimori's defender and lackey of the Armed Forces and Police, repeats his chant of "strategic defeat of the Shining Path" and welcomes the fact that Fujimori personally assumes the CUP (Unified Command of Pacification). A new Senderologist, the feathered defector Rospigliosi, disagrees that there is a new strategy and states that it is centered on the

military, ignoring political parties and civil, popular, regional, municipal, etc., organizations. Among those of the IU, Ames, the Pharisee follower of Gustavo Gutiérrez, demands a counter-subversive war at all levels, hence he states: "It is necessary to specify strategy", "the Shining Path will die by asphyxiation if the minimum needs of the population of the zones where it acts are attended"; he opposes the entry of the Armed Forces and Police into the zones where the Shining Path has gained ground, because "it would mean the razing of peasant communities", he says "we must improve the living conditions of the people", "to solve the problem of violence we make the State more authoritarian and repressive or we make it more democratic", he speaks of incorporating "social leaders of the population, mayor, governor, prefect, sub-prefect and the representatives of the regional governments". While the pseudo-theoretical careerist Degregori writes: "Since 1989, a more refined strategy of the armed forces has been observed [...] the blows against the Shining Path are more selective; we no longer see mass graves, for example, but we do see the disappeared."

Meanwhile, the Socialist Left (IS), in charge of the pacification proposal, through the creeping PUMist Tapia, proposes a political mobilization against the Shining Path and "District Committees for pacification and development", and calls for everyone to join Fujimori's tail to "fight the Shining Path's fascism"! Those who thus clamor are within the low-intensity warfare of Yankee imperialism and pretend to traffic with the mobilization of the people to develop it as a political aspect of the more developed counter-subversive war, they are all defenders of the old order, enemies of the revolution, of the construction of a new order; They are in favor of annihilating the People's War and their divergence with Fujimori is that opportunists and revisionists want to control the process to continue riding over the masses and benefit or sell their services more expensively; apart from the fact that some are opposed to the growing political weight of the Armed Forces, their fear of the coup and what they call the "militarization" of Peruvian society.

Among the parliamentarians, the senator of the Liberty Movement, now independent, Ferrero Costa, said: "Let us hope that the CUP does not remain in words and that once and for all the president assumes his duties." Another, Garcia Belaúnde (Popular Action), is of the criterion of first annihilating the People's War and then developing it; a criterion of

reducing it to the military, which Belaúnde applied mainly from 1980 to 1985.

Among the NGOs: The Legal Defense Institute (IDL), a non-governmental organization (NGO) that defends human rights at the service of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, said: "at last the CUP is born above the Armed Forces"; also: "Terrorism continues to grow [...] lack of a strategy capable of pacification [...] human rights violations continue [...] the counter-offensive (of the Armed Forces and the Public Forces) cost the Shining Path heavy casualties as well as detainees" and "to what extent are the norms that can be dictated by the Executive under the protection of legislative powers reliable"; as always serving the demands of their imperialist masters and acting as their soft hand, against Marxism and the People's War and defending and even criticizing the reactionary rulers when imperialism needs it. Colonel EP (r) José Bailetti, of the National Defense Research Institute (INIDEN), another NGO, says "there is no solid link with civil society", "there is no conquest of the minds and hearts of the people", a position clearly pro-Yankee strategy of "low-intensity warfare". According to the "expert" E. Obando, (magazine *What is to be done?* No. 72), there would be a plan of the Joint Command of the Armed Forces that "starts from the principle that there is a military war and a political war, and that the latter is the most important"; that the military war would be carried out by the Armed Forces and the Police, while the political war would be carried out by the powers of the State, regional and local governments and social organizations, comprising six aspects: 1) ideological; 2) intelligence; 3) strategies; 4) psychological warfare; 5) anti-subversive organizational warfare; and, 6) mass warfare that seeks to win over the population. But the article also predicts the failure of the plan for three reasons: there is no single command; there is a lack of war legislation; there is a lack of budget.

Among the retired military, General Jarama advocates for a strategy of low-intensity warfare managing the four aspects and giving priority to the political aspect. General EP(r) Cisneros Vizquerra said, "It worries me that Fujimori says 'armed wing of drug trafficking' and 'he is not in charge of the Operational Command'. Regarding pacification, he considers that it is necessary to provide wellbeing for society, fair and balanced democracy (that is, for those at the top): to reinforce civic education (his patriotic symbols of

exploitation); that the values of subversion must be destroyed; that the armed forces must be provided with the necessary resources and that their successes must be highlighted to generate confidence in the population (because logically they do not have it, nor will they ever have it).

Among the newspapers, *Express* and *The Republic* claimed "there is no unified leadership", and held a series of round tables on pacification, strategy and ways of conducting the war. Among the magazines, *Oiga* was the one that promoted the discussion aiming at an organic system to direct the counter-subversive war in the four planes, asking for an apparatus directed by a civilian who would manage the strategy 24 hours a day. The national journalism, headed by *The Commercial*, elaborated its pacification proposal and presented it to the government; a proposal that was not listened to either because Fujimori does and undoes on the margin of all his institutions, except for the Armed Forces.

In the background of these debates is expressed the unfailing tendency towards absolute centralization to direct the counter-subversive war and the need to develop it on the four levels with a single command, since they continue to act with dual command while the contradiction between the CPP and the reactionary Armed Forces is accentuated in perspective. However, the tendency towards absolute centralization clashes in the very heart of reaction with bourgeois-democratic positions which are against a management which overvalues the military and strive to maintain their bourgeois-democratic order, considering it a key instrument to counterpose it to the New State which the People's War is developing. This is part of the struggle of factions and groups of the big bourgeoisie and the landowners who, within the tendency towards a greater reactionary nature of the Peruvian State, develop the absolute centralization which today is concretized in Fujimori's presidential absolutism. Thus, the debate on strategy and direction continues within the need to develop its counter-subversive war at all levels and to have a single command, sharpening the contradiction between "military management or political management"; its tendency being absolute centralization and militaristic management of counter-subversion.

**“NARCO-TERRORISM” AND INTERNATIONAL “AID”.**

Another criterion he has spread is to insist on showing us as allies of drug trafficking in order to adjust to the need for an ever increasing participation of imperialism, mainly Yankee, hence he spreads: “With international aid we will fight subversion” or “gentlemen, the Shining Path has nothing to do with Socialism nor with any ideology, People’s China has nothing to do with the Shining Path, it is the right arm of drug trafficking” (meeting with journalists in the Palace, April ‘91). He uses Reagan’s term “narcoterrorism” and links it to international “aid”, a need that Bush has today to justify his intervention, it is the pretext before the American people and the peoples of the world. That is why he says to a weekly newspaper in Rome:

“The Americans realize that the Peruvian situation is very complex since it is not only a question of confronting drug trafficking but also terrorist groups that benefit from drug trafficking [...] neither I nor the United States want to make things worse with some kind of military intervention.” The last sentences are only a deception, because it is a question of adapting the Yankee intervention to the rethinking of its strategy of low-intensity warfare. Part of this policy is the signing of the Anti-Drug Agreement which is a Treaty of Yankee intervention under the guise of fighting drug trafficking: an agreement signed behind the back of the Parliament and the entire nation, harshly criticized for the benefits it will bring to the United States against Peru; and that they “develop” the coca growing areas, is another story as the failed experience in Bolivia proves; besides, the part of the “aid” for alternative development, for coca substitution, is minimal, no more than 1.900 dollars. It is, therefore, the height of cynicism that Fujimori has stated in the OAS in his last trip to the United States:

“We are convinced that with the support of the United States we will defeat drug trafficking [...] This is a true investment of the United States in defense of the world’s youth but also of democracy because today the greatest threat to it comes from terrorism.”

With these words he opens the way for Yankee intervention in Peru, “to save democracy”; to which D’Ornellas joined in his column in “Express”, pronouncing himself in favor of an indirect intervention by saying that if the Shining Path conquers power the neighboring countries would invade

it immediately. Part of this plan is his trip to Uchiza with Quainton and UN representatives to the coca growers' meeting, where he announced a decree on access of prosecutors to the barracks to see if there are any detainees.

Regarding human rights, Fujimori has moved between demonstrating that he and his armed and police forces respect them, and vociferating that we are the main violators of their human rights, even having to clash with international organizations, thus opening a new front of struggle. All in order to receive the coveted "aid" from Yankee imperialism.

As for us violating human rights. We start from the fact that we do not subscribe to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, nor to that of Costa Rica; but we do use its legal provisions to unmask and denounce the old Peruvian State, its institutions and organizations, its authorities, beginning with the head, officials and subordinates who violate them by denying their own international commitments. For us, human rights are contradictory to the rights of the people because we base ourselves on man as a social product, not on abstract man with innate rights. "Human rights" are nothing but the rights of man of the bourgeoisie, a position that was revolutionary in the face of feudalism; thus, liberty, equality and fraternity were advanced bourgeois criteria in the past. But today, since the emergence of the proletariat and more as a class organized in Communist Party, with experiences of triumphant revolutions, of construction of socialism, new democracy and dictatorship of the proletariat, it has been historically proven that human rights serve the oppressor and exploiting classes that lead the imperialist and landlord-bureaucratic States. Bourgeois States in general. Whereas, the rights of the people are the rights that the proletariat and the immense people's masses conquer with their own struggle and blood, and that they study them as guiding principles of the New State according to the interests of the classes that make up the people: the rights of the people are obligations and class rights, superior to the so-called human rights, at the service of the masses, mainly the poor, of the New State, of socialism and of the future Communism; rights of the people that only the People's Republic of Peru, in our case, will be able to guarantee, recognizing and above all protecting the right to life and health, the right to education, culture and development itself, the right to work and welfare, social and political rights

and, above all, the supreme right to conquer and exercise power, to transform the old existing order, oppressive and exploitative, and to build a New State and a New Society for the people and the proletariat. On the other hand, the non-compliance with their Constitution, laws and norms delegitimizes them; that is why it is not convenient for them to be shown that their State violates and does not satisfy the elementary needs of the citizens and, even more, it is propagated that such a State only serves to be overthrown. Finally, we reiterate, only under a New State that represents the interests of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie will it be possible to apply the rights of the people, the only rights that can really benefit the four classes of the people. These are our positions and no one has been able or will be able to refute them. Thus, we differentiate human rights from the rights of the people. Furthermore, we fight for the Old State to comply with the fundamental rights wrested by the people and embodied in its Constitution, laws and norms. Finally, we insist that Yankee imperialism within its “low intensity” war aims at “aiding” “legitimized” governments, hence the juggling that Fujimori is doing on human rights and the role of the NGOs that act in this field at the service of the same master.

Today, when Yankee policy is to impute alleged human rights violations to the guerrillas, the NGOs spread the word that the Party violates human rights; their members, well financed by imperialism, consciously serve their plans. The defense of the human rights of the bourgeoisie is the fashion imposed on them by their bosses; hence the multiple publications behind which they act as counterrevolutionary ideologues. These organizations are part of the prevailing order although they pretend to appear above the war; hence some ambiguous positions, basing themselves only on “official data”, accepting “denunciations” of the repressive forces, hiding rather than ignoring reality and infaming the People’s War, even accusing it of genocide. On the other hand, their denouncements and their dissociations with some actions of the government and the armed and police forces, raising human rights. They do so in order to seek the desired legitimization of the government and the development of the counterrevolutionary war of low intensity, according to the orientations of imperialism and for the defense of the subsistence of the dominant bourgeois-democratic order. As for the



rest, we have not found to date, among the NGOs, an organization that openly and courageously defends the rights of the poorest, much less advanced revolutionary positions; at most there are bourgeois humanitarianist positions, but the great majority are conscious or unconscious lackeys of imperialism.

Thus, Fujimori's *cantaleta* has only been to pretend a certificate of good conduct in order to obtain the economic "aid" derived from the "Anti-Drug Agreement". This apart from the fact that his so-called legitimization is reduced to declaring "respect for human rights" and "working for the people", in the most formal, cynical and demagogic manner of traditional Peruvian politics. In conclusion, while "fighting narcoterrorism provides just cause" and "moral basis" mainly to the Yankee and imperialist strategy in general; Fujimori, adjusting more and more to it, squanders devotion to human rights clamoring for international "aid".

#### **LEGISLATION, JUDICIARY AND COUNTER-SUBVERSIVE WAR.**

The third power of the State, the judiciary, also has to adjust to the conditions of internal war that the country is experiencing, to serve the "new strategy"; to submit to the demands of a more developed counter-subsubversive war and within the criteria of low-intensity warfare of Yankee imperialism. But, as in the other powers, struggles and factions are expressed, which fight between the defense and evolution of the bourgeois-democratic order and the tendency to a greater reactionarization of the State; thus, they march towards a greater reactionarization of the legal system, within the strengthening of the Executive as presidential absolutism in conflict with the definition of a fascism adjusted to the new actions of the class struggle in the world and in the country. At the level of justice, there is a dilemma between putting aside the laws and judicial procedures, taking measures and expeditious solutions of torture, disappearance and genocidal execution, on the one hand, and, on the other, the enactment of legal provisions that protect repression and genocide, as recently with the promulgation of the latest decree laws on the so-called pacification based on the Armed Forces. The role of justice will be even more a necessary complement to the military action mainly, and part of the political, economic and psychosocial actions

of the counter-subversive war; within these criteria the new Penal Code and the Penal Procedures Code have been given.

In Peru, states of exception, such as states of emergency, have become permanent states, covering 3/4 of the country, including the capital. Under Fujimori the state of emergency has been lifted, in the case of Huamanga for example, in order to pretend pacification; but the truth is that this is nothing more than propaganda for the imperialist tribunes, in Ayacucho the genocidal action of the armed forces, the police and the patrols does not cease. He also suspended them for a few days and imposed them again, as in Apurímac, Huanuco and San Martín, (from 24.07.1991 to 27.08.1991). In his message of 1991 he said that he was studying the lifting of the states of emergency in the Mantaro, Huallaga, Ucayali, Cuzco and Arequipa fronts. He was obviously concerned about maintaining a permanent state of emergency, since he wanted to comply with the demand of his imperialist masters to humanize the war, “observe the laws”, “neutralize the insurgent organization within the country’s legal system, scrupulously observing the constitutional dispositions related to rights and responsibilities”, as part of campaigns to give credibility and legitimacy to the government. In addition to this, there are provisions that violate its legal order such as the DS Oll-91-JUS by which the Armed Forces assume control of the prisons; it declares the prisons of Trujillo, Chiclayo, three in Lima, Ica, Iquitos, Huancayo, Cuzco and Arequipa in emergency, restructuring and rehabilitation; the Ministry of Defense, the Joint Command in coordination with the Ministry of the Interior and in its case with the INPE, assuming the Armed Forces the external and internal control of the same. Political objective: “to prevent the prisons from being schools of terrorism”, but in essence to prepare a plan for the annihilation and genocide of prisoners of war as his predecessor did. In addition, it is also part of the demands of the “low-intensity war” that proposes “to have the captives in good condition, good treatment”; for Fujimori the question is to appear to apply it, and he thinks that it is a great step that the Armed Forces enter the prisons to paint walls, to refurbish structures, to carry out civic action because that way they would control and execute the plan underway; it was not for nothing that they murdered four prisoners of war when they opposed the removal of paint from the murals, it was part of the rehearsal of his macabre genocide underway.

Within these aims of adjusting the legal system to the imperialist demands of the “low-intensity war”, we observe, especially, how from July to September a series of legal dispositions referring to the management of the counter-subversive war will be promulgated, legal baggage that would form part of Fujimori’s equipment to travel to the United States for an unofficial visit to meet with his master, the world’s biggest genocidal Bush, before whom he behaved like a good mercenary (so much so that a Yankee senator highlighted his salesmanship when he begged for Yankee “aid” not to be suspended and asked for his approval of the “reinsertion” plan). Thus we have: the National Council for Peace, on 31.07; the humanitarian law courses for prosecutors, on 14.07; the creation of human rights offices in the prefectures, on 05.08; the technical commissions to analyze the problem of displaced populations, on 08.08; the authorization of the Public Ministry for prosecutors to enter police stations and barracks, on 03.09; and, the Presidential Directive on human rights published on 13.09. Simultaneously, there was a symptomatic reduction in the number of complaints of human rights violations preceded, however, as the Peruvian people know and witness, by genocide and “civic action” by the Army. All these provisions clash with reality, on the one hand, and we will only see their application; but, on the other hand, they are part of the adjustments to combat the People’s War “having as a great framework the firm and unrestricted respect for human rights”, as Fujimori said in the Organization of American States (OAS), “with the law in hand”, just like the genocidal demagogue Garcéa Pérez. In this context, the 126 Decree Laws issued as part of the powers granted to him by the parliament, mainly the pacification decrees, should be placed in this context: in synthesis, they reflect the tendency of absolute centralization, expressed in Fujimori’s presidential absolutism and in granting more power to the Armed Forces.

In this struggle of groups and reactionary factions, there are those who say that the current laws are too permissive and do not serve to confront subversion legally; they even say that in every country where the legal system does not allow confronting subversion, the dirty war arises. Others, such as Archbishop Cipriani Thorne, spread recalcitrant positions, thus he proposes:

“Moralize the Judiciary, establish a trial system that allows the judge to act freely; clean up the police, casualties are not enough.”

And, the main thing:

“A new legal framework must be determined that precisely defines the legal situation of the places that are in the so-called ‘Emergency’ [...] The Legislative Power must study this absence of legality [...] mechanisms of legality compatible with the existing situations must be studied and established, but without suspending the civil authorities [...]”

“I have only pointed out some legal aspects that must be studied to overcome the deception of the so-called ‘emergency’ zones [...]”

“Any apology [...] exemplary punishment.”

“We are not in dialogue with terrorists, nor before a totalitarian State that oppresses its people. We are [...] before a band of assassins that destroys the freedom of the poorest and tries to destabilize the State through the rupture of its powers [...]”

This is how a “servant of God” and hierarch of the Catholic Church thinks; for some reason he works in Ayacucho, who qualifies us of generating “the greatest genocide of our history” (And the one Spain did when it conquered us with blood and fire and exterminated us supposedly so that we would redeem ourselves and adopt its Catholic religion?) or “the greatest violation of human rights in Latin America in this century” (And Pinochet the pro-Yankee fascist and very Catholic? And Argentina? And García Pérez? And Belaúnde?).

ILD criminal lawyer, Jose Carlos Ugaz, argues: for legislation to be efficient, subversion requires a democratic anti-subversive strategy, apart from considering the state of crisis of the Judicial Power; he considers that the administration of justice, in the case of internal war, is hindered by legislation that is not adapted to reality. He proposes an “Investigation Unit” which implies the union of the intelligence services and a change in the laws to speed up the processes of terrorism by eliminating the much invoked “lack of evidence”.

Attorney Daniel Espichan is the spearhead of imperialism and Peruvian reaction at the judicial level. He holds recalcitrant and anti-demoliberal positions in the law; he is in favor of cutting down to the maximum the

rights of those accused of terrorism, he demands more expeditious procedures and “that they be tried and sentenced once and for all”, he “proves” this need by giving figures, he says: in 11 years only 497 were sentenced with sentences ranging from two to 25 years in prison, while 4.395 were released without being convicted for “lack of evidence” or “failures in the drafting of police reports”; only 10% of those convicted, 90% were released, therefore Espichan argues that for lack of evidence should not release terrorism suspects; and he has a systematic aversion against judges who adjusting to the laws grant freedom to the accused, even after having praised them for their management. He is the most servile pawn of the Old State to launch himself against the freedom of democratic lawyers and accuse the Association of Democratic Lawyers as a facade of the Party, he acts as a vulgar informer and never proves his slanders; he is also one of the recalcitrant props of the denial of the right to defense and clamors for draconian legislation to combat subversion: which is nothing more than maintaining legality in appearance and in essence making a clean sweep of it, sweeping away all fundamental rights and liberties aiming at repressing and condemning the accused based on circumstantial evidence and even on mere suspicions.

On the contrary, there are those who maintain that when confronting an armed organization, the objective should not be to punish or repress but to neutralize the adversary; they think that the element of penal repression should not be overvalued and that it should not go beyond the framework of respect for human rights; that “the State should embody order and social values, moral superiority with respect to the citizenry and cannot respond to terror without losing consistency in the face of the problems that are submitted to it”, as the jurist Oscar Schiappa Pietra writes. But, these criteria collide with the world historical reality when claiming that it is possible to face the people’s war without fracturing the “democratic legitimacy”, even more, if they conclude that the whole legal and justice administration system must be modified, because, as the Constitution of 1979, they are made for peace times, according to what they affirm.

In addition, this government also systematically violates its constitutional order, laws and norms. Thus, in criminal matters, the intimidation of the

judge of Huanta, with a military raid on his home, for opening an investigation against a captain and a commander, responsible for the murder of journalist Bustíos. The denial by the Supreme Court of the habeas corpus filed in the case of the student Castillo Paez, imprisoned by the PN and then vilely murdered. The resignation of the General Prosecutor of the Supreme Council of Military Justice, Dr. Juan Carbonell, due to pressure in the face of a complaint filed against police chiefs responsible for the escape of an MRTA member. The formation of new paramilitary groups such as the so-called Operative Antiterrorist Group (GATO) that operates in the center of the country; and others known only for their sinister actions, such as the genocide of Barrios Altos in the capital of the republic. The constant persecution of lawyers who bravely defend those accused of terrorism; threatened, harassed and persecuted directly by Fujimori and the repressive forces, as well as OIGA, Expreso, etc., promoting their annihilation. Opposition to international organizations, such as the International Red Cross, carrying out their functions with prisoners of war, in defense of their lives. Concerted campaigns against the Association of Democratic Lawyers, denying them the right to defense, freedom of expression and organization, and harassment of its leaders, seeking to eliminate the Association. The repression and persecution of the relatives of the prisoners of war, hindering and preventing the support they give them, mainly the struggle for the defense of their constantly threatened lives. Finally, the sinister prison policy against the prisoners of war over whom a new genocide is in progress, apart from the daily treatment that violates the most elementary fundamental rights; to which is added the black campaign of newspapers and magazines that falsely claiming a supposed lack of police control in the prisons, in essence foment genocide in vile collusion with the government and the country-seller Fujimori.

Another problem, the death penalty is back on the table. Expreso took as a pretext the supposed words of the president of the Supreme Court invoking that this is how the country thinks, being denied by such authority; but having echo in some plumíferos as Rospigliosi, who maintains: instead of killing outside the law, it should be done within the law. In 1991, public opinion in favor of the death penalty has been re-emerged.

Thus, in a year and a half of government, Fujimori has criticized and ignored the Judicial Power; his violations of the Magna Carta are more habitual than ever, invalidating even more the legitimacy of the Old State; and in legislation, justice and counter-subversive warfare he gallops towards a greater reactionarization of bourgeois law, absolute centralization in legislative management is also expressed; and his fascist positions and presidential absolutism are observed, adjusting more to the demands of the “low-intensity war”.

**PACIFICATION ACCORDS. LEGISLATIVE DECREE ABOUT THE COUNCIL FOR PEACE.**

“With the birth of the mountains they begin to formalize the collusion for the so-called ‘pacification’; this is part of a broader plan and campaign that has been promoted, mainly since April (presentation of the Prime Minister in Congress and conversations with party representatives); and of which the MRTA is part (their activities in San Martín must be interpreted within what has been seen about their departure from Canto Grande; it is part of the same, although its concretion is greater as a plan and collusion). All in function of the so-called ‘integral strategy’ against the People’s War; to which Yankee imperialism is obviously linked and decisively, one of whose bases of action is the ‘Anti-Drug Agreement’.” (Chairman Gonzalo’s comments, May ‘91.)

Already since the Belaúndist government there were attempts to form peace organizations, but it was with the government of García Pérez when a Peace Commission was constituted, presided by Bishop Metzinger, who resigned due to the unfeasibility of the project; in June 1990, Law No. 25237 created the Peace Council, which never took place. On the other hand, revisionism has always sustained the criterion of “peace with social justice”; in 1983, Barrantes called for a march for peace and then pacification was also agitated. Until the current government on 31.07.1991 promulgated legislative decree 652 by which the Council for Peace was created. The ideas that guide them are to annihilate the people’s war to apply “development” that conjures away “social injustice”; in their bourgeois world outlook, they do not conceive of that the exploited classes rebel to oppose their system and proclaim total submission, at most and to cover up their false democracy

they allow discrepancies within the maintenance of the exploiting order. This basic position is what unites reactionaries, revisionists and imperialists in general. Moreover, at the international level, imperialism through mainly the two superpowers and of these the one that pretends to be the only hegemonic superpower, Yankee imperialism, especially, seeks to subjugate peoples and dominate the world proclaiming an “era of world peace”, “disarmament”; while incorporating international laws to justify the razing of nations and peoples, violating their independence and self-decision with cruel massacres as it did recently against the Arab people in Iraq. It is the Imperialists, the superpowers and the powers that raise the dialogue, chanting to end armed processes and conjure up the main tendency of the world to revolution. It is the mainly Catholic Church, which in the name of peace endorses the plans of imperialism and spreads subjection to the exploiters on Earth and “heaven” after death.

Fujimori, since his electoral campaign, pointed out that in matters of pacification it would be simple to agree, but from the moment he took office until July 31<sup>st</sup>, in contradiction with the Prime Minister, he put together his own plan and gave the Council for Peace a long time to wait, To the point that he met with the Armed and Police Forces to see the CUP and the corresponding Operative Command of the Anti-Subversive Struggle with the purpose of presiding over it and analyzing the situation of all the war fronts, a meeting that was attended even by the political-military chiefs of all the anti-subversive fronts, around the month of April. Once again we see their criterion of bypassing the so-called political or social organizations and relying on the genocidal Armed and Police Forces. And the leadership of the CUP, what happened? The premier, under pressure from the political parties, the Church, etc., convened “peace dialogues”, bringing together first 14 political parties, which reached quite general agreements, since the debates were blocking the march towards pacification. On 16.04.1991 they agreed that “the main objective of terrorist subversion is the destruction of the democratic regime”, “subversion exists not because there is hunger but because there are criminal groups”, “the need for an integral civil-military strategy, with a political command to defeat subversion with the least possible cost”; thus, the fundamental contradiction is whether the “integral



strategy” is in fact integral and whether it will be managed by the political parties or the Armed Forces.

In another meeting, in May, the parties signed a document expressing their willingness to conclude political agreement for national pacification; of the 14 parties neither the PUM nor the IU signed, only 12, namely: AP, ML, SODE, PPC, Frenatraca, IS, UCI, C.90, FIM, MAS, revisionist PC and PAP. The premier came out to say: ”There are coincidences to perfect and put into action the Council” and that in the next meeting they would analyze the proposal to be presented by the SI (Tapia). This shows how difficult it is for them to agree on pacification and how the political parties demand participation and direction in such a task. Signing an agreement was a ridiculous formal compliance to present a supposed success. Also in the first meetings, at Letts’ proposal, the Church was invited to participate in the Council. The point is that, in July the government, based on the attribution conferred by the parliament to legislate in matters of pacification, promulgated the Law of the Council for Peace; the birth of the Council was born in the midst of acute internal contradictions. The objectives of the Council are to present to the Executive Power a National Peace Plan and to contribute to its execution; to support national and regional efforts to strengthen citizen awareness of human rights; to support the Public Prosecutor’s Office in the defense of citizens’ rights; and to carry out all types of actions aimed at achieving peace in the country. It is integrated by a representative of all public or private organizations of businessmen, professionals, students, workers, religious associations, etc. The board of directors is integrated by the president of the Council for Peace and six representatives of the General Assembly elected by universal vote; it will last 3 years. According to the decree, the installation is convened by the Catholic Church or the president of the Council of Ministers. It is neither a state organism nor a Peace Commission and requires ”all the living forces to give it legitimacy”, some say. And its financing does not come from the State budget but from the support of the entities that make it up and from the foreign “aids” they manage.

But as they begin to march, what is revealed? more group struggles for hegemony; each party, institution or “people’s” organization has its own interests. The Catholic Church does not want to be used by anyone, least of all by the government to lead a crusade as a cover for genocide; it plays its

own plan "above the classes", that is why the Episcopal agreement was to send a representative but not to lead the Council and to convene it "for one and last time". However, in the first meeting, 12.10.1991, they could not reach an agreement either and the Council was left without a president, since they did not elect a president of the Council; in view of this impasse, the Catholic Church agreed to convene it again, without setting a date. Dammert Bellido, the president of the Episcopal Conference, said days before that it would be the last effort for the pacification of the country; in this hierarchy one sees eagerness to preside the Council and hegemonize it, but it clashes with agreements of his institution that insists on not leading and marching along its own rails and interests.

Others, about the Council, say:

"As long as there is this anti-subversive schizophrenia on the part of the government whereby the practical part of the problem is entrusted to the Ministry of Defense and political initiatives such as these are simultaneously but incommunicably encouraged, subversion will continue to advance"; "there is no unification of the anti-subversive struggle"; "everything seems to indicate that the government does not want to reach any positive result"; "I fear it will be useless"; "Who is going to bring together 60 members of different levels and types of institutions such as: professional associations, business organizations, unions, peasant organizations, political parties and all the churches?"; "Long and sterile discussions that will lead nowhere"; "It is a maneuver by the government to use the people's organizations to its own ends."

The decree law stipulates that within 50 days of its installation, the Council must present the Plan and the regional committees must present theirs within 120 days. If the first meeting generated a lack of acetyl, the November meeting, in parallel to the rash of decrees, was a failure, the presidency fell in the hands of Francisco Diez Canseco, questioned by all and a member of a ghost party. And so, the Council was constituted as a scarecrow managed by Fujimori through the secretary of Cambio 90, Reggiardo; its members are people without any popular representation.

In the speech given by the bishop of Cajamarca and president of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference, Dammert Bellido, when installing the Peace Council, we find the following criteria:

1. Justice and peace, the axis of class conciliation. He says:

“To the old and serious economic and social problems today has been added the scourge of political violence.”

He proposes not to combat the reactionary violence exercised by the Old State as a dictatorship of exploiting classes against the exploiters, and points against revolutionary violence. He adds:

“The absence of peace means death and destruction and our people demand life, respect for human rights and integral development. Because [...] we believe in democracy and civilized coexistence, we must commit ourselves to peace.”

He preaches the peace of the dead from hunger; in today's world 3/4 of humanity is plunged into hunger by the imperialist system: Asia, Africa and Latin America live in hunger and backwardness; and in Peru, 60.000 children under one year of age die annually because of the only dominant system, according to data from 1990, a figure that has obviously been higher due to the scourge of cholera. Compare this with the number of deaths, officially reported, in the war between revolution and counterrevolution in the country, in 10 years of People's War, 1/3 of the children under one year of age killed by the Peruvian State system in one year (this apart from the fact that the vast majority of those killed in 10 years of war are the product of the genocidal policy of the government and its repressive forces). Who murders children in the cradle? Fujimori and the Old State. Against the peace of the dead preached by the Church and Dammert, we raise the lasting peace of Communism, which is built with the weapons of the People's War, sweeping from the face of the Earth all systems of oppression and exploitation.

He speaks of “Destruction”. Who destroys the productive forces of a nation in formation like ours? Who forbids the peasantry to work the land that was theirs for generations, who condemns them to till the soil with instruments discarded by history hundreds of years ago? Who squeezes the proletariat to

the point of sucking its blood for a miserable salary? Who imposes that out of every 10 workers only one can do it properly? Who generates unemployment, the rising cost of living, terrible working conditions? Who generates the crisis that grinds the people and sweeps away the small and medium property? Who squanders our wealth for derisory payments, plundering the sea, sinking the countryside, closing mines, plundering jungles, drowning cities in misery? Who burdens the nation with huge debts, subjugating us even more? Semi-feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism; they are the destroyers, and the Peruvian State that represents them and with blood and fire defends them with the blessing of the Church. The Party, the People's War, the proletariat and the masses are the authentic builders of a true new world, which in the future will be a world without private property over the means of production, without class, without State. The kingdom of freedom! Today we, the Communist Party of Peru, the masses, the People's War, are building the New Power where those from below, the people, exercise power and rule in defense of their class interests, and we struggle unbendingly for the People's Republic of Peru.

That "the people demand life" is an artful half-truth. The people demand life without inequality; they do not want to simply survive or live however they can, and they prefer to die fighting than to die of hunger. "Respect for human rights", another falsehood; he demands and conquers the rights of the people with his struggle, with his blood, because nothing has ever been given to the proletariat, nothing has ever fallen from heaven; all his rights he conquers and defends in this way. Moreover, its rights are never equal to those of its bureaucratic capitalist exploiters, but opposed and different because they are two antagonistic classes. It invokes the so-called "integral development", thus concealing a system of exploitation and oppression. And behind "civilized coexistence" it hides class conciliation. This is, in essence, the class position of Bishop Dammert: defense of imperialism, of bureaucratic capitalism, of semi-feudalism, of what today is spread by Yankee imperialism and its lackey Fujimori. It is against the proletariat and the people; it wants pacification to preserve the old order, hence its fallacious slogan of "Peace and Justice".

2. The Church must command but without being used by anyone. He says:

“The Church cannot be involved in daily politics [...] but it seeks [...] to shed light [...] from the mission that is proper to it [...] announcing the values of the Gospel that Jesus, the Master of Peace, gave it.”

As always hypocritical and sinuous, the Catholic Church says it does not want to but wants to command; it pretends to be the great light above all and under the command of no one, to act more freely according to its global interests within the world struggle of imperialist Power.

3. To annihilate the People’s War and to serve the other two tasks. He points directly against us as the main target, he says:

“Imposition of death, blackmail, kidnapping, attack, by terrorist groups is one of the main obstacles to achieve peace. These groups not only violate human rights and the national laws that protect them, but also transgress international humanitarian law, the very international laws of war that prohibit attacking the civilian population”; “to call on these groups to lay down their arms, to dare to have the courage to win with reason and through democratic channels and not with imposition and terror.” “In order to succeed in adding all Peruvians to the task of peace, they must feel that this is their State, they must feel protected — and not attacked — by that State” This is all he criticizes the Old State for.

4. “My proposals.” He puts forward his plan to impose his conditions: 1) “Campaign of education for peace and against war”, with the children, the youth, the family; using teachers, social organizations, the Armed and Police Forces, the mass media, associations of businessmen, workers, peasants, women, peasants. 2) “To promote an economic policy that overcomes misery and hunger”, is to support the first task of reaction: to reimpulse bureaucratic capitalism. 3) Ways to bring the State closer to society, is to restructure the Old State, third task. 4) Open ways for national dialogue, listen and especially organize the simple people and promote the participation of people’s organizations, is part of the plan to mobilize the masses to march to the tail of reaction, to use them for the three tasks: is to traffic with hunger and make them sell out for a crust of bread, go against their class interests The most sinister use of the hunger of the people!

5) "The Council deserves respect and preferential attention by all the powers of the State". And he calls on all political parties and organizations to support it because the State has no money to attend to its functions as such; that the people themselves contribute with their efforts, with their miseries, with their hunger and with their blood to continue being exploited and so that the exploitation and oppression to which they are subjected is not so notorious, for that they promote subsistence plans Vile desires of the supporters of the Old State!

He ends by putting the patch, before it fails: "Peruvians see with hope but also with certain and well-founded skepticism, since there are already several frustrated attempts to reach peace", "a difficult and demanding path". In reality, it sees the perspective of the Council for Peace, a reactionary creation to annihilate the people's war in the first place and to divert the masses from their real path of transformation and change, as black, and it expresses it. But, subsequently, the Church has reiterated its agreement, changed its representative and reiterated its support for the Council. This takes nothing away from its approach because it will guide its own plan. (The subtitles are our interpretations of their headings).

In summary, they have not achieved the agreement they said it would be easy to reach in terms of pacification, the Council for Peace is another failed figment and Fujimori has put a strut to control it from within; the perspective is a worsening of the struggle for who manages pacification and each one has its own plan, especially the Catholic Church, apart from the government.

#### **THE SITUATION OF THE ARMED AND POLICE FORCES. THE "REORGANIZATION" OF THE NATIONAL POLICE OF PERU.**

Marxism clearly defines the class character of the Armed Forces and the role they play, they are the backbone of the Old State and therefore, they have the class character of the State they support; In Peruvian society, the Armed Forces are reactionary and the backbone of the old landlord-bureaucratic State, they protect semi-feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and submission to imperialism, mainly Yankee, but also, being in People's War, they bear fundamental responsibility in the counter-revolutionary war; the Police Forces are a complementary part of the action of the above and are strongly

militarized to fight us, having gone through two reorganizations during the People's War. The President of the Republic is the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, and therefore politically responsible for all their actions.

The Armed Forces, according to the Peruvian Constitution, fulfill the function of guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic, they assume the control of the internal order when ordered by the President and are not deliberative. The purpose of the Police Forces is to maintain internal order, preserve and conserve public order, guarantee compliance with the laws, the security of persons and public and private property, as well as to prevent and combat crime; and they participate with the Armed Forces in the National Defense. But, both repressive forces call themselves, especially the first one, "tutelary forces" as if the citizens were minors or incapable of deciding or acting; they also call themselves "guarantors of the Constitution" placing themselves above the powers of a so-called democratic State; there are even bourgeois politicians who recognize this role. Lately they cover up that they are the Armed and Police Forces by calling themselves "security forces" or "forces of order", especially when they refer to their genocidal and criminal actions.

11 years of People's War have fully unmasked the reactionary and genocidal entrails of the Armed Forces and Police. In a further example of this, a Correctional Court declared the case against General EP(r) Clemente Noel and members of the PNP for the massacre of journalists in Uchuraccay as filed.

The genocide, corruption and brutal repression were always hidden by Belaúnde and García, generals bathed in blood were protected and their crimes were rewarded by their institutions and although they were exonerated by justice, they were condemned by the people. Noel, Huamán, Mori, Arciniegas? No chief of the political-military fronts, nor generals, nor admirals, nor captains, nor majors have been able to claim victory. And today Fujimori, following the path of his predecessors, takes refuge much more in the boots; lacking a Party, he resorts to his backbone and gives them a growing political role, calling them the main factor of development and vanguard in the struggle for social justice. He is the one who most brazenly protects them, endorses them and gives them a wide *carte blanche*, making

impunity the law of their genocides and corruptions. Thus, he said in his speech on the Armed Forces Day, 23.09.1991:

“Peru will denounce before the world the atrocities of the terrorists [...] the Armed Forces fight for social justice and peace.”

“The terrorists, their front organizations or their useful fools will not resign themselves and will use all possible resources to damage the image of Peru claiming that the Armed Forces systematically violate human rights but we are going to unmask them, we are not going to fall into their game. We are going to pacify the country in a disciplined manner and respecting human rights [...] [terrorism] will not have an armed force like the one it imagines in its dreams of conquering power: stained with the blood of the people, blindly repressive. Those dreams of subversion will remain dreams. We are not going to play their game [...]”

He also said that with the new strategy they are called to be “the vanguard of the struggle for development and social justice [...]” In Puquio “the soldiers will not only enter with knives and machine guns, but now they will do it with lamps, wheelbarrows and machinery, to build roads next to the villagers, in order to bring progress to the towns”. On Navy Day, he said that the Armed Forces together with the people will act “in development actions”.

Let’s discuss some opinions. From the Defense Sector. The Minister of Defense General EP (r) Jorge Torres Aciego, in April stated “the country lives in a state of war because of terrorism”, reason for which “we are requesting legislative faculties to Congress to adapt the legal provisions in this field and to be able to face subversion with greater energy [...]”. Regarding recent actions, “they are acts of desperation”, “they try to intimidate them with more fireworks” and he compared the latest subversive acts with “the purpose that young people seek by exploding small rockets”. In May:

“We have detected the trail of several ringleaders [...] in the next few days we will have good news.”

“They have realized that they do not have the support of the population and that is why they want to maintain their presence in this type of terrorist attacks.”

In June:



“[...] weapons of great help for self-defense [...] these communities are armed and are left with a communication link so that they can alert a nearby Army detachment that can immediately come to their support. While the regular forces arrive, the rondas can defend themselves.”

“Between 10 and 20 shotguns manufactured by the Navy and the Army will be given to communities in the emergency zones [...] MGP-10 12 gauge shotguns manufactured by the Navy and Winchester 1.300 Ranger, manufactured by the Army, of the same caliber.”

He also said:

“They are taking the children! [...] To avoid these abuses we are organizing self-defense committees and we are training them in the use of weapons so that they can confront subversion.”

On the Convention:

“We are not going to take direct action in the application of the Convention but we will continue to eliminate the subversives who are often allied with drug traffickers.”

“That mission is strictly police, the armed forces are going to have a very general and simple participation: to create the conditions for the police forces to eradicate drug trafficking, but we are not going to take any direct action against that crime.”

“Sometimes the terrorist is confused with the drug trafficker and then what we call the narco-terrorist emerges [...] we do have to eliminate this criminal.”

The 15.07, official communiqué by which the Peruvian government gives priority importance to the defense and promotion of human rights and gives support to international control organizations and NGOs inherent to human dignity such as Amnesty International, says that it is unacceptable not to denounce violations by terrorists; and “in Peru there are no prisoners of conscience”, there is “absolute freedom of expression”. The president of the CFA, General Velarde Ramirez, and head of the Peruvian Air Force in a meeting with Amnesty International, announced the prompt creation of a human rights department in the Joint Command, and some time later in a meeting with the coordinator of human rights, Pilar Coll, received the

demand to nominate the High Commissioner for Human Rights. The same general said:

“Very hard month, but it is also hard for the terrorist criminals [...] we will not let up until we crush them [...] with a strategy based on Intelligence.”

“Acts of terrorism are treason to the homeland.”

And on 18.07 they published:

“The armed forces study the ABCs of human rights.”

A few days later, in a communiqué from the Joint Command:

“It is intended to accuse the Armed Forces of endorsing an alleged dirty war in the country [...] [the Armed Forces] will continue acting against terrorist criminals with respect for the legal and constitutional norms in defense of the democratic system until the pacification of the country is achieved.”

In August, the Minister of Defense rejected the strategic stalemate: “a propagandistic step”, “the facts show that the Armed Forces are in control of the situation”: he also affirmed:

“The terrorists have not been able to take over geographical space and when there are combats, the balance favors by far the forces of order, with the obvious exception of the ambushes”.

Days later:

“We are punishing with full rigor the military who commit crimes and misdemeanors, especially those who incur in excesses [...] we have had triumphant battles despite the fact that the forces of order have also suffered casualties [...] we never boast about the victories we obtain [...] results do not mean that subversive delinquency has been withdrawn or reduced [...] many years of persistent struggle will have to pass [...]”

“The forces of order apply to the letter the new strategy that consists of intense intelligence and then act with precision.”

Where are they and who are the sanctioned ones; he does not say, he does not know.

In October, in Santiago de Chile: “Peru does not intend to unleash an arms race in the region.” “It would be madness” to divert resources now “in times of an economic crisis that we are suffering”, “terrorism is in retreat. At this moment the Peruvian government is taking severe measures against

subversion”, “the Shining Path” has practically lost the control it had over the population”.

Recently, in December, the general commander of the Army said:

“Commitment to banish forever the cowardly and treacherous terrorism and conquer the so longed for peace to which the Peruvian people have the right [...] we have as a rule the unrestricted respect for human rights [...] this makes the difference between soldiers and murderers [...] to return peace, tranquility and justice to the Peruvian people [...] all Peruvians with or without uniform must always be united under one flag, the red and white [...]”

And going against the norms of the military institution of not giving political opinions, “I salute the President for the legislation on pacification” “since it gathers in all its breadth our experiences lived in the daily struggle against the enemies of the fatherland, such as homicidal terrorism and drug trafficking that are destroying the very foundations of our society” and “will allow us to maintain the task of pacification so longed for by all Peruvians and thus to work for the development and greatness of our beloved Peru in a climate of peace and tranquility [...] in this way we will be able to contribute to the construction and rehabilitation of roads and bridges that will facilitate the development of the country, the construction of schools that will bring education and culture.”

Opinions of the Interior Ministry. In the first place the Ministry of the Interior is being assumed by an Army General, until April it was General EP Alvarado, then General EP Malca and now General EP Bríones, which is a source of contradictions with the Police Forces: General Police, Technical Police and Security Police. In February, the Police Forces made an MRTA leader escape and the Minister of the Interior said “there is no reason for a minister to resign”. In March, some commented:

“The new Minister of the Interior must contribute to the design and implementation of a new anti-subversive strategy which must include the formation of a Unified Command in charge of national pacification.”

In May, the Minister of the Interior said:

“We are winning the war against terrorism, Peruvians working together, with the Armed Forces and the Police, we will succeed in defeating the enemy that attacks without mercy [...]”

About the armed strike in Lima:

“The Armed and Police Forces have been, are and will always be prepared for any counter-subversive action.”

He added that the subversives may have “infiltrated you or ourselves” when leaving the awarding of distinctions to members of the General Police; and, “it is very difficult to finish them soon” (at that time it was March). In June, they showed three presumed high-ranking leaders, described the “great success of the work” and hid the massacre in San Gabriel (south zone of the capital). In July, they published:

“The Minister of the Interior traveled to Spain to coordinate logistical aid and advice for the fight against terrorism and drug trafficking.”

In August, the Minister said about the drunken policemen who shot down and annihilated passengers of an airplane in Bellavista, San Martín jungle:

“A minister is not going to resign because these things happen [...]we are present in the place to proceed with the investigations.”

In September, Police reorganization is demanded but the Minister of the Interior remains mute. The policemen undergo psychological examinations to check their psychological state, with doctors from their own institution. At the end, police reorganization in charge of a Senate commission.

Let us now turn to the personnel and budget demands of the Armed and Police Forces. In March, the Minister of Defense stated that they started with a budget deficit of more than 30% and that if the year remains like this, it would be complicated and that the loan of US\$ 500.000.000 for the Armed Forces did not materialize due to lack of credit from the State.

F. Soberón, director of APRODEH, said that a central issue for the new strategy was the operational conditions of the security forces. The military contingent is withdrawn and its equipment is far below the minimum recommended; that 80% of the Army’s equipment that could be used in the counter-subversive war was at a standstill. He said that the Peruvian Army had 30.000 men destined to the counter-subversive war (in total there are

80.000 men in the Army, 23.000 in the Navy and 15.000 in the FAP, total 118.000). However, other sources said that a good part of those 30.000 were stationed in the barracks of the emergency zones in different tasks. It reveals, therefore, that the Army is afraid to go out to fight us. Some say that there are 15.000 troops actively engaged in the counter-subversive struggle between the Armed Forces and the Police. If this were so, we note that their Armed and Police Forces would be insufficient since the ratio between them and us, who are no longer young, is very low; some military theorists consider that a ratio of 20 to 1 would be needed. Soberon concludes:

“The lost 1980s force us to win peace in this new decade.”

G. Romero of the PPC affirms that there is no budget for the pacification of the country and that it would be necessary to look for international aid, but not for military actions but for education, health, work, because peace, according to his ideas, is not going to be achieved by shooting. This means that they lack money and the “aid” they want to invest in “non-military” actions. H. de Soto said that in the coca growing zone there were 17.000 men of the Armed and Police Forces and “possibly as many people from the USA as there are in Bolivia [...] in that case militarization in Peru is a fact [...]”.

E. Obando of the Catholic University is of the opinion that no war in history has been liberal, that all war is Keynesian; that it is not financed by supply and demand but by mobilization and requires the intervention of the State in the economy to obtain the necessary funds to wage it, he was referring to the debate that took place and generated interdict between the Minister of Economy and General Torres Aciego, ex-Minister of Defense.

The president of the National Defense Committee, deputy of Cambio 90, also said that there was a lack of resources to implement the anti-subversive strategy and expressed that they were looking at the salary increase of the Armed and Police Forces, but that “their morale remained unalterable”; the same cynicism as that of his boss.

According to Congressman Ghilardi of the PAP, a general of the Armed Forces earned 120 dollars a month; a captain with 10 years of service earned 69.000 intis, assuming that the dollar was at 8.000 intis, a million would be more or less 80 dollars. He said that the fire capacity of the armed forces was

30% in 1991, while in 1980 it was 80%, of 18 helicopters for the counter-subversive struggle only three are working; that the budget of the armed forces in general used to imply more than 30% of the national budget, but in 1991 it dropped to 11% and of this budget, that of the counter-subversive struggle was 235.000.000.000 intis, but it was cut by 75% and that in April and May there was no budget for these expenses.

In July 1991, the Minister of Defense himself, General EP (r) J. Torres Aciego, said: "The 75.000.000 dollars granted to the sector for the anti-subversive struggle are insufficient", and he did not rule out the possibility that apart from the money coming from the emergency fund and the budget, he would "resort to indebtedness in order to finish with the subversive criminals". In September, the pressure to increase the budget of the Armed and Police Forces increased, the contradictions with the Minister of Economy grew and a comparative table of what they, parliamentarians and members of the Judiciary, were earning was published in local magazines. Oiga, for example, published: "Armed Forces Major General, Vice-Admiral and Lieutenant General S/. 165.75. Lt. Gen., Frigate Captain and Commander S/ 104.42. Sub-Lieutenant, Ensign and Ensign S/. 48.06: and Third Grade NCOs S/ RG 46."

True or false, all the data show coincidence as to the lack of men and resources, they require an increase in the budget, specify an internal war budget and above all increase salaries and benefits to those directly involved in the struggle, survivors, wounded, widows, etc. Let us also remember that the demands for salary increases for the police led to aggressive mobilizations of their wives and retirees; even a new police strike was called. We have stated that, as part of the policy of disintegration of the Armed and Police Forces, we must aim to differentiate the blows, not to target subordinates; but we must also promote the work of infiltration to develop the organization of the police. Organizing to fight for rights and demands, as well as social and political rights, is a right of soldiers and policemen.

An example of the growing discontent among the repressive forces was seen when Fujimori traveled to the Santa Lucia base in Huallaga; the police chief presented his complaints, lack of successes, ranch, clothes, equipment, men, and denounced the abuses and arrogance of the Yankee personnel of the

Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA); remarking that the tips from the North American government were not even enough for a good meal.

Up to this point we have wanted to demonstrate the lack of men and resources to fight us; that is a law within which they are going to move because their war is unjust, it is counterrevolutionary and they can only resort to forming cannon fodder and yanahumas, necessarily having to resort to the more direct participation of Yankee imperialism or its allies.

But, if their economic situation is bad, the political conditions of their action are ultra-reactionary; in spite of Fujimori's demagogic talk, the Armed and Police Forces of the Peruvian State not only maintain their genocidal policy but have developed it within the Yankee conception of low-intensity warfare. The abject genocides of Barrios Altos, San Gabriel, and La Perla are irrefutable proof, in the very capital of the Republic, that millions of astonished witnesses have seen and no one will ever forget; no further demonstration is needed, just ask yourself how it will be in the countryside! That this policy guides, officially, the Armed and Police Forces, we know it from General Guillermo Monzón Arrunátegui's own declaration before the Congressional Investigation Commission on the events of the prisons (genocide in the Shining Trenches of Combat) on September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1987, then General Commander of the Army Genocidal policy developed by Fujimori's government as it appears in the document of the Joint Command of the Armed Forces that the journalist C. Hildebrandt denounced on Peruvian television. A genocidal counter-subversive policy that soaked the whole country in blood and that the government and the Armed and Police Forces vainly try to hide and minimize until its disappearance, after reluctantly admitting the existence of "some excesses" that they never punish, even less so today with the government of the genocidal, country-selling Fujimori. And this is in addition to the economic and social policy that the counter-revolutionary Armed and Police Forces serve and defend.

As for the moral conditions, today they are worse than yesterday, desertions are multiplying among the soldiers, while the requests for discharge of the officers have grown so much that they have had to suspend them. And while corruption is rampant, the troops endure daily needs and suffer daily arrogance and humiliations, forced even to plunder the poverty of the masses to feed themselves. All this corrodes more and more the morale of

the repressive forces, be they armed or police forces; thus acts of cowardice increase and indiscipline spreads: soldiers disobey their officers, threaten them with death or simply assassinate each other pretending to be in combat with the PGA. The military are strongly committed to drug trafficking and they are the ones who facilitate operations inside and outside the country, receiving huge sums from the biggest “firms” of the mafia; they are the ones who provide security for the take-off and landing of Colombian drug trafficking airplanes.

But their main problem is that the morale of the Armed and Police Forces is based on a reactionary ideology, the bourgeois ideology of the feudal base of the Peruvian State which serves imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism; that is the very root and insurmountable root of their moral crisis. And against which we victoriously oppose our class morality, the popular morality guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, solid and incorruptible base that forges iron legions of the proletariat.

Thus, everything shows that the Armed and Police Forces are marching towards their decomposition due to their class character and the conditions of the counter-revolutionary, unjustified war they wage. The campaigns to disintegrate the enemy troops contribute to generalize their decomposition and contribute to their total annihilation. The slogans: “Soldier, why are you killing your people?”, “Desert with your rifle and join the guerrillas!”, “Annihilate the genocidal officers!” and “Police: Don’t be cannon fodder for the cachacos!” are still valid.

Let us review some of the genocidal acts of repression and corruption of the Armed and Police Forces during the Fujimori government. Already since March 1991 it was denounced that “excesses” of the Armed and Police Forces could become systematic; the continuation of Fujimori’s genocidal policy and the impunity promoted by him was being reflected.

a) Mass graves. Appearance of 3 mass graves in Ayacucho: August 1990 in Iquicha, 30 peasants; September 1990 in Chilcahuaycco, 20 peasants; and October 1990 in Challwapampa, 30 peasants, among them two pregnant women (Iquicha in Huanta, Chilcahuaycco and Challwapampa, in Huamanga). These were reported to be a Shining Path cemetery, and the



newspapers also said that they were pre-Inca corpses. Fujimorist genocide perpetrated by the head of the political-military command of Front No. 5 of Huamanga, General Fernandez Davila Carnero; he directs all the counter-subversive bases in this zone, among them the military base of Castropampa from where they sent to commit these atrocities; in three successive months 80 people were murdered in three graves.

b) Rape, looting, arson. In the Castropampa barracks, since April and May 1990, in preparation for the elections, the genocidal commander EP Hurtado Robles imprisoned peasant women, torturing and raping them with irons to force them to inform on the Commissars, pressuring them to form "rondas"; he also put bayonets around their children's necks, threatening to slit their throats if they did not inform on him. In the department of Apurimac: in Mamaru, Totoru, Anco, Turpay and Huaruchaca, province of Grau, they looted and raped, they also burned houses in Anco, while in Mamaru, they raped all the school girls and young peasant women, 10 schoolgirls died as a result of the rape. In Chalhuanca, the EP, following the confrontation with the PGA in August, raided the Support Base and when they found no one, they destroyed 30 cows, 12 alpacas, more than 80 birds and loaded the belongings of the masses on 30 donkeys. But in addition to the rapes and fires, in Antabamba the Army forced the peasants, under penalty of firing squad and the provincial capital to form patrols. The Army in Ocobamba and Andahuaylas had a carrot and stick policy: killing and civic action "helping" with food donations. The police in Huancaray and Tanquihua forced with their weapons the masses to attend the flag raising on Sundays and shout: "We want peace!", "We are against violence, we want to work and live peacefully!". Chaviña's Army authorized supposed peasant civilians to moralize the masses by giving them whippings for "bad behavior" and stamping on their arms "Wake up people!", in Quechua, all along the route from Sancos, province of Lucanas, department of Ayacucho to Jaque.

c) Torture. Between June and November 1990, 11 tortured corpses were thrown by the Navy from helicopters in a swamp, 30 km from Pucallpa. Continuous bombing and strafing from helicopter gunships belonging to the Armed Forces of Peru against the population, e.g. in Vista Alegre, Inuya River, a tributary of the Urubamba River, in November 1990. The Navy's

viciousness is known in the region for its captures, tortures, rapes and disappearances; it preys on the youth, peasants and professionals; it raids young towns and buries hundreds of tortured corpses to leave no trace. In the police station of Santo Tomas, Chumbivilcas, Cuzco, they bury tortured prisoners; it is easy to dig and find their corpses, on 26.09.1990 the corpses of 2 detainees were found days before in that police station with traces of torture. In August and September 90, in Mamaru, Totorá, Anco, Turpay and Huaruchaca, province of Grau in the department of Apurímac, the Army barbarously tortured the masses for having formed People's Committees: they cut out the commissars' tongues, gouged out their eyes and drowned them by sinking them in water, while shouting at them "Speak, where are the weapons, grenades, posters!"

d) Disappearances. In Lima, capital of Peru, in Villa Salvador, in the Southern Cone, in the trunk of a patrol car they introduced the university student Castillo Paez and he disappeared, in October '90, the case has been trapped by Fujimori through the Supreme Court of Justice; and motivated the attack on Dr. Zúñiga, legal representative of the parents of the disappeared. In the department of Ayacucho, in March 1991, three authorities were arrested and disappeared for not wanting to join the so-called "rondas" or "Civil Defense Committees": mayor, secretary of the Council and lieutenant governor and also a merchant of Chuschi, Víctor Fajardo; and in the same province in April '91 a patrol of the EP detained and disappeared 7 candidates of the IU; and in the province of Puquio, in the military base disappeared 6 prisoners after torturing them, only 1 escaped alive, August '91. And in the district of Cahuaco and annexes, of the province of Caraveli of the department of Arequipa, the Army, in response to incursion and actions responded, disappeared 15 poor peasants. In September '91, in the Bocanegra farm in the capital, 2 masses were disappeared. In the department of Junín hundreds of these cases came to occupy the first places in disappearances; thus the disappearance of the AP leader of Iscos, plus 2 students of the Universidad Nacional del Centro, whose corpses appeared "dead by asphyxiation" and with traces of torture; the cases denounced by the public prosecutor's office were more than 500. In the departments of San Martín, Huanuco and Huacayali (in the latter up to October '91, 300 missing persons were reported), especially the cities of

Pucallpa and Tarapoto, the towns of Chiclayo and Picota, the districts of Morales, Soritor and Naranjillo are daily shaken by disappearances. But the department that continues to occupy the first place in these genocidal actions is Ayacucho, where even the simple denunciation is a motive for suspicion, threat, disappearance and death; it also happens that for the thousands of tortured and disappeared poor peasants no denunciations are filed because they have no documents or means to do so and, in general, they are prevented from denouncing, keeping these facts in anonymity but boiling with class hatred in the heroic masses that fight for a New State: the People's Republic of Peru. However, all this genocide is reduced, despite what has been publicly denounced in Peru, to only 179 disappeared and 58 extrajudicial executions, since the beginning of Fujimori's government, according to Amnesty International, officially denounced, and only four cases pending investigation: graves of Chillcahuaycco, Ayacucho; Castillo Paez student; youths of La Perla and peasants of Santa Barbara, Huancavelica.

e) Raids. In April 1990 for ten days the military disguised as civilians and posing as Comrades arrived at Qochapata, a small ranch in the district of Totoro Oropesa, province of Antabamba, department of Apurimac, they captured 2 men, their wives and their 2 children; 20 km from there in Huachullo they captured 7 evangelists. From there they went to Puchungo in Chumbivilcas, Cusco and arrested the Apfata Binga family, 3 brothers, the wife of one and the son of both, plus the companion of another, a total of 6 peasants, stripped them naked and subjected them to torture. They arrested 2 more and a few days later their bodies were found with traces of torture and the other one beaten to a pulp in the vicinity of the community of Collama, district of Quiñota. On the way to Chuchumke, the soldiers captured 5 brothers at a celebration, 2 elderly, tied their hands and feet, kicked them and drowned them in the river without killing them, locked them naked in a room and raped the women. They did the same to 7 peasants from Ccasahui. An elderly prisoner was poisoned and died, 16 prisoners were taken to the Ccapallullo hill and blown up with dynamite.

f) Assassinations. In the emergency zone No. 5, the Armed Forces and the Armed Forces committed genocide by pressuring the masses to form "rondas", by order of the miserable General Fernández Dávila and his

lieutenant, Commander Ocampo. In Yahuar Machay, Ayahuanco, Ayacucho, 35 peasants were murdered, among them 15 children and 6 elderly, on May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1990; in Chaynabamba, Huancavelica, 12 people were killed, also in May 1990; in Ramadilla, Llochegua, Ayacucho, 10 peasants were killed in August 1990; in Somabeni, Ene River, Junín, 9 were killed, also in August 1990. On the same date, mass murders were perpetrated, demonstrating electoral genocide of the masses and combatants in the department of Ayacucho, Acocro, Quinua, in the province of Huamanga and others in Huanta; in the department of Huancavelica in Chincho, Huanchuy, Uralla, Michca, Villoc. In Tocache, massacre of 9 members of the Tuanama Tapuyina family, denounced by AP deputy Geno Ruiz; the Army tried to accuse the CPP. In Santa Barbara, Huancavelica, massacre of 14 peasants, whose corpses with traces of torture and rape were hidden; first the CPP was officially accused, as is the norm even with the pronouncement of the military chiefs, and then, when the OAS Human Rights Commission came to Peru, they published the “excesses” of an officer and five soldiers of the Army and passed the trial to the military jurisdiction. In Chillutira, Puno, brutal crime of 3 peasants been incorporated in the PGA committed by the Army, having also tried to impute the fact to the CPP, in this case as responsible for “having recruited them by force”. In the Castro Castro prison, Canto Grande, Lima, assassination of 4 prisoners of war in an operation by the Armed Forces and the CPP to remove political slogans, once again unmasking their “civic action”. In Lima, killing of 10 youths, 7 of them in San Gabriel, South zone of Lima, a human settlement where the masses were paying homage to the heroes fallen in the genocide of 19.06.1986, with fists raised, red banners and singing hymns; they were shot and then killed in a joint operation of the Army and the Police, using cars and helicopters. Is there freedom of expression then, if the simple fact of remembering revolutionary relatives or friends is a motive for massacre? These murders, however, were exalted by the reactionary press, describing the just tributes as “Shining Path paraphernalia” and the genocidal action as a “great triumph” or “7 fall in battle”, justifying the vile slaughter of humble unarmed youths; as always, the Catholic Church kept silent, protecting the crime of its exploiting partners. But this vaunted supposed success blew up in their faces when 3 days after June 19<sup>th</sup>, during the celebration of the 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Day of Heroism, in La Perla, Callao, the police

murdered two minors of 15 and 17 years old and another young man of 27 who were just passing through the streets where there was not even any armed action, believing them suspected of terrorism, as they usually do every day, they took them in two patrol cars in broad daylight, on the way they received the order to kill them and they did it expeditiously. And immediately they fabricated their "success in the fight against terrorism", they staged their bloody and daily farce: They put a gun, Party leaflets and the newspaper *The Daily* on them and pretended to proclaim that they were subversives; But a few days later, pressured by the evidence and the people's condemnation, the government had to syndicate the perpetrators, of whom Sergeant Francisco Antezano, sub-officer José Infantes, Sergeant Guillermo Cornejo Zapata and sub-officer Angel Vasquez Chumo are under arrest, but Infantes was threatened with death for having denounced the bosses who ordered the attacks; they are only under a summons, interned in the Police Hospital: Captain Bazan Llapa, Major Quiroz Chavez Chavez and Captain Odar Inchaustegui Jimenez. One more example of the impunity that Fujimori favors for his Armed and Police Forces. In the land invasion of Ate-Vitarte in Lima, let us highlight another very common type of murder: drunken policemen murdered 4 residents for invading land on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1991.

Part of this genocidal policy that Fujimori continues and develops is the appearance of new paramilitary groups that perpetrate savage individual murders such as that of journalist Ortega Morales in Ayacucho; or that of journalist Melissa Alfaro of the weekly *Cambio*, blown up by an "overbomb" in Lima. Or the massive crimes such as that of the García family in Ayacucho, on 24.09 in the Villa Santa Rosa human settlement, they murdered the bricklayer García Marsilla and his wife, whose bodies "were found behind the calamine door, in which 13 bullet impacts of 9 mm. caliber can be seen, it is supposed that they approached the door when they heard the noise of those who tried to enter their home"; in the bedrooms were killed their children Gladys of 17, Gregorio of 8 and Beatriz of only 2 and a half, also the cousin of the owner of the house M. Garcia C. and 2 visitors of last name Huamani (17) and Rodriguez H. (18). And the horrendous massacre of Barrios Altos, 16 people, one 9 year old child among them, all of them workers, mainly street ice cream vendors from the provinces, killed by dozens of bullets in an old house and in the very midst of several police

institutions; genocide over which the repressive forces, supported by the reactionary press, have woven a sinister disinformation, even pretending, when not? To impute it to the Party, in order to cover up, as they do to this day, those who ordered it and those who executed it, in Lima itself and in the midst of the fanfare of “respect for human rights”!

But the unpunished crime of genocide continues to be committed in the campaigns of encirclement and annihilation; since the beginning of the People’s War they have been applying it, as in ‘83 and ‘84, mainly in Ayacucho; or in ‘90 and ‘91 in the Central Region, especially where they assassinated more than 1.000 people; or in the operations of 1990, in the general elections, hitting the masses with their usual genocidal policy of stealing everything, burning everything and killing everyone, or in the application of their plans to organize peasant patrols, unleashing white terror to stifle the masses with blood and fire.

Campaigns of black counter-propaganda and murderous stratagems are applied by the Armed and Police Forces in various parts of the country and have the same reactionary “brand name” aimed at discrediting the Party and alienating the masses, they set up sinister plans which they present propagandizing them as Machiavellianism or terrorist monstrosity. Thus, in April ‘91, in the neighborhood of San Sebastian, Cusco, 2 children die by explosion of war grenades; in May, in the surroundings of the San Martin barracks, Lima, the Armed Forces “did not clean well” the remains of the MRTA car bomb and an explosion kills the following day a soccer player publishing “new target of terror”; in July the Prosecutor Mendez Jurado in chorus with the Minister of Defense said: “Terrorists have kidnapped 260 children between 15 and 19 years old by force”; in August, “war grenade explodes in Ayacucho market when armed paro and a woman dies leaving 33 wounded”. In September, Express linked dismembered bodies found in the capital to the CPP. This monstrous defamatory campaign, in October, fabricated a murderous stratagem against Jorge Mayta Sucso, a nine year old boy, sacrificing him to fabricate the infamy that the Party had used him, in Lima, to test if the high tension tower was mined; precisely when the OAS Human Rights Commission was about to arrive to investigate Fujimori’s genocides, and with unheard of cynicism they declared him a martyr of subversion. Previously they put together a fetid melodrama about the

supposed salvation by a police officer, after having induced the child to enter the tower mined by them, a few meters from an elementary school; and in the height of barbarism to prevent the child from speaking, they let him die of exsanguination. These are the Yankee methods applied in Fujimori's Peru in the purest imperialist style. Bloody hoaxes to which the Peruvian government's *The Peruvian* and the *Express of Ulloa*, among other formers of the so-called public opinion, happily join in.

If to all these facts, part of the counter-subversive war strategy, we add the multitude of criminal acts committed by the military and police as a result of the impunity and *carte blanche* they are granted, we would never finish describing them; suffice it to add the corruption of the military in the coca-growing areas in collusion with the big drug traffickers; or the murder of the 12-year-old girl in La Molina, an urban district of Lima; Or that of the Monzón merchant, or that of the cattle rancher extorted and tortured in the PIP of Trujillo; or the assaults in the Pan-American North and South highways, not to mention the daily ones in the Sierra; without forgetting the inconceivable shooting and shooting down of the passenger plane in the province of Bellavista, department of San Martín, causing the death of all its occupants; and the fraud discovered in the entrance to the School of Command and Police Advisory, without any authority having resigned for it.

Faced with so much impunity and corruption and the imperialist pressure to withhold "aid", the Police Forces had to pass "psychological exams" and, together with the Armed Forces, they began to study human rights, as if that were the solution. Until the Police Forces entered into reorganization.

This police reorganization is the third in 11 years of People's War. But what does the measure hide? the criminal acts have exceeded the limit; the pressures of Yankee imperialism to apply its low intensity war are growing and, they use the well-known method of hitting the weakest point to exempt the main genocidal ones, which are the Armed Forces. The evident uneasiness of the Police has been made public, its director, General Adolfo Cuba y Escobedo, said: "We can't ask for more, except for the emergence of a new law where people are degraded. And if there is another one, let them be shot", after questioning the public dismissal of officers and subalterns.



Finally, the situation of the Armed and Police Forces is yet another source of contradictions within reaction. But the uneasiness does not stop there, it extends to the factions of the big bourgeoisie that do not agree with the greater power Fujimori is giving to the Armed Forces and demand an integral strategy for the counter-subversive war. They demand that Fujimori coordinate with the parties, they disagree that the military should assume military and non-military matters and that it should plan and decide on its own; they insist on a Unified Command directed by a civilian or a retired military officer dedicated full time to the problem; They are, therefore, against the creation of a single military-only command that in the long run would end up assuming the political, economic and social aspects, and would clash more and more with their democratic system. The reality is that with this new government the tendency towards absolute centralization to manage the counter-subversive war with a growing militaristic criterion is growing every day. The demagogic declaration of respect for human rights and the *carte blanche* to impunity will be greater, although the more varnished the genocide and generalized repression, thus undermining even more the bourgeois-democratic order and developing the galloping reactionarization of the Peruvian State. The so-called “humanization” of the counter-subversive war will once again blow up in the face of Fujimori and his military, police and civilian authorities, bathing them in blood from head to toe.

In summary, to see the situation of the Armed and Police Forces we have started from their counter-revolutionary class character whose essence is genocide and corruption, and how Fujimori’s government is the one that most brazenly endorses them and gives them greater political power. Second, some opinions of the Ministers of Defense and Interior and the President of the CFA to demonstrate their political and military incapacity. Third, the political, economic and military conditions in which they fight us, which reveal their inferiority, lack of men and means. Fourth, some genocidal acts and black campaigns. Fifth, the police reorganization. And, sixth, how the situation of the Armed and Police Forces and the counter-subversive war strategy is another source of contradictions within the reaction.



Everything leads to the conclusion that the Armed Forces and the Police are counter-revolutionary, genocidal, corrupt and deniers of the very heroes they invoke; the reactionary Army is the dishonor of Bolognesi, the black and sinister Navy is the dishonor of its patron Grau and the Air Force is the dishonor of Quiñones. The people are witnesses of this reality and it will never be possible to erase the blood of the thousands of heroes who fall with fierce resistance in this glorious and growing People's War; as the most convincing example is the genocide perpetrated on 18.06.1986 when in a single day they murdered with unbridled barbarism 250 prisoners of war, who continue to win victories beyond death as in the 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the DAY OF HEROISM. The black dreams of the raging hyena of the genocidal Armed and Police Forces have not even been able to stop the People's War, and day by day they are defeated by the victorious PGA, a new type of Army that has arisen from the depths of the mainly poor peasant masses of the country, a PGA which, led by the CPP and armed with its invincible ideology wrests arms from the genocidals, incorporates new brave combatants and builds the New Power; in fierce combats of annihilation against the genocidal Armed and Police Forces, it wrests victories that mark historic milestones in the people's struggle. Never before has there been such an Army in Peruvian history; neither the peasant hosts of Túpac Amaru, nor the peasant guerrillas that gave glory to Caceres had the quality and heroism of the PGA, because this is an Army of a new type, of a new class, led by the Communist Party. For 11 years two armies have been confronting each other in Peru, the Old Army and the New PGA which is defeating the Old Army which has not been able, nor will it be able to stop and even less annihilate the People's War and which today, more than yesterday, resorts to using the peasant masses as cannon fodder, as a complementary army while desperately clamoring for "aid" from its masters of the Yankee imperialist army. What better proof of class, ideological, political and military superiority!

## CAMPAIGNS, PLANS AND ACTIONS

**CAMPAIGNS, OPERATIONS AND ACTIONS. HUALLAGA, CENTRAL, AYACUCHO. 5<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY. SEARCHES.**

A simple enumeration can give us an idea of the tactics they have been employing during this campaign and which stem from the so-called “new strategy”.

In February. On the 23<sup>rd</sup>, attack on the rondero base of Ccano; 26 dead and 17 wounded in confrontation; from there a detachment of ronderos left to communicate to the counter-subversive military base of Tambo, 40 kilometers away and with military troops they set up a mixed patrol of persecution, at the same time that they communicated to the political-military command of Huamanga. Three patrols left: one from Huanta, another from Tambo and the third from Machente towards Razuhuinca in a raking operation; they annihilated 5 guerrillas but they were ambushed and caused 6 casualties: a lieutenant, a sergeant and four soldiers of the EP. The military had declared that they believed that the zone had been pacified and that is why they withdrew their military base from Ccano. The peasants point out that the Party continues to act in Pulpería, Sello de Oro, Jepeccra, Iquicha and Uchuraccay. They report a recent attack on Ccarhuaurán causing 17 rondero casualties. As an epilogue to these actions, the Army says that the guerrillas are coming up from Ene to reinforce the disbanded columns of Ayacucho to increase their attacks.

After a 7-day strike in January, called by the Front in Defense of the People of Ayacucho, February became even more active in Ayacucho. Magazines in Lima published “Petronio’s recipe”: General EP Petronio Fernandez Davila applied the suspension of the curfew in Ayacucho since January ‘90 and in July, he lifted the state of emergency in the city of Huamanga. He designed the strategy to be applied based on intelligence, civic action and psychological operations as well as direct combat. As a first psychological action, he created an atmosphere of normality, combined it with civic action: he took a tractor from the Ministry of Transportation and gave it to the red light district “El Carmen”, he proposed to the neighborhood councils to organize themselves and they carried out some works. Afterwards, he recruited 400 children of ronderos and took them to the barracks “Los Cabitos” to train them and invited the ronderos parents to spend 8 days confirming the learning; they were taught the concept of Homeland, human solidarity, future of Peru, as civic actions and above all offensive military training; they returned them to their areas of origin and

organized rounds in each of their communities, each round was given a local command, no longer of the whole region and they also manufactured rear-loading weapons to arm themselves. At the UNSCH, he coordinated with the heads of university programs to discuss the situation of the subversion in the university, agreeing that since Sendero was a minority, they should not be dominated and should be expelled. With the ONA, he made a pact to provide food. The general said that with this program he would win over the population and the Shining Path would be caught in the crossfire, that desertions would be provoked and that captures would be easier; they captured some, made them give themselves up under pressure for 48 hours and based on that they set up annihilation operations. Objective: total turnaround of the peasantry. Meanwhile, while this plan was being propagated in the city of Huanta itself, two bodies of subversives were found dead by a paramilitary group and the Party led an attack on a base of ronderos and ambushed 10 policemen from a patrol.

In March. In Ayacucho, La Mar, Tambo, confrontation leaves 16 dead, including 6 military personnel and 10 subversives "that were taken when fleeing". In the same month: Search of the Canto Grande prison in Lima, 400 SP and support of 8 Army troop carriers; it lasted 5 hours, they found graphic representations of actions already carried out and presented them as plans for assaults or attacks; they used the pretext of "rumors of escapes". They announced that they had mined 80% of the Mantaro service towers. And at the end, with great fanfare, they spread the word that the Ashaninka "have joined the forces of order", "that they have decided to fight to the death against subversion", that they act with mixed patrols of police and soldiers, that go through Satipo, Mazamari and Puerto Ocopa; that they act as lookouts and act with the anti-subversive corps of the 48<sup>th</sup> General Police Command, Los Sinchis. In Huanuco they fabricate the farce that political prisoners are annihilated due to internal conflicts and they assassinate 5 of them when they were sleeping and with a knife. They publish that three subversives were killed "who were assaulting transport cars from Oyón to Lima, by members of the PGA" but this news is denied and they discover that the assailants killed were policemen.

In April. Two subversives die in an attack on a patrol car in Lima; 2 escaped and 2 wounded "died on arrival at the hospital". Criticism for the withdrawal of police posts from 1982 to 1991 is accentuated. On 28.04

following a major blackout in Lima, 2,500 arrested after 75 attacks in Lima in the last 4 days. The CFA after the visits of the general commanders to the fronts creates a permanent and national "Anti-subversive Operational Command" and sets up a rapid intervention group combining armed and police forces.

In May. FA receive budget for counter-subversive actions. The Army detained 30 inhabitants of the northern cone of Lima, gathered in an assembly to discuss their right to land in Los Olivos; they were taken to Fort Rimac and the following day they were handed over to DIRCOTE. Previously coordinated operations between the Armed Forces and the Police are carried out in Lima, mainly in slums; as a result of sabotage to banks and blackout; both agencies work 24 hours a day nationwide and are determining critical areas for joint actions. 8 subversives were annihilated in Chuquibamba, Arequipa, in a bloody confrontation with the Police who were looking for the group that "on 24.04 attacked the same place". Callao, General Police carried out a "saturation" operation and blockade; 611 people and 617 vehicles were intervened; 6 were arrested and 20 vehicles were detained; it was "during the night". Operation in San Isidro, Lima "with the objective of capturing drug addicts and packers". PNP chief announces maximum security measures against armed strike in Lima, for the 29<sup>th</sup>. Raid and 50 suspects arrested in Lima, in one night.

"Army annihilates 30 subversives in Acos-Vinchos Ayacucho."

"On the 25-26<sup>th</sup> the Shining Path raided the Ccanobamba farm, killing 16 [...] they burned 59 houses [...] the peasants alerted the counter-subversive base of Accocro and from here they alerted 'Los Cabitos', Huamanga, they contacted the Air Force whose headquarters is the airport. The commander sent a TWIN-BELL 212 helicopter armed with 2 MAG 7.62 mm. machine guns and several ribbons of 200 cartridges."

"Already before, the Shining Path, on 09.04.1991 put it at risk."

"They coordinated with another Army helicopter MI-17 with 40 men and they applied: 'sombrilla' [...] were answered by the Shining Path with FAL and the ship was left adrift and returned to Huamanga, there it fixed its breakdown and was reinforced with 12 C-S rockets returning to the field of operations and annihilated 30 subversives."

Official communiqué:

“In view of the serious violation of human rights by the Shining Path against defenseless communities [...]”.

Communiqué of the Political-Military Command (CPM) of Huamanga says:

“The Shining Path has called an armed strike for the 18.05 [...] the Ayacuchan people are invoked to reiterate once again their deep love for their land and the future of their children by massively attending their workplaces.”

It says that they will be given guarantees.

On May 12<sup>th</sup>, the Army began an operation directed by General Perez Documet, of the Mantaro Front, from the base of Ollanta, Satipo and the police barracks of the Sinchis, in Mazamari; there days before, between the end of April and the beginning of May they changed the contingent that was demoralized and exhausted; the general, to raise the morale of the new soldiers “encourages” them with “magic” and uses computerized astrological charts as “guides for the difficult moments”. He also formed, shortly before the starting date, an “Ashaninka Army of the Great Pajonal” and in the city of Satipo he ordered that voluntarily or by force the whole population would be organized in urban anti-subversive patrols. There were 900 soldiers in 15 groups of 60 each, plus 45 natives with Winchesters, Navy patrols and 5 helicopters. In Ayacucho, General Martinez Aloja, who leads the Huamanga Front, simultaneously entered to occupy the Apurimac valley; here, the Apurimac patrols played a “decisive” role (they have been acting since July ‘90); they raided the Quimpiri base, parallel to the Apurimac and reaching Cutivireni, on the Ene river. At the same time, the ronderos of the lower part of the Apurimac Valley called the Anti-subversive Civil Defense of Huayhuaco, and in joint operations they acted with the Army of the Huamanga Front and entered the Ene Valley. The number of soldiers was similar but the number of ronderos was greater. (It is said that between the departments of Ayacucho and Huancavelica there are 836 Civil Defense organizations.) The operation lasted until July 17 and took place along the Ene Valley, Apurimac Valley and Tambo River. On 03.05.1991 newspapers published:

“Attack on Huanuco police post in the town of El Afilador, on the Huanuco-Tingo Maria highway, 2 policemen and a woman selling fruit were killed, 15 local civilians were wounded.”

June. Official communiqué from the CPM of the Huamanga Front points out terrorist attack on members of the Chupac Defense Committee; 7 community members killed plus 3 ronderos also killed in “confusing clash”. EP troops kill 6 in the main square of Pacayhua, Huanuco, “when the terrorists were preparing to victimize authorities”, on 03.06 they published: “Military personnel killed 30 Shining Path members” in Huanuco, “Shining Path members rushed to ambush 25 military personnel returning from Aucayacu to their base in Tingo Maria”. “They had previously attacked El Alfiler police post on May 28<sup>th</sup>” says The Commercial; in Ku King’s interview with Rios Araico, head of the Huallaga ACPM, in Oiga, he tells the general:

“In recent weeks he has suffered casualties among his troops because of the upsurge of subversive violence and because the guerrillas seem to have the initiative at the least expected moment, as happened 5 days ago in the area of Afiladero where 2 policemen and 2 civilians died. Today it was also reported that a military patrol was ambushed by Maoist guerrillas of the Shining Path [...]”.

Rios Araico brigadier general, political-military chief of Huallaga:

“Torture, disappearances and much less extrajudicial executions are not authorized here? I collaborate with justice, with the defense of human rights and I will not allow the honor of the Armed Forces to be stained.”

“The counter-subversive strategy must be based on development with security and development.”

He recognized “limitations in the counter-subversive struggle”:

“It is a war of criminals that is destroying Peru, but at the same time I ask myself are they winning or losing this war? We are going to defeat them.”

About the Agreement he said he agreed, he addressed the peasants, “do not worry, no ‘green berets’ will come to kill peasants”. Due to strategy, FAP airplanes are withdrawn from Santa Lucia base, “they cannot remain inactive in a place where they can be attacked” said FAP spokesman to explain that the Tucanos had been withdrawn from the jungle.

“After the confrontation EP troops seized weapons from the Shining Path in Alto Huallaga was recovered by the Army, after the confrontation last Saturday in Aucayacu, in which 30 terrorists had died.”

“2 anti-tank grenades, 1 anti-personnel grenade, 8 FAL rifles, 3 AKM, 10 shotguns and no less than 6 handguns (revolver and pistol). After 4 hours of confrontation, at the break of dawn and combing the place, the soldiers found the aforementioned weapons abandoned as well as blood stains and traces of people dragged away, presuming that at least 30 terrorists were killed.”

“Military sources informed that it is presumed that this Shining Path column had the objective of carrying out attacks in the localities of Tingo María or Aucayacu, to gain publicity, since in the first city there were national and foreign journalists in a seminar: Right to information in emergency zones.”

From The Commercial. (COMPARE WITH NOTICE OF 03.06.1991 ON EL AFILADOR).

“In an operation they frustrate subversive acts, they capture a prowler of the Alipio Ponce School, they neutralize a flyer in the Central Market and continue operations at peak hours, 529 intervened and 428 vehicles. According to the Armed Forces, in joint action with the PNP in Huallaga, during the first 5 months of the year they killed almost 60 subversives and captured 52. Antiterrorist Group in Ayacucho threatens journalists. Armed Antiterrorist Group Operative: GATO appears in Huancayo; on 08.06 acted in Yanacancha and Yanamarca, district of Acoya, Jauja, Junín. 16.06 surprise raid in Canto Grande, Lima, again for alleged escape of Osmán Morote, that ‘Chairman Gonzalo would have planned’; 1.500 soldiers and Armed and Police Forces, 4 hours; visitors protest.”

As a result of the beginning of the celebrations for the 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Day of Heroism. In Lima, total mobilization of the police was ordered throughout the department, with support from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Military Region and the Navy. On 19.06, massacre in San Gabriel, South zone of Lima slums:

“Exemplary punishment to terrorists was given by police and army forces. They killed 7 and captured 50 men and women.” “6 terrorists killed in combat.” In front page headlines. And on the inside pages: “Using helicopters they fight terrorists.” “Police and Army gave a hard blow to subversion.” “7 die and 51 are detained in different areas of Lima.” “Police

free family held by subversives.” “Police give hard blows to the Shining Path.” “6 are killed.”

General Pedro Villanueva informed Fujimori in detail about the events in San Gabriel; he also informed Fujimori about actions throughout the country and received his congratulatory face (Comment on article in *The Republic* about action and repression in San Gabriel, Lima 19.06). Gigantic raid; 7<sup>th</sup> Region of the General Police reported that on 18 and 19 with combined PNP and EP forces, 11,114 people were intercepted in different parts of the capital; after evaluations, 400 suspects remained, 174 of them (30 women) were transferred to DIRCOTE. On 22.06, third day of actions celebrating the 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Day of Heroism, they published: “Explosion of car bomb killed Navy bus driver.” “In La Perla (Callao) PN troops killed a terrorist.” “Frustrated assault to ENCI offices left two dead and three wounded.” “Police killed a criminal in Vía Expresa.” “Explosive device in the Ministry of Labor.” “Daily raids continue in Lima.”

*Express*, the same day, similarly conceals a successful ambush against the Navy after a supposed defeat:

“MRTA assault on a money truck thwarted.” “ENCI security guard and terrorist killed on Camino Real.” “Ministry of Labor and Ministry of Agriculture attacked.” “Commander saved from terrorist ambush.” “For fast and efficient reaction.”

In *The Republic*, the same day:

“Assault on a cargo truck ends in a bloodbath”; “Navy bus attacked by car bomb”; (they try to cover up the action but it is the one that best describes the ambush; commentary). House to house raid in San Juan de Miraflores; Pamplona Alta; Rinconada; 20 detainees from 01:00 to 05:00; the previous week the same operation in Asentamientos Humanos José Carlos Mariategui, Cruz de Motupe and Huanta, in San Juan de Lurigancho, 48 detainees. They deny that Castillo Paez was in San Juan.

On Sunday 25.06, Hildebrant denounces the massacre of 3 young people in La Perla, hidden by farce also mounted on TV, especially by Channel 2 of Lima. Their “triumphs”, lies and “defeats” of ours blew up in their faces and in the capital itself. Everything they did to silence the successful beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Day of Heroism ended with the irrefutable demonstration that the Party acted with the poor masses of the slums of



Lima and the furious enemy responded like a beast with genocide, moreover, the images broadcast in the television media are stamped in the minds of millions, the bad treatment of the prisoners handcuffed, with their faces hidden and the murderous boots trampling on their bodies, the “Party” leaflets, the “mandate” of Ayacucho and the “weapons” in the backpacks of the two children were added to the images of the combative and historic neighborhood of San Gabriel where defenseless youths with no other weapons than their banners were attacked by the army and the police from the ground and from helicopters, chasing them over the hills and murdering as many as they wanted, seizing and transporting them like cattle in their black hyena trucks. One more day of heroic combat was torn by the blood of the heroes of June 19<sup>th</sup>, 1986 and their blood is warmed by the new blood shed.

On the same day about actions outside Lima, they also present them as defeats:

“In 7 days at least 40 terrorists have died in clashes with soldiers.” “Military patrols held separate clashes yesterday and today with terrorist groups in various areas of the provinces Mariscal Caceres (San Martin) and Leoncio Prado, in official report.” “On the subversive side, there would have been numerous casualties that added to those registered in other clashes, a week ago [the 30 dead that according to Comercio itself there were in Aucayacu, and who later said “they would have died”] would raise to at least 40 the number of seditionists killed by the Army.” Patrol kills 5 seditionists, 3 in “attempted ambush of soldiers of a patrol” in Malape, Progreso, Tocache; 2 in “confrontation in La Morada”. FAP now uses A-37 fighter-bomber in Selva; so its strategy and patrolling will be permanent and no longer eventual; informed FAP spokesperson. “Police patrol disappears in Huánuco”, 16 who were guarding the radio tower of San Cristóbal hill, “after the sighting of a red flag with hammer and sickle on the same tower they were in charge of”. “Some 55 terrorists were killed in 2 clashes in the jungle” In Sta. Ana, Padre Abad province, 35, communiqué from the CPM of the Ucayali Front, in charge of the Navy: “The same day [18.06] the DOES of the PNP confronted the subversion and 20 subversives were killed” in Altopendencia, Tambillo, Huanuco; it continues that “In the last 8 days [since 13.06] law enforcement forces killed at least

another 45 terrorists in different points of San Martin and Huanuco", The Commercial, 20.06; (In report No. 65, of the 19<sup>th</sup> The Commercial said in 7 days at least 40 terrorists killed in the same departments) (Thus, from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup>, in 7 days there are at least 40 dead, and from 13 to 20, in 8 days, there are 45 dead which added to the 35 + 20 would give 40 + 35 + 20 = 95, or 45 + 35 + 20 = 100, in 7 or 8 days; comparing with the casualties of the Armed and Police Forces which are only 3 dead the proportion is already questionable); Express: "Another 30 terrorists killed" "during bloody clashes in Ucayali and Loreto"; The Republic: "Army annihilates another 60 terrorists in fierce combats", "Army killed 30 terrorist criminals in the district of Padre Abade" and "destroyed main column of the Shining Path in Santa Ana, province of Ucayali, department of Loreto: actions in which 30 seditionists died". Also, on the front page: "Army in full offensive in Ucayali, kills another 60 terrorists." In transcribed report, they double the number, and, Santa Ana is the district, Padre Abad the province and Ucayali the department, Loreto has nothing to do with it. "Over-pump killed ex-regulator", "Custodian of congressman dies in accident" (Cateriano, de Libertad) "Massive terrorist escape thwarted" in Quenqoro, Cusco; "Joint Command reiterates its support to the Ucayali Front", "The president of the CFA Fernando Velarde Ramirez reiterated his help to the political authorities of the Ucayali Front", "Senate Defense Commission: Executive must have finished projects in anti-subversive fight": "State of Emergency continues in 8 departments and 1 province and 2 districts Ayacucho except Huallaga, Apurimac, Huancavelica, San Martin, Junin Pasco, Huanuco and Ucayali"; (All extracted from The Commercial). Army ambushes and annihilates 9 subversives in Shapajillo, Tingo María, a sergeant of the EP dead and another of the EP wounded. Also "Document confirms alliance between drug traffickers and terrorists" following the return to Lima of Commander General FAP head of the CFA Velarde Ramirez: "Operation Zarpazo a great success", "10.06 in Padre Abad, 30 terrorists killed", "combat morale of our troops very high", "we are progressively pacifying these areas". "Soldiers killed 65 terrorists in confrontations in the Ayacucho area" according to the head of the CPM of Huanuco, colonel EP Augusto Salaverry. (During these days they attack the police for the violation of human rights, they ask to reorganize it. They also attack, but less, the Army). Command of Huamanga denies false

information from The Republic about the supposed ambush of 6 soldiers in San Pablo, San Francisco, La Mar. Shining Path seized grenades, 80 installed. About the action in Aucayacu The Commercial and Channel 4 TV Lima attribute it to MRTA, and The Commercial says: "More than 60 terrorists dead in clash between military and subversives in Aucayacu", next to this headline the description says 60 between terrorists and civilians "neighbors" "would have" and that it was "subversive incursion" "they arrived by 3 routes, San Martin, Tingo Maria and Huallaga river", "large group", "heavily armed"; Express: "Shining Path attacked, unspecified number of dead, their bodies were removed by their colleagues, 2 FAL seized"; The Republic: "More than 80 terrorists died in Aucayacu", violent incursion of Shining Path, 350 men, due to dispersion suffered in May they concentrated from the highlands that is why "they spoke Quechua", destroyed local is public and police premises, "unusual, surprising displacement of forces of order, DOES controlled roads to Aucayacu, Pucallpa, Huanuco", "they acted bravely in defense of the town".

In July. Communiqué of the Huamanga Front: "It has been intensifying its operations [...] with the valuable collaboration of the Self-Defense Committees and deserting elements"; "6 terrorist delinquents killed and another undetermined number of dead taken in the escape of the seditious"; "2 FAL, 1 universal machine gun, 1 AKM rifle and 22 revolvers seized". Gigantic raid in Lima; more than 4.000 people arrested, north and south cones, La Victoria, Rimac, San Luis and central avenues of Lima. Helicopter crashes in Huánuco; Huamalíes province, it was carrying out an anti-subversive operation; it was an MI-17 of the EP. "They frustrate escape from Cachiche, Ica and prove torture". Lima is besieged by the southern flank of the capital, peasant communities of Chincha Alta dominate; counter-subversive operations are deployed by land and air Tension in Canto Grande; claims of 4-B, visits are suspended; again alleged escapes. Security is reinforced for national holidays throughout the country.

In defense of the Ene, Ashaninka patrols. "In two months of struggle they caused 400 Shining Path casualties" together with the military fronts of Huamanga and Mantaro; at the beginning of the operation, SL ordered the withdrawal and the army did not find anyone, after a month of siege, the natives weakened by hunger and diseases "returned with white flag" to their towns occupied by 585 soldiers, the Army helped them and together they

undertook a crusade to free the zone "Support Base"; they used helicopters; they occupied both margins of the Ene, 265 km. They occupied both banks of the Ene, 265 km. long by 20-40 km. wide, divided into 15 patrols. The Shining Path destroyed the Cutivireni mission after harassing it, "many natives were brought by the Army" today there are only 347 natives; "never like now the presence of the State is needed, to which the natives belonged without knowing it", one said: "We ask the government that the Shining Path calls the Old State to support us with medicines [...] we don't have food [...] tools [...] ammunition [...] teachers [...] doctors [...] authorities [...]". "If the Army withdraws [...] and the State absent, the Shining Path will dominate again." Officer responds to natives: "I only have these men and their weapons."

August. Anti-terrorist offensive intensifies in Pasco; rumors of a 3-day armed strike starting on the 15<sup>th</sup>.

"There are 67 dead in Huanuco" after four days of violent armed confrontations, patrols of the EP killed 67 subversives having only three military personnel perished, according to police reports, it says that initially they reported 32 but that the figure rises to the mentioned due to the intensification of the fight; in the area between Cantamayo, Chavin de Pariarca and Jarcas Grande; the actions began on the 1<sup>st</sup> of this month and concluded yesterday (7<sup>th</sup>). Apart from some weapons, the report stated: "they seized medicines and 4 vans that had been stolen from Italian tourists, attacks to the mayor of Huacaybamba, Gustavo Reyes de la IU, to a dependency of the Ministry of Agriculture and to a civilian", then the same Express says "They kill the mayor in his flight through different places of this zone, a group of terrorist delinquents murdered the mayor of Quivilca Mateo Matos (PAP) in circumstances not yet specified", Express, Huanuco, 06.07. This is nothing more than a military operation in response to the action in Quivilla reported by The Peruvian on 02.08, an action that follows the same pattern of operations in response to the attack on the police post in the town of El Afilador de Huanuco reported on 31.05; both under the same command. This is another reprisal action that targets the masses. "12 killed in confrontation with the Army in Huallaga." Another of their fabricated "successes".

Chiclayo: 17 arrested in San Marcos, Cajamarca. Repression in Canto Grande; Channel 4 TV says 4 dead. 10 injured charged with terrorism in operation to erase graffiti, newspapers only say injured. 20 terrorists die in Cerro de Pasco in clashes with EP and PN in Paucartambo, 100 seditionists assaulted the police post where 14 police officers were stationed, dynamited Banco de la Nación, Cooperativa Regional del Centro V Municipalidad; Andina, The Peruvian. 10 subversives were arrested in Catahuasi, La Union, Arequipa.

“New outline”. General Arciniegas will be in command of a new front: “The Great Huallaga Front”, in less than 20 days, policy he applied was the basis for the anti-drug agreement, Rios Araico would be the second in the plan to fight against subversives and pacification and would count on the collaboration of ministries, especially Transport, Economy, Agriculture and Defense for development works. General Petronio Fernandez Dávila, will head the Human Rights offices in all the dependencies of the Army. He expresses contradictions in the Army.

In September Ronderos liberate 2.000 natives held by the Shining Path in the Ene and Apurimac jungle. About 2.500 natives of the Ashaninka tribe and 4 teachers out of a total of 62 were rescued by a “peaceful incursion” of the Army in the department of Junin; the 4 “repentant” teachers were taken to the command of the 31<sup>st</sup> Army Infantry Division, which entered the area, as revealed by the head of the division, Brigadier General EP Luis Perez Documet; the natives have formed surveillance patrols; ”in their incursion to 15 zones occupied by the Shining Path, the army found red rags, notebooks with hammer and sickle, photos of Abimael Guzmán, drawings of children, teachers teaching, pits and North Vietnam style traps. Today the Army [since 10.05 they say] provides logistical support [...] especially with food, medicine, medical attention to control malaria and yellow fever. Meanwhile, military bases have been installed in mission, Puerto Ocopa and Valle Esmeralda, being possible the installation of new contingent along 120 Kms. between Puerto Ocopa and Boca Mantaro”. Helicopter gunships fight in Ica, PN General Raul Chávez Gonzáles: ”More effective combats because now they fight from top to bottom; 5 police posts were attacked; they reopen 5 police posts” (but in reality he refers to the fact that they have reopened 1 Independencia, Pisco; and that Laramate is guarded by the Army

and Querco had been reinforced), also: "reinforcement of 6 helicopter gunships, 2 in Ica, 2 in Nazca and 2 in Chincha"; "there is another morale". Pedro Palomino, FAP Colonel says: "civic action and intelligence, mainly the latter, we have a plan that derives from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Military Region". He is head of the CPM sub-zone security Center No. 6, covering the department of Ica, Operations Center Air Base No. 9 Pisco. "I only had 1 assault on the police post of Ingenio, Palpa". 38 Shining Path members were arrested in Cajamarca. FA assume control of prisons by DS 011-91-JUS. State of emergency is reimposed in Apurimac; DS 045-Ministry of Defense, at the request of the CCFFAA for 60 days from 18.09. Combined action and operation in La Libertad, supported by helicopter gunships search for hikers who attacked Consuzo mine in Sanchez Carrion. House to house operation by Navy in Ventanilla Alta; 300 police raided 2,000 houses; 10 hours. "35 Shining Path casualties in Leoncio Prado", more than 3 hours in confrontations, of them, not 1 casualty, neither wounded nor dead.

October:

"20 Shining Path members surrender to ronderos from Ayacucho". "They showed signs of malnutrition and some of them were treated in the hospital of San Francisco [...]" to the towns of San José and Pampacora, in the province of La Mar". "Around 80 ronderos from Canayre carried out their usual anti-terrorist operation when two of them stepped on a mine that the day before the Senderistas had camouflaged in the undergrowth [...]" "The ronderos were raking through the Ene River sector on the border of the departments of Cusco, Ayacucho and Junín."

"Continuing with the 'Community Self-Defense Program' and supporting all the ronderos of the country in the joint struggle they wage with the Armed Forces to defeat the subversion that attacks defenseless inhabitants of the interior [...] Fujimori travels to Satipo to deliver arms, medicine and food [...]"

In its headlines:

"Shining Path in its darkest day"; "100 dead in combat with the army in Huanta".

And in the news page 7:

“100 terrorists die in Huanta; sinister annihilation plan frustrated; Huanta around 70 terrorists were killed in a confrontation with the combined forces of the EP and the PN [...] the clash took place yesterday, Wednesday 17<sup>th</sup> at 17:00 hrs. in the Razuhuilca hill [...] they impeded the access of the subversive column that had the main objective of taking Huanta [...] up to the moment of sending this dispatch, the corpses of the terrorists were lying on the scene of the confrontation, and the wounded were taken away by the subversives.”

“[...] counter-offensive is feared, Army on permanent alert [...] despite the secrecy of the Army stationed in the city; peasants [...] assured that Shining Path columns were advancing towards Huanta, [...] the peasants themselves were the ones who said ‘the survivors picked up their dead and took them away’ [...]”.

Versions gathered in the streets, in the bars and among the humble community members say:

“The confrontation would have occurred in the following way: between Sunday and last Monday, heavily armed Shining Path members who were moving from the areas of Acosvinchos, Pacayasa and Huamanguilla, were discovered by the ronderos of Macachacra, who would have alerted the military forces. The members of the Civil Defense pursued them for 3 days, leading to confrontations in which several ronderos were killed [...] when they reached Razuhuilca hill, the Senderistas tried to prepare an ambush, which was rejected by the brave ronderos and the combined forces of law and order that participated with their helicopter gunships.”

Neither The Commercial nor The Peruvian published any of this either on 18.10 or 19.10. Perez Documet before the OAS commission: he informed that the peasant patrols were born by the will of the communities, and that in his jurisdiction there are 300 patrols with a total of 26,000 members; they also met with Humberto Orozco Garcia, president of the Central Committee of the Peasant Patrols of Satipo, who reported a recent attack of 500 Senderistas against the community of Poyeni, 150 km east of Satipo, leaving 25 community members dead and several injured. Also, on 17.10 in the area of El Milagro, 25 km from Satipo, 3 ronderos and 3 terrorists were killed in a confrontation with Senderistas.” The subversives took 13 community members.” (Our emphasis.)



"The Army rescued the natives in operations between October 20 and 23, in which 38 subversives died, 29 in Cutivireni Mission, where 35 natives were rescued; the other in the Esmeralda Valley where 9 died and 18 were rescued", informed the Political-Military Command of the Mantaro Front. About subversives killed in Ucayali, unofficially it was known of 50 dead in a confrontation with military troops, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December, in a place of Aguaytia, department of Ucayali.

"Army prepares to search Canto Grande prison." "The intervention will take place at any moment." "The Shining Path wants to provoke genocide in Canto Grande before or during the visit of the OAS Rights Commission." "Shining Path members are barricaded in Canto Grande." "[...] at least 500 Shining Path members have been barricaded for several days in ward 4-B." "They rejected the presence of provincial prosecutors [...]" "Police sources said they have detected that the Shining Path members have accumulated weapons and ammunition in their cells with the purpose of using them in an eventual riot [...]" "Imminent Shining Path riot [...]" "If the authorities of the sector do not immediately take action on the matter, the Canto Grande prison could become the scene of a new genocide. The Shining Path detainees would be preparing to offer a new 'bloodbath' to dent the international image of Fujimori's government [...]" "[...] it is convenient to warn the government of the inconvenience of letting itself be carried away by desperation [...] it is not necessary to fall into their game. And if circumstances make it impossible to avoid a riot there are a thousand and one ways [...] before using bloody violence with weapons [...]" "Calm reigns in Canto Grande." "Escape plan discovered in Canto Grande." "Army watches over the prison." "Operative extends to the neighborhoods of Canto Grande."

In November. More than 4.000 people kidnapped by subversives are rescued, among settlers and natives of the Ene area, informed Major EP Wilson Alvarez, head of Public Relations of the 31<sup>st</sup> Infantry Division of the Mantaro Front, "at the end of the attempt to recover 85 teachers who have been reported missing and who are presumed to be held by the subversives". "A Shining Path annihilation commando is operating in broad daylight in the city to the perplexity of the armed forces. Until recently a military patrol entered a red slum every week to lower a red flag with hammer and sickle. In the rural areas, the Shining Path members raided 3 communities organized



with Civil Self-Defense Committees. The Military Front of Huamanga covers 11 provinces of Ayacucho and 7 of Huancavelica [...] around 3.500 members of the army are under the command of General Hugo Martinez Aloja, general commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division of the Military Front of Huamanga. The front recognizes that out of 50 sustained confrontations, 38 occurred when the military forces were carrying out regular patrols, it also recognizes ‘critical zones’, above all in border areas, those that have not achieved their organization in Civil Defense Committees [...] it also recognizes towns that serve as bases for the Shining Path for their recruitments.”

To the north, between Huanta and Huancavelica is San José de Secce, for example. Between Huamanga and Huancavelica, Ticllas. To the northeast, the province of La Mar. To the south, Parinacochas, bordering with the Arequipa province of Caraveli “where they [the Shining Path] developed a great offensive at the beginning of the year, nobody wants to organize here” said “a high ranking officer”, the officer points out that the actions in the city increased since the state of emergency was lifted, first in all of Huamanga (Nov. ‘90) and then in all the jurisdiction of the Front (Aug. ‘91). It recognizes the PGA with 40 combatants per basic operative unit. APRODEH points out that 115 to 75 actions are in the capital of the province of Huamanga, followed by Manta and La Mar. What is difficult to explain is how the Shining Path can continue to act with such continuity in the provinces most controlled by the Army where there are the largest number of communities organized in Civil Defense Committees. Quinua has been the target of 6 incursions, the strongest on June 13<sup>th</sup> with 150 men annihilating 6 ronderos, and on August 4<sup>th</sup> the ex-president of the rondero. In Cangallo there are Open People’s Committees.

“The struggle must be political oriented to legitimize the presence of the State in the most forgotten parts of the country.” “Decentralized patrols that fulfill productive work more than good intentions exceed theoretical schemes, the patrols are decomposing. It is estimated that there are 2.000 in the left margin of the Apurimac Valley.”

**INTELLIGENCE. REAL AND FALSE CAPTURES; IMPUTATIONS AND INVENTIONS.**

6 captured in Ayacucho, "high commanders". Arrested "treasurer of the Shining Path" on her way back from Germany. 6 captured in Tarapote. 9 subversives of the annihilation cell are captured in El Tambo, Huancayo. Terrorist from Ayacucho is captured in La Molina, Lima. "High leader of annihilations". 21 "Senderistas" are captured in Chimbote. Another leader is captured in Lima who was traveling from Huallaga, "political leader of the region". "Shining Path leading member of the Agrarian Confederation of Cusco arrested"; "3 leaders are captured and the leader of the Shining Path in Upper Huallaga is identified". On 26.06, the Minister of the Interior presented "three high leaders of Shining Path, members of the Shining Path leadership". "Abimael would be operating in Ayacucho and Huancavelica, that is why they intensify operations in helicopter gunships and new combat troops were transferred". Another top leader of the Ayacucho annihilation is captured. Parliamentary advisor of the IU falls, "she was a Shining Path member" also an employee of Empresas Eléctricas, "part of the command to blow up towers". "15 terrorists captured in Cerro de Pasco", "10 subversives are arrested in Cotahuasi, La Unión". "High leader of Puno, member of the leadership" is arrested. "Abimael would have been operating in the Pavilion of the National University of La Cantuta."

#### **PSYCHOLOGICAL-OPERATIVE ACTIONS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE. CAMPAIGNS.**

Subversive arsenal "was discovered by the Army" in the heights of Cajacay, Bolognesi, Ancash. Police "discovered a subversive shooting range", by Canta, Lima. They discover "Shining Path arsenal in Huaraz". Prefect of the Chavin Region said that 300 MRTA were pursued by the Army of Huanuco, through the Monzon route, to enter through Llamellin, capital of the province of Raymondi. "Happy coincidence" and celebration of 10 years of railway police: "deactivated 310 kilos of dynamite near La Oroya. 3 subversives die due to detonation of explosives 'they were handling', 2 in Cerro de Pasco and 1 in Jauja".

"They attacked with machetes the inhabitants of Laura Caller, Los Olivos district, Lima; led by land traffickers."

They distribute flyers with helicopters in all the regions including Lima (Human Settlements), contents of psychological warfare against Gonzalo

Thought, the People's War and the CPP, flyers that in the field are made of used newspaper and handwritten with the handwriting of the soldiers because they do not have money, aiming to generate desertion and sow the farce that they are winning the war. Deputy Guerrero of AP said that he did not suffer any attack as reported by The Commercial when apparently 2 subversives died in an attack on his house in Tarma, Junín. They attack the People's Schools of the Shining Path, because they win the minds of the children and youth, they are "schools of terrorism".

"They arm ronderos of Huanta and Huamanga, more than 3.500 ronderos of the provinces of Huanta and Huamanga received yesterday October 13<sup>th</sup> 150 Winchester brand shotguns from the hands of the political-military chief of the emergency zone, General Martinez Aloja, as part of the armed strategy against subversion; they also distributed 1,5 tons of food and delivered two trucks, one for Quinua and another for Acosvinchos."

"They distribute notebooks, food and medicines in the 'Campaign for Apurímac'."

"Army and PAD take food supplies to Los Olivos."

"The aid was supported by the army both in security and transportation [...] distribution began on September 29 [...] the PAD has distributed 518 tons of food so far and it is expected that some 50 thousand families in the capital will benefit until the end of the year."

"The Army delivers weapons to the Mantaro Front [...] where it has so far distributed 2.200 shotguns to 26.000 peasants in the Caceres Region, grouped in 279 organizations [...] the last delivery was destined to 9.000 ronderos of the province of Concepcion, Jauja, Junín, established in Andamarca, which has 41 annexes, and in Santo Domingo de Acobamba, with 33. In these localities the Political-Military Command of the Mantaro Front distributed last Tuesday 12<sup>th</sup> 200 Winchester shotguns."

"The Army distributes food in Huaycán [...] General Cesar Ramal Pesantos, chief of the first division of the Special Forces, said: 'The balance of our actions is positive [...] we believe that these 9 months of integration with the people are important. We have made progress in pacifying Huaycán, Raucana and Villa El Salvador, places that are considered red zones. The work is not finished, there are still many towns to visit [...] when we started this program on March 8<sup>th</sup>, in Huaycan we were received bitterly, but now we are even coordinating with the leaders of the popular organizations. In

Raucana we managed to make the population understand that violence is not the right path and they have even helped us to capture terrorists.”

“The Army arrived in Huaycán with the PAD with more than 95 tons of food, 2.000 notebooks, 1.000 manuals of ‘Patriotic Education’, 1.000 books of ‘Initial Education, Amiguito’, 2.000 cotton polo shirts with Army emblems and 300 seedlings for the reforestation of the zone.”

“Campaign of the businessmen against labor in the working class and miners. Campaigns of surrender in Ayacucho, Apurímac and Huancavelica; also in Cusco.”

They spread lies like this:

“2.500 deserted [...] army in peaceful incursion in eastern jungle of Junín, in the May campaign achieved surrender and rescue.”

Another campaign:

“The Shining Path is against the people’s organizations, that is why it destroys the people’s kitchens and the Glass of Milk centers in the poor neighborhoods of Lima, that is why it annihilates people’s leaders.”

In the background they express their panic for the advance of our work in the slums of Lima and, of those executed by the people’s justice nobody can say that they are people’s representatives because what defines is not the origin but the class position and the attitude towards the revolution; They have all been unmasked as traitors and even looters of the meager products that the organizations were already almost giving up, which otherwise serve to form the cushion of lackeys and ayayero voters. Campaign for “racists” when the technicians of Japanese imperialism in Huaral were annihilated under people’s trials or the landowner and dispossessor of invasions for roofs to live that he was an expert in martial arts was not our problem; besides the racists turned out to be Fujimori and his retinue of niseis who accompany him in his government.

Another campaign: “The Shining Path targets the Church.” Verbal juggling campaign that there is no strategic stalemate, when this is confirmed even by their imperialist masters, mainly Yankees.

“Oil from the sabotaged pipeline floods rivers, said Express, but a few days later the technicians denied such consequences of the action.”

Campaign against the work we develop abroad, counterproductive because it rather propagandizes us. A ghostly, ridiculous and antidemocratic campaign in its reactionary bourgeois-democratic system. "The force of the Law" by which they look for leaders and militants that even they have disappeared or killed or even imprisoned before looking for them; but the rewards are so insignificant that they do not even excite the delinquent informers. Express's favorite campaign: "Learn from Huayhuaco", a delinquent trained by the Armed Forces to organize and lead rondas; in addition to being a drug addict, he is now imprisoned for common crimes. Caretas campaigns against prisoners of war preparing conditions for great genocide. Campaigns of Oiga against the democratic lawyers. Campaigns against the sweeping advance of the road from the countryside to the city. Among these campaigns, The Commercial led the journalistic proposal for the definition of a new counter-subversive strategy, on behalf of all reactionary journalists. Of the television channels operating in Lima, Channel 2 has become the channel directly at the service of the army, etc.

#### **CIVIC ACTION. IN COUNTRYSIDE AND CITY; SHANTYTOWNS. RAUCANA.**

Civic actions are nothing new either, besides being an inherent part of the functions of every army, since the armed forces began to fight the People's War they have been carried out by the Army and the Navy, particularly after a genocide and as part of their two-handed policy. And being a constituent element of the "low-intensity warfare" with the Fujimori government, these actions, conceived as campaigns, are being promoted in the countryside and are beginning to be developed mainly in the slums of the capital of the Republic, and we say this because they are also carried out in the universities, among other fronts. Their objective is to prepare the conditions for repression and genocide; and they are reduced to support the distribution of food donations from international organizations, coordination with the PAD (Direct Assistance Program) and other subsistence organizations. Another specification is that these actions are not carried out by the police as stipulated in the strategy mentioned, but by the armed forces in order to appear to be respectful of human rights and to receive the Yankee economic collaboration to the program of the three tasks; they pretend to win the

minds and hearts of the population; they call them "programs of civic action and community outreach" and have formed "development battalions" to carry them out in the emergency zones; They develop them with a great propagandistic apparatus, they transport the donations and arrive at the place where they limit themselves to queue the masses and to protect the distribution of the organizations; the cases in which they use their own resources are counted with the fingers of one hand, for example the Navy does it as part of its neutralizing action of the neighborhood masses that were in the surroundings of its institutions and to buy infiltrators.

Civic action that they have done for example in the countryside by occupying part of the Apurímac valley and part of the Ene and mouth of the Mantaro where after bloody campaigns of encirclement and annihilation and counter campaigns of encirclement and annihilation they act as distributors of what they do not have, headed by the genocidal and fatherland-selling Fujimori who gives the Civil Defense Committees a few shotguns, a couple of trucks and a handful of food and medicines that his general Pérez Documet demands in order to calm the "recovered" masses, who are dying of hunger and disease; He promises them reconstruction and development programs: hydroelectric plants, highways, schools, computers, direct telephone dialing and other wonders of the milkmaid's tale. Actions to which the Catholic Church happily contributes through its missionaries like the priest Mariano Cagnon, from the mission of Cutivireni, where, as evidenced by documents written by himself, requested the entry of the army to fight us, who, powerless before the development of the Party in the area, got scared and fled to the U.S. abandoning "his flock"; Today, with the military barracks installed there, he visits from time to time, gives away candies poisoning the children and continues to traffic with the high degree of backwardness of those masses.

In the pro-government newspaper:

"Army distributes 51 MT of food in the Southern Cone". "As part of the civic action program in coordination with the PAD." "Around 31 young towns of Pachacámac, Lurin and Pucusana received powdered milk, oil, rice and wheat."

They say they distributed them to some 10.000 families in total and "to each one 10 K. of rice, 10 of wheat, 2 of powdered milk and a liter of oil for a lapse of 20 days" and that at the end of the same they would repeat the "beneficial" action; they even go so far as to conceive it as a complement to the precarious daily food. In the first place, they have not returned to any area at the end of the period they have established; in the second place, if one adds the 10 K. Secondly, if one adds the 10 K. of wheat plus 10 K. of wheat plus 2 K. of powdered milk and 1 (equivalent to a liter of oil), 23 kilos per 10.000 families would give a total of 230.000 kilos or 230 tons that would be needed to cover those quantities, that number of families and the period of days; then, if they spread the news that there are only 51 tons, they are not covering neither the quantities, nor the families, nor the period they say; in conclusion, the DAP takes less quantity, covers less families and covers less time. In addition, if one calculates 10.000 families in 31 shantytowns, it would only cover 323 families approximately in each of the 31 settlements, which compared to the average of 2.000 families that live in each shantytown, gives 30% of the total number of families; but, in each family there are between 6 and 7 people. The so-called "benefactment" is therefore a farce of "aid" and serves to compensate minimally for the lack of wages generated by this system and worsened by this government; it acts as a container of explosiveness and allows the masses to submit to an order of exploitation and to these subsistence plans the presence of the Peruvian Army concurs and finds there a way to penetrate the slums and the peasant zones to annihilate the People's War. It is for all these reasons that we do not agree with these subsistence plans and even less with the so-called civic action of the armed forces.

Part of this type of action is the raising of Sunday flags to which the peasant and slum masses are forced to attend under penalty of arrest for complicity with subversion. Or the ridiculous "civics" classes that have been given, for example, in Raucana where members of the Special Forces "dictate these classes" to children sitting on the ground or on bricks that the State shows to those children who listen to them? The old and exploitative one that subsists and that is incapable of giving their property titles to their parents, incapable of providing them with a little school to educate them or of paying a team of qualified teachers; the medicines will not even be enough for the end of the year and the toilets are worse than those of the old Public

Assistance. The flag raising, which is mandatory, has already been seen by the masses in the countryside and they know that with this flag of oppression nothing is solved, not even the military themselves raise it to defend their borders, today attacked and invaded by Ecuador. This supposed civic action that they have promoted has failed from its base due to its class character and the conditions of economic crisis that the country is going through. At most they will manage to make centuchos like the one in Accomarca, with Garcia Perez, which we penetrated, infiltrated and blew up, making it fail thunderously. Our policy, then, is to penetrate them, unmask them, undermine them and blow them up with actions from within and from outside; clandestine work; and, the sixth form and first germinal form in the city already emerged linked to the preparation of the insurrection we must promote it by applying the unmasking of that civic action using our double policy, it is not enough to destroy them from outside; educate the masses in their contents; ideological: use the masses to support outdated ideologies, the Catholic religion for example: trafficking with the religiosity of the people; political content that are not handouts but the by-product of the revolution, that without the People's War they would not have given them even that and that is part of the low-intensity war to contain the explosiveness of the masses; to make the masses themselves grab those things, that they distribute them giving more to the poorest, that they demand more, much more than what they receive because the economic content is that with those poisoned candies, with those miserable temporary amounts they take away a good reduction of their salaries because that is the policy of capitalism: to end up with the masses having to satisfy their hunger and needs alone because what neoliberalism wants is more surplus value and it gets it by skinning the people; to educate them that the obligation of this old State is to give them food, education, housing, work, water, light, roof, even decent ecological conditions, respected borders, otherwise why the hell does a State exist that does not meet the minimum needs of the masses? Simply to overthrow it. These civic actions are part of imprisonments, disappearances, of the formation of informers, of infiltration networks, of the structuring of rondas or self-defense committees, of the conformation of that counterrevolutionary army that they are forming in the countryside to act as cannon fodder. To unmask, to tear away all the pink veil with which they cover themselves and to blow up the sinister civic action.



In Raucana what they have applied is to occupy the shantytown at 11:00, taking advantage of the fact that at that hour the heads of families are out working and after having infiltrated people; they entered, captured, took a census and have installed themselves in the same way that they occupy the support bases; they put in a military contingent of Special Forces of the Army, when they entered they did so with 1.000 men and left 600; a tremendous amount of men for 2.000 inhabitants evidences their incapacity and political stupidity because to install a barracks in the very capital of the Republic reveals that the old State does not even rule there and to impose itself it has to use its armed force. Military occupation is part of the "control of the population and resources" that they are developing in all the places where our advance is impossible for them to control. We have already referred to the supposed civic action they are mounting here. Worse still, the results obtained are null, in so many months they have not been able to set up their networks; the masses in general repudiate them and are shouting for the army to withdraw. In short, their great Raucana plan has failed thunderously.

#### **POPULATION CONTROL. RURAL AND URBAN RONDAS.**

Population control is part of the low-intensity warfare and this also implies the control of the resources of a community; its objective is to form a contingent of people from all sectors to fulfill an active role in the counter-subversive war; Yankee imperialism conceives that to achieve this they must base themselves on minorities, groups of different race, ethnic, social or religious backgrounds as spearheads in the plans to control the population and resources. Here in Peru what they have achieved is to form peasant patrols or Civil Defense Committees and with the current government they are promoting the armed peasant patrols as a complementary army; based on a part of the Ashaninka they have formed an "Ashaninka Army of the Great Pajonal". Part of this are the "District Committees for peace and development" of the opportunist Tapia, much applauded by the Express; the calls for "Common regional fronts against violence" that coordinate civilians, military and Church, as they have done in San Martin and Puno; or the municipal fronts against violence. Also in these plans for control and resources we see the masked action of the Catholic Church that with its own

plan moves its people for counter-revolutionary actions such as the neighborhood marches.

As we said before, the patrols in the countryside have been formed using both hands, mainly with blood and fire. In the cities they will aim in a similar way to organize urban rondas and to base themselves on the lackeys, in the Regions, in the municipalities and in the organizations of revisionism. In the universities they will also aim at forming groups of lackeys, informers and fascist or Reade-type apparatuses like that of the UNI to fulfill the function of breaking up struggles. Among the workers and laborers they will do the same aiming at breaking strikes and whistleblowers. As the crisis is hitting harder every day they do not have the resources to implement actions, so they will strongly use free and forced labor; our policy is to condemn these feudal forms of exploitation, demand payment, demand working hours, demand working conditions; make the masses see that it is a means that the armed forces are using to develop their low intensity war, unmask the old State and demonstrate that it is an outdated State that does not fulfill its minimum obligations; we must mount specific counter-campaigns to these plans. In this regard, Chairman Gonzalo commented:

“The universities are in the sights of reaction, mainly of the counter-subversive struggle; behind the actions of the so-called ‘READE’ there is a police and even more so a military plan of counter-revolutionary war, although this is only a ‘trial balloon’ or initial steps. The formation of mesnadas began in the countryside and then moved to the city; in the cities it began in the slums and is passing to the universities, it will pass to trade unions and other city fronts. It is necessary to reanalyze the mesnadas because the reimpulse that since last year is seen in the countryside, extends as an impulse in the cities; this is another expression of the strategic stalemate, keep in mind how it is concretized here: ‘The enemy to recover positions to maintain its system; us, to prepare the strategic offensive through constructing the conquest of power. That is why the reaction is faced with the need to annihilate the People’s War and the Party and the people to build the conquest of Power.’” (May ‘91.)

This is accurate and valid to guide us.

In the cities, the Army has set up a plan for the slums of the capital of the Republic, it began to be applied approximately two years ago and lately it has intensified; as in the countryside, they have had to apply a special plan with special forces to exercise control and restore the presence of the State. As they themselves say, they set them up in the areas where the Party has advanced and as a response to the strategic stalemate, otherwise why do phrases like "to gain ground" or "to remove the subversion from the ground" come to mind? First they entered Huaycán, then Horacio Zevallos, later Raucana and the University of Education of La Cantuta; they carried out civic action, which they coordinated with the Ministries of Transportation, Agriculture, Energy and Mines, Health, Education and also with organizations such as the PAD and they have an agreement signed with the National Food Support Organization (ONA). They also coordinate with local authorities, mayors, councilors, neighborhood representatives, people in charge of the people's kitchens, "Glass of Milk" organizations, etc. They have occupied some neighborhoods entering with the appearance of "respectful of human rights" but as always imprisoning and using their informers and lackeys, repressing and completely altering the daily life of the masses; but in addition, this occupation implies dispersion of forces and cantonment of a good number of easily beatable men. Another problem they encounter is the generalized rejection by the masses of those who cannot and will not be able to buy them for a few foodstuffs in spite of the hunger they suffer because the masses with their wisdom know how to clearly differentiate the interests of the different classes.

In the Southern Cone, San Juan de Miraflores, Villa María del Triunfo and Villa El Salvador it is not the Raucana-type Special Forces but the regular forces, which apply another plan that is not of occupation or counter-subversive bases in the cities but aims to control by moving the hunger of the people, for that reason they dynamited the Villa El Salvador and Agustino Collection Centers, spreading these sabotages as if they were of the Party in order to discredit us before the masses and counterpose them with us. They use opportunists, revisionists and above all agents paid by imperialism and unconditional supporters of the armed forces, as is the case of the promoted "mother of the year" who has a record of self-benefiting from the food of the masses. For the rest, these organizations are almost abandoned by reaction and badly managed by their administrators.

In synthesis; their plan to control population and resources is a military action of occupation and installation of counter-subversive bases in the slums of Lima to reestablish the old State and “pacify”. And if they are going to retain forces in the capital, how are they going to act in the smaller cities, and will they be able to control all the shantytowns of Lima which have 3 million inhabitants? Thus, these plans contain serious military errors apart from the fact that they marginalize the political parties, the so-called civilian organizations, and the army is the one that imposes the authority of the State even in the capital itself, showing that they are focusing on the military and not on the political.

But what have been the results of these plans to control the population and resources? Because of the weakness of the old State, of Fujimori’s government and of the armed forces and police; because of the strength of the Party and the People’s War, because of the advance of the strategic stalemate, and because of the rejection of the masses, these plans are trapped and are unable to reach the agreement they need. We must persist in unmasking them, in educating the masses in their essence and blowing them up from within and from outside, applying the circling around to hit them as if it were a kind of occupation of support bases in the countryside.

## CHAPTER II. IMPERIALISM

### Anti-Drug Treaty and Associates.

Let us begin by defining the class character of the treaty, it is a treaty of Yankee intervention in the counter-subversive war in Peru, it is reactionary, pro-imperialist and anti-people, and its essence lies in the fact that it aims against the People's War and seeks to annihilate it. It has been conceived and implemented by Hernando de Soto, a direct agent of Yankee imperialism and one of its most conspicuous bureaucrats, creator of the already unmasked "Fujimori doctrine", chief advisor to the President and head of the ILD, a Yankee organization based in Lima, Behind the cover that it was not a treaty but an agreement, Fujimori ignored the criticism, questioning and opposition, once again mocked the first power of the bourgeois-democratic State and signed it, as always, behind the backs of the people, on May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1991. Having consummated the fact, the following day he "complied" with informing the Parliament without allowing any debate, presenting himself personally for a speech; and as a cynical answer to the sharp accusations of authoritarianism and to give the appearance of democracy. Consequently, by the way the treaty was signed, it is yet another violation by Fujimori of the Constitution, which he is obliged to respect. In Congress he covered himself with lies:

"The fight against drugs is an authentic national crusade", "above a repressive approach that would lead us to Vietnamization, we are oriented towards the implementation of alternative development schemes with equal opportunities", "the failed repressive strategy has only caused the pauperization of the Peruvian peasantry, a violent depreciation of the ecosystem and an escalation of violence at a national level", "the Agreement implies the acceptance of assuming firm commitments and new strategies that should be reflected in concrete realities in the next six months"; "both parties have recognized, for the first time, that the coca growers are different from drug traffickers and therefore are not criminals but actors in a project that seeks peace", "eminently political and integral management [...] clear subordination of the military and police forces to civilian power [...] scrupulous respect for human rights [...] so that maximum legitimacy is granted."

These are some of the words with which he extols the Yankee participation in the fight against the People's War in Peru under the cover of the fight against drugs by signing the treaty whose results, which we are experiencing today, show the opposite of what he said in his own parliament and is at zero sheets of paper.

The content of the agreement reflects the character and essence of the same, from beginning to end, and the loincloth of the fight against drugs "great national crusade against drug trafficking" is more transparent than a tulle with large holes. Let's look at some issues. First, they start from the failure of all the plans to eradicate coca leaf cultivation, recognize that the area of these crops has increased and conclude that "there is evidence that organized elements from abroad and Peruvian armed gangs have begun to participate in the commercialization and expansion of the crop within the country". Let us emphasize, "Peruvian armed gangs" is nothing more than a way to cover up the existence of the People's War; and the failures that they reaped yesterday are also being reaped today because for nobody is a secret that we are in November and there is no alternative development, nor substitute crops, plus the repression is worsening, the genocide continues, the coca cultivation lands are expanding to almost all the department of San Martin, the department of Madre de Dios and even the Amazonian trapeze, there are more than 220.000 hectares of illegal coca crops; and they have entered a new area: poppy cultivation, the peasants have again felt the deceptions of those who manage this old State and they rise up with more ardor to destroy it, increasing the ranks of the People's War; our unmasking word has been proven in reality once again, imperialism and the Peruvian reaction cannot continue maneuvering the masses any longer.

Secondly, the document states that:

"They will create a bilateral partnership to develop a strategy and implement it by providing the necessary instruments to achieve in the shortest time possible a substantial reduction or the total elimination of cultivation and commercialization."

And it speaks of representatives at the highest level. In the Peruvian case, it is the president of Peru who should appoint him, but the truth is that until today he has not appointed anyone and in Washington it was De Soto who

appeared as the representative of Peru; and on the Yankee side there is no representative at the highest level either, so it is another demagogic phrase for the tribunes, because Bush's reelection is at stake and the fight against drugs is part of his electoral banners; for the Peruvian President it is part of his three tasks, especially the main one: to annihilate the People's War.

Then, both imperialist and reactionary interests cover them with words of supposed humanitarian consideration when they are, with differences of magnitude, atrocious genocidal and ignorant of the rights of the oppressed and exploited; he says:

"Of vital importance to reach the global objectives of humanity against drugs since it involves simultaneously the biggest consumer of the derivatives of the coca leaf and the biggest producer of the coca leaf."

Here it is clearly demonstrated how they seek "just cause" to justify the Yankee imperialist intervention in the People's War in Peru. We can also see how they are concerned about keeping up appearances of "legitimacy" in their dealings, that is why they refer to the:

"Consensus of both peoples embodied in the 'Fujimori Initiative' and the 'Autonomous Authority for Alternative Development' under the Peruvian President, which gives this agreement a legitimacy that will turn it into an effective instrument."

We know that such a doctrine is flawed since it does not correspond to the interests of the coca-growing peasantry but to those of Yankee imperialism and the Peruvian big bourgeoisie and landowners, via the ILD; the AADA was so harshly criticized as unconstitutional that today they have changed it for the IDEA, an organization of the same reactionary anti-demobourgeois character as the previous one, but protected by a legal device.

Third, it states that it is a "new form of cooperation", which is false because the same great imperialist and genocidal world gendarme, Bush, starts by putting repression before the alternative development of the zone. It is also part of the Yankee policy that the armies of their allied countries intervene in the fight against drugs as they do in Bolivia and what is happening is that they are seeking the endorsement of the Peruvian government to impose their conditions, taking into account that the Peruvian Armed Forces were

reluctant to enter into the fight against drug trafficking, at least the former Minister of Defense until recently, General EP Torres Aciego. The agreement stipulates that the Peruvian government should include policies for coordination between the PN, the Army, the Navy and the FAP and imposes the condition of "quick results in everything related to security, controls, interceptions and required captures": that of equality of conditions is a fairytale because the one imposing conditions is Yankee imperialism and it is evident that they are looking for quick results.

About the fact that the coca growers are peasants who plant coca leaves and not the first link of drug trafficking, they have known it for a long time; the question is that their eradication strategy has failed due to the resounding rejection of the coca growers, their resistance and the People's War; that is why they want to apply crop substitution by proposing the deception of the talisman of land ownership; But just as yesterday eradication contributed to greater peasant incorporation into the people's war, today, however much they seek to separate the peasantry, and in particular the coca growers, from the guerrillas, subjecting them to great dispossession to facilitate the agro-industry of imperialism and the Peruvian big bourgeoisie and their cronies the landowners, will again motivate greater peasant incorporation into the People's War, mainly of the poorest who will logically be the most marginalized from these benefits and the most exploited. That:

"All this is accomplished with democratic instruments that allow the direct involvement of the citizens in the decision making process [...] universal and rapid access of the peasants to formal property to its usufruct and use to guarantee the obtaining of credits and access to business, foreign trade and participation in the formation of prices."

Or that they are considered interlocutors of "dialogue"; as they say, is nothing but part of the control of the population and resources of the low intensity war that pretends to mobilize the masses for their pacification plans. However, with this they will seek the support of the rich peasants and of some lackeys like Walter Cocas, a false poor peasant who lacks representation among the masses; or the manager of the Agrarian Cooperative of Upper Huallaga whose institution finances the "Front for the Defense of Coca Eradication", whose opinions are favorable to the imperialist plan and states:



“The problem of coca crops is not political or military but agro-industrial; it is necessary to guarantee the industrialization of products like palm oil [...] We are afraid that the agreement will be stopped, that is why we ask Fujimori for a U.N. guarantee.”

Others, such as those from the Apurimac valley, asked for “substitution but with development”. For his part, the president of FEDISAM, Lucas Cachay, simply asked that the coca growers participate and be consulted, at no time did he condemn the Agreement and he has held conversations with H. de Soto. These are the coccaleros who agreed to become the valid interlocutors. What are they revealing? a condemnable hope in Imperialism, mainly Yankee and the endorsement of its institutions such as the imperialist and counter-revolutionary U.N.

Fifth, they impose as a main condition, that Peru submit to the Yankee plans to develop the market economy, their neo-liberalism so much in vogue today, and impose that Peru carry out a program of solid “structural adjustment” and “structural reforms” within those criteria, which constitutes an open violation of Peruvian sovereignty. The document states: “The signatories recognize the need for the intervention of persons or entities on both sides that make it possible to activate the major political instruments to achieve the objectives referred to in this agreement. Some examples are President Bush’s Initiative for the Americas, the Brady Plan of the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, the Cartagena Declaration. Two other examples are President Fujimori’s initiative and President Bush’s HOPE project, which coincide in framing the fight against drugs within a perspective whose purpose is to bring the benefits of private property, structural reform, alternative opportunities and the market economy to the poorest sectors of the country.”

The Yankee interference in Peruvian economic policy could not be more blatant, besides, what does a supposed anti-drug agreement have to do with the type of economy that an independent country should apply, and why should a structural adjustment program be demanded; no treaty, much less as they call it an agreement, should determine the economic policies of another country. On the other hand, with the drastic reduction of credits from the Agrarian Bank, they are promoting the dragging of peasants from legal crops to coca cultivation, therefore the result is totally contrary to what they proclaim. It would also mean that in the hypothetical case that the

Peruvian government suspends the market economy, the Agreement would be rescinded. Therein lies Peru's total submission to Yankee imperialism.

But economic matters are not the only ones in which Yankee imperialism intervenes, they impose conditions on "efficient judicial and administrative systems". Thus we see the direct participation of imperialism in the making of Peruvian laws, so who determines Peruvian economic policy? The counter-subversive strategy? The legislative system? That is why we say that Fujimori's government is genocidal and a sellout and the most obsequious pro-Yankee imperialist government in the history of Peru.

Sixth, a second important issue as the one mentioned on economic policy is the aspect of security in which the agreement is framed, here the loincloth of the fight against drugs falls shamefully, it says:

"To achieve the objectives of this Agreement it will be necessary to establish a framework of justice, respect for human rights, order, security and peace in all areas linked to drug trafficking and related activities [...]"

It does not say in areas where drug trafficking proliferates if not linked and, also, what are the related activities. Before, in another item, they insist on the respect for human rights as a primordial condition for their "aid", as well as respect for the U.N. declaration, the Geneva Conventions and the unrestricted access of the International Red Cross to those zones, which ones? Of subversive action or of drug trafficking? It says:

"In order to establish this framework it will be necessary to provide security to the areas where the substitution process is carried out and to protect the interdiction activities, all this with the purpose of guaranteeing alternative development and structural adjustment measures [...]"

In synthesis, repression if there is no economic "aid"; but repression respecting human rights.

It continues:

"Strategy that considers the need to feed, equip, train, uniform and adequately support the armed and police forces that will fight drug trafficking and those who support and encourage it; "that military resources can also be dedicated to support actions of a social, economic and civic

nature that benefit the people affected by drug trafficking and violence”; “the convenience that the equipment of the armed and police forces be made as far as possible, using the same supplies, labor and raw materials produced locally”.

Civic action again and on top of that they want the country itself to bear the greatest possible expense in repressive activities.

All these paragraphs illustrate the character and essence of the Convention; and if we compare them with the texts studied in the Preparatory Session of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum of the Central Committee on low-intensity warfare, it is proved that they are unfolding within it. The U.S. Department of Defense “Field Manual on Low-Intensity Warfare”, Washington D.C., 1981, synthesizes the elements of this war in: the primary role of the allied army in counter-subversive action; the political character of the effort and its combination with economic and social reforms; the need to combine military operations with intelligence, psychological, civil affairs and control of the population and resources; and the legitimization of the allied regime through the reduction of the violation of human rights. It further states that:

“U.S. involvement is considered internal defense abroad through a series of development programs, humanitarian aid and security assistance, this doctrine of IDD (Internal Defense and Development) is the strategy for the prevention or destruction of subversion and is composed of three components: balanced development, mobilization (organizing the people in activities in support of the government), and neutralization of the armed group as the decisive issue. Aiming at a future direct intervention as a last resort starting with advising and supporting with military training.”

The criteria set out in the Convention could not be more similar and it is also in this context that the two annexes have been signed, one military and the other economic, although some say there are four.

Both annexes are framed within the framework of the so-called cooperation in alternative development and security policies for the functioning of the market economy in coca-growing areas. In the military annex, contrary to what was agreed in the Agreement, they go further in defining the participation of the Armed Forces in anti-drug activities:

“Anti-drug activities are threatened by subversive groups and are intimately intertwined, which in such circumstances makes antiterrorist actions a justifiable component of anti-drug actions.”

And states that it is up to the president to decide the manner and timing of their participation. He specifies that they should act in civic action: improvement of roads, drilling of wells, irrigation, construction and repair of civilian facilities, humanitarian, medical, and dental assistance and anti-drug campaigns, that this applies to the police and the armed forces. It again demands respect for human rights, prohibition of extrajudicial executions, disappearances, torture, arbitrary arrest and detention as well as appropriate care for the sick and wounded. However, how do they treat the prisoners of war in the barracks and prisons in Peru? if they do not kill them first, they overcrowd them and apply their plan of systematic annihilation to the point of genocide.

And after the supposed training, the Yankee intervention begins:

“Peru commits itself to expand the capacity of the Armed Forces and that these provide protection to the police forces in the anti-drug activities in which they are confronted with the terrorists.” “The U.S. government commits to provide training and equipment in order to expand the capacity and effectiveness of Peruvian police and military units by land, air and river.” “Having the Upper Huallaga Valley as the main area.”

It does not say exclusive, therefore they can act anywhere. The amount for this effect is:

“Up to \$34.900.000 to finance the purchase of implements and services of U.S. origin [...] funds that will be evaluated annually and that will require a reduction in drug production and trafficking, sustained conduct of economic policies and respect for human rights.”

It is the biggest sale of Peru to Yankee imperialism for a crust to buy logistics. It concludes that the parties can agree on the “legal actions necessary to achieve the proposed goals”; once again the Yankees can impose whatever laws they want to justify its intervention.

The economic annex is nothing more than the stipulation of the amounts for the blatant Yankee intervention in the Peruvian government’s economic policy: 1) In support of the Peruvian government’s economic stabilization

and structural reform program, the Yankee government will provide the balance of payments under the counter-narcotics economic assistance program, \$52.700.000. 2) Investment and export promotion activities to assist the private sector in generating foreign exchange savings and creating employment opportunities, \$4.500.000. 3) To promote economically viable alternatives such as agricultural production, processing and commercialization activities for specific crops, non-agricultural enterprises, temporary employment, maintenance of secondary roads, road rehabilitation (“deserves special and prompt attention”, that is for counter-subversive actions), stimulate legitimate and democratic peasant organizations to participate and receive support in property registry mechanisms; in total for all this \$1.900.000, in the framework of the “Upper Huallaga Regional Development” project. 4) The Yankee government will also cooperate to improve the efficiency of the Peruvian judicial system with 900.000 dollars; this is a blatant sale of Peruvian justice to their Yankee imperialist masters. Total \$94.900.000.000 in fiscal year ‘91-’92. Funds, moreover, subject to constant evaluations of progress in all the items contemplated in addition to the availability of the same in the Yankee Congress.

The position agreed upon in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum, after having unmasked the so-called Fujimori doctrine, led us with great foresight to conceive of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign against the most blatantly pro-imperialist Yankee government to date and against imperialist aggression, mainly Yankee. Therefore, we were forewarned against the Agreement and the growing Yankee intervention in the counter-subversive war in Peru under the endorsement of the country-selling Fujimori, and we were consistent applicators of sowing anti-imperialism in the masses.

In the reactionary and revisionist camp, there have been divergent positions regarding the Agreement. They have described it as capitulationist; of being a mistake, an illusion of the Yankees to eradicate coca, of not being a program but a simple salute to the flag; while Express celebrated “coherent and outlines an integral and democratic strategy”. But as always all the reactionaries and revisionists, in their defense of the old order, were incapable of condemning the new Yankee intervention in Peruvian politics; in Bolivia there was no such blatant acceptance. And if we remember that in the government of the demagogue and genocidal Garcia Perez, General

(FAP) Enrico Praelli opposed the Yankee intervention, which cost him his sanction; today the unconditional Fujimorist military and police chiefs accept this betrayal of the homeland they claim to defend. Some members of the Liberty Movement, like E. Gherzi, founded open opposition; but they did not go beyond words. The bourgeois opportunists, like Diez Canseco of the PUM, only recently realized that it was a Yankee imperialist intervention against Peru, but since they are against the People's War, they did not go beyond declarations either. The revisionism of the crusty Del Prado remained mute, and the revisionists of "Red Fatherland" are so absorbed in their adored parliamentarism and having abandoned even anti-imperialism, they consider that if it "develops" then the Agreement is good: a similar position is that of their first cousins, the armed revisionists of the MRTA. The refloated Belaúnde Terry spoke of "ridiculous amounts" and of "unfavorable conditions for Peru", as always he wants "equal conditions" and "more Yankee investments". Jurist García Sayán defended him to the hilt and was in full agreement with the supposed U.N. guarantee. Ulloa and his arch-reactionary pasquin, nowadays pro-Fujimori, praised him to sidereal space. And the Peruvian "intellectuals", fearful of losing their perks or being branded as "terrorists", with their complicit silence pronounced themselves in favor of Yankee intervention in the People's War in Peru. To sum up, in this problem polarization is being clearly expressed: on the one hand, the Communist Party leading the people repudiates, condemns and fights against the Agreement and the Imperialist aggression and, on the other hand, the defenders of the old, pro-imperialist, landlord-bureaucratic State support them.

In synthesis, the Agreement has a counter-revolutionary character, in essence it intends to annihilate the People's War; for imperialism, mainly Yankee, the "fight against drug trafficking" is the pretext that gives it "just cause" to intervene in the counter-revolutionary war in Peru and contribute to the three tasks; the country-selling Fujimori has promoted the greatest Yankee imperialist participation with the signing of the Yankee Intervention Agreement and its annexes. Our position is to unmask him, condemn him and crush him by further developing the People's War, whatever the circumstances of his intervention and to sow anti-imperialism, mainly anti-Yankee, sentiment in the people's masses.

## HUMAN RIGHTS AND “Aid”.

The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought world outlook makes us understand the reactionary, counter-revolutionary bourgeois character of the so-called Human Rights that are so much manipulated today in the world, and how to understand the rights of the people.

Marx tells us in Volume 1 of “Capital”:

“This sphere that we are deserting, within whose boundaries the sale and purchase of labour-power goes on, is in fact a very Eden of the innate rights of man. There alone rule Freedom, Equality, Property and Bentham. Freedom, because both buyer and seller of a commodity, say of labour-power, are constrained only by their own free will. They contract as free agents, and the agreement they come to, is but the form in which they give legal expression to their common will. Equality, because each enters into relation with the other, as with a simple owner of commodities, and they exchange equivalent for equivalent. Property, because each disposes only of what is his own. And Bentham, because each looks only to himself. The only force that brings them together and puts them in relation with each other, is the selfishness, the gain and the private interests of each. Each looks to himself only, and no one troubles himself about the rest, and just because they do so, do they all, in accordance with the pre-established harmony of things, or under the auspices of an all-shrewd providence, work together to their mutual advantage, for the common weal and in the interest of all.

On leaving this sphere of simple circulation or of exchange of commodities, which furnishes the ‘Free-trader Vulgaris’ with his views and ideas, and with the standard by which he judges a society based on capital and wages, we think we can perceive a change in the physiognomy of our dramatis personae. He, who before was the money-owner, now strides in front as capitalist; the possessor of labour-power follows as his labourer. The one with an air of importance, smirking, intent on business; the other, timid and holding back, like one who is bringing his own hide to market and has nothing to expect but — a hiding.”<sup>11</sup> (J. Bentham. 1748-1832. English economist. His theory is utilitarianism, the forerunner of pragmatism.)

Here Marx establishes the relationship between the capitalist system of buying and selling labor power and the paradise of man's rights; he specifies the class character of each of these rights: freedom of the buyer to buy labor-power and freedom of the worker to sell his labor-power; the equality of the possessors of commodities, of the capitalist who owns capital and of the worker for whom his only property is his labor-power; and the freedom to dispose of the property each has, if he has capital he has the right to dispose of it as he pleases: exploiting further, if he has only labor-power he has the right to sell his hide to be tanned. And, thirdly, it unmask the bourgeois content of focusing on the individual, of being based on selfishness, on personal interest and the belief in a pre-established order or under a God of those rights.

In "The Poverty of Philosophy" Marx discusses freedom:

"Do not be deceived by the abstract word freedom. Whose freedom? It is not the freedom of each individual in relation to the other individual. It is the freedom of capital to crush the worker."<sup>12</sup>

Chairman Gonzalo, commenting on this quotation at the Political Bureau meeting of July '90, said:

"Marx alone makes himself understood; so much is said about freedom, of what, of whom, of what class, for whom? Freedom of the bourgeoisie to crush the worker, to crush not only the class, but all those who work with the sweat of their brow! Marx already told us, much is said about freedom and this system is spoken of as a derivative of freedom, without understanding that freedom is nothing but the ideological derivation of the current bourgeois system, that is what we understand today by freedom.

And in 'The Holy Family', title 'On the Jewish Question', Paragraph 1: 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen', Article 2, Marx says:

"These rights (the natural and imprescriptible rights), are: equality, security and property. In what does liberty consist? It is the right to do everything that does not harm another, the limit is determined by law, it is the freedom of man as an isolated monad, folded in on itself. But the human right of freedom is not based on the union of man with man but on the separation



of man by man. It is the right to this dissociation, the right of the individual delimited, limited by himself.'

Clear criticism of bourgeois freedom; conclusion:

'The practical application of man, of freedom, is the human right of private property. The human right of private property is therefore the right to enjoy his patrimony and to dispose of it arbitrarily (as he pleases), without regard to other men, independent of society, it is the right of personal interest. That is the problem of the human right of freedom.'

'That individual freedom and this application of it, constitute the foundation of bourgeois society.'

Therefore bourgeois freedom is in essence the human right of private property; and private property is the right to enjoy his patrimony and to dispose of it in his personal interest, which constitutes the foundation of bourgeois society.

'Society which causes man to find in it not the realization but the limitation of his freedom and proclaims above all else the human right to enjoy and arbitrarily dispose of his property, his products, his fruits, his labor and his industry.'<sup>13</sup>

That is what the human right of private property proclaims in essence. That is the freedom and foundation of bourgeois society. It is the freedom to private property in personal interest; one cannot separate them, when one speaks of freedom one speaks of private property, the right of personal interest. That is its foundation, it is the basis of liberalism and neoliberalism to the extreme. And this is what we have seen in the analysis of the Peruvian Constitution and international laws, it is nothing but the right of personal interest of the bourgeois class and submission to imperialism, therefore what Marx said is fully valid. Equality, says Marx is considered linked to private property and self-interest, and equality is nothing but that every man is considered equally a monad, you monad, all monads, but each with his personal interest. He recognizes that all have equal right or personal interest, that personal interest is to take property, enjoy it and exercise his right according to each.

Security, which also lists the article and transcribes it, he says is the supreme social concept of bourgeois society, the concept of the police. According to which the whole of society exists only to guarantee to each of its members the preservation of his person, his rights and his property.

From this we will understand that human rights are the rights of the bourgeoisie, based on the conception centered on the individual as possessor of natural rights, proper to their condition as individuals; rights that are imprescriptible insofar as they are linked to their freedom, which is freedom as a human right of private property; and understanding their human right of private property as disposing of their patrimony and enjoying it, attending to the right of personal interest that is the foundation of bourgeois society. From these criteria derives equality, the right of each individual to exercise the right of his own interest, of private property, of his right of personal interest. And security, the supreme concept of bourgeois society; to emphasize the concept of police, Marx says that a bourgeois society requires an apparatus that guarantees the rights of individuals, their right of private property.” (All comments are from Chairman Gonzalo at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum of the Central Committee, Oct.-Feb. ‘91-’92.)

Lenin. Chairman Gonzalo in “Elections, No! People’s War, Yes!” reaffirms what Lenin writes on this same problem in his text “Economy and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat”, in its 5<sup>th</sup> part, when dealing with socialism, classes and dictatorship of the proletariat:

“Under capitalism the proletariat was an oppressed class, a class bereft of all ownership in the means of production, the only class which stood directly and completely opposed to the bourgeoisie, and therefore the only one capable of being revolutionary to the very end.”

“General talk about freedom, equality, and democracy is in fact but a stereotyped repetition of concepts which are only a cast from the relations of commodity production. To attempt to solve the concrete problems of the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of such general talk is to accept the theories and principles of the bourgeoisie all along the line. From the point of view of the proletariat, the question can be put only in the following way: freedom from the oppression of which class? Equality of which class with

which? democracy based on private property, or on a struggle for the abolition of private property? Etc.”

The first makes us see the revolutionary role of the proletariat as opposed to the reactionary role of the bourgeoisie. In the second the class character of liberty, equality and democracy is so clear that it is enough to reproduce it.

Chairman Mao. Also in the same text Chairman Gonzalo transcribes:

“And regarding freedom and democracy [Chairman Mao teaches us]:

‘In reality, in the world there are only concrete freedom and democracy, and there are no abstract freedom and democracy. In a society where there is class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited; if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and the rest of the working people. In some capitalist countries the legal existence of some Communist Parties is also permitted, but only to the extent that this does not endanger the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie; it is not permitted beyond that limit. Those who call for freedom and democracy in the abstract believe that democracy is an end and not a means. Sometimes democracy looks like an end, but in reality it is only a means. Marxism teaches us that democracy is part of the superstructure and belongs to the category of politics. This means that, in the end, democracy serves the economic base. The same is true of freedom. Both democracy and freedom are relative and not absolute, they have arisen and developed in the course of history. Within the people, democracy is correlative with centralism, and freedom with discipline. They are two distinct aspects of a single whole, contradictory and at the same time united. We must not unilaterally emphasize one of them by denying the other. Within the people we cannot do without freedom, nor can we exclude discipline, nor can we do without democracy, nor can we exclude centralism. Such unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy broad democracy and freedom, but at the same time they must remain within the limits of socialist discipline. This truth is well understood by the great masses of the people.’

Thus, Chairman Mao, raising the problem of rights and liberties founded and developed by Marx and Lenin, stresses their class character, their bourgeois ideological basis centered on the individual, on egoism; and, the relationship between rights and social system.”

So far we have seen the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist conception. Now, we outline something of the process followed in the world by the financial oligarchy in terms of human rights. The financial oligarchy, class of imperialism and specification of the big bourgeoisie, has always raised the old and tattered banners of human rights to expand its world domination; it was in the name of human rights that Yankee President Wilson participated in the 1<sup>st</sup> World War to establish the U.S. as an imperialist power and acted in the first great war of plunder to divide up the world. In 1941, under F. D. Roosevelt, the Yankees intervened in the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War to expand their dominions to more parts of the world. After the war and to guarantee its expansion, dominion and influence, it promoted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the U.N., a pro-imperialist organization, guarantor of the superpowers and imperialist powers. On the other hand, the U.S. and other imperialist powers have always attacked the socialist systems of the USSR of Lenin or Stalin, and of China with Chairman Mao, as violators of human rights. And today, as imperialism continues its general collapse, it resorts to its old reactionary bourgeois banners, to its old refurbished principles, because it can no longer create anything new or progressive. It covers them with a “humanitarian” varnish to hide its counter-revolutionary class character that pretends to contain in the world the main historical and political tendency which is the revolution; artfully hiding that human rights are one more instrument to impose its reactionary ideology (whose core is idealism and the crudest pragmatism, totally contrary to dialectical materialism) and its fallacious bourgeois-democratic policy of bloody reactionary dictatorship headed by the financial oligarchy in the imperialist States or by the big bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the oppressed nations (absolutely contrary to the people’s democratic dictatorship and the dictatorship of the proletariat, both led by the proletariat and sustained by the worker-peasant alliance). And all for the defense of the outdated imperialist system, bloody parasitic barbarism that plagues the Earth, totally contrary and opposed to the socialist system, the

great new of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the only system that will lead humanity to the kingdom of freedom, Communism.

Apparently imperialism, reaction and revisionism defend the rights of man regardless of classes, but deep down they only defend their right and freedom to subjugate peoples and nations; even more so today imperialism, mainly Yankee, use human rights to impose international norms to justify their intervention in any part of the world and subject everyone to their hegemony. Thus, at the U.N., a representative of Austria has just proposed to form “white helmets” to defend human rights, he said: “Respect for human rights must be one of the pillars of the internal order”; their protection “cannot be considered as interference in the internal affairs of a State. On the contrary, expressing concern in this area constitutes an important and legitimate element of international dialogue”. They want to sweep away the rights of sovereignty, independence and self-determination or self-determination of peoples, nations and states. Another example of what we affirm is the recent Yankee aggression, among other imperialists, against Iraq and the embargo to which it has been subjected after its genocidal war against the Arab people. Another one more, the shameful subjugation of Kampuchea by the U.N., which imposes and manages the politics, economy, reduction of troops, elections, absolutely all the internal order of that country. Or the aggression against Panama in 1989. Consequently, it is above all Yankee imperialism, the great world gendarme, which seeks to establish itself as the sole hegemonic imperialist superpower, which raises these ragged banners of human rights the most.

Within human rights there is no room for the rights of the proletariat and the people; the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have the right to life but they condemn them to die of hunger, plunge them into increasing misery or plunge them into profound ignorance; the people have the right to exercise political power but they do not consent to their joint dictatorship, much less the dictatorship of the proletariat; worse still, in their so-called democratic systems, which are not such but reactionary, bourgeois-democratic or fascist dictatorships, the people are never consulted, except to cover up appearances; and the rights that exist in the constitutions, laws or norms of the old States of the world are more and more formal.

For the application of this policy, imperialism creates human rights organizations, as part of its tactic of using both hands; thus, at the international level, the Human Rights Commissions of the U.N. or the OAS and in the country, the NGOs at its service in this field. Among these we have in Lima, for example, the Institute of Legal Defense (IDL), a pro-Yankee organization that praises the genocidal and fatherland-selling leader for his "advances" in the policy of "reinsertion" or market economy, salutes his "optimism" of the pro-imperialist exploiter and criticizes the "daily violence that reminds them that they do not live in wonderland"; This means that, without the People's War, the policies of exploitation and total surrender to Yankee imperialism are welcomed by these defenders of human rights, direct servants of the Yankees who simply demand so-called pacification, that is, the counterrevolutionary strategy of low intensity warfare; promoters of venal and sinister counter-revolutionary journalists who have always hated the Peruvian people, like Zileri of the frivolous reactionary sewer that is Caretas.

In Latin America, this imperialist policy is also being pursued, but with the specificity of apparently combating drug trafficking. This region is a key part of Yankee imperialism and to consolidate its power it has to combat two fundamental problems: revolution and drug trafficking, the main one being revolution because it contains the main contradiction in the world between nation-superpowers and imperialist powers, from the solution of which derives the destiny of each party in contention. The Yankee strategy for Latin America consists in conjuring away revolutions through political, economic and military plans such as those of the so-called "Initiative of the Americas" and the strategy of "low-intensity warfare". But in addition, they have found that in Peru, Colombia and Bolivia the coca leaf is cultivated by historical tradition; moreover, as a narcotic drug, cocaine, from these lands imperialism and drug traffickers take it to the United States and other European countries to corrupt their peoples, obtaining great profits in its commercialization. Thus, taking the problem of drug trafficking as a pretext, they have devised a strategic plan to intervene "justifiably" and to ward off revolutions; part of this black plan is the February 1990 meeting in Cartagena and also the Convention of Intervention in Peru already seen.

In Peru, both problems, the revolution and drug trafficking, take on greater importance because the People's War is becoming a serious danger to consolidate Yankee domination in America; and, due to the general crisis of bureaucratic capitalism and the pauperization of Peruvian society, coca cultivation has proliferated. That is why the relations between Peru and the U.S. are closely linked to both problems, mainly to annihilate the people's war which, after all, is their main problem. Chairman Gonzalo in the document "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!" teaches us:

"The situation in the Huallaga Region raises an important concern of a possible direct intervention by Yankee imperialism. This matter revolves around the prospect that the contradiction nation versus imperialism might become main, which would represent a basic change in the strategic and development of the People's War in Peru. A magazine of the United States army states:

'Finally, and more seriously, the United States confronts one aspect of the insurgency in Latin America which offers a greater threat, but one which perhaps could still provide us with the weapon allowing us to recover the moral superiority, which we apparently have lost.

There is an alliance among some drug traffickers and some insurgents. Several countries in Latin America confront the corruption of their rulers and military officers. These countries make an effort to treat the problem with the uncertain support of the United States and with varying degrees of success. The dollars earned by the drug traffickers are delivered to the boxes of certain guerrillas or, possibly, in the form of weapons and material, to the hands of the guerrilla.

A solidification of this connection in the public perception and in Congress will carry us to the necessary support to counter these guerrilla terrorists/drug traffickers in this hemisphere. It would be relatively easy to generate such support once the connection is proven and a total war is declared by the National Command Authority. Congress would have difficulty preventing the support for our allies with the training, advising and security assistance necessary for them to fulfill their mission. The religious and academic groups who tirelessly have supported Latin

American insurgents would see themselves in an indefensible moral position.

Above all, we would have an unblemished moral position from which to launch a coordinated offensive effort, for which we would count the resources of the Department of Defense and the rest of the sources. The recent operation in Bolivia is a first step. Instead of answering defensively to each insurgency according to the individual case, we could initiate actions in coordination with our allies. Instead of immersing ourselves in the legislative mesh and the financial constraints characteristic of our position of security assistance, we could answer the threat more swiftly. Instead of debating each separate threat, we can begin to perceive the hemisphere as a unity, and at last arrive at developing the vision that we so much need.' (Military Review, Spanish-American Edition, May 1987, pp. 49-51.)

Thus, 'drug trafficking' is a 'weapon to recover the moral superiority' of Yankee imperialism, providing it with a 'moral position for a coordinated offensive' and with the 'hemispheric vision', which it now lacks. These criteria, obviously more developed than before, guide Yankee politics. We see very clearly how sinister is the plan to slander the People's War as 'narco-terrorism' and whose interests it serves, and what the aim of the Old State is, of reaction, of revisionism, of the opportunists and their lackeys of all kinds, whose arch-reactionary campaigns for many years have slandered and charged the People's War with 'narco-terrorism'. The objective of such slander is plainly and simply to promote the aggression and intervention by Yankee imperialism, serving and defending their interests, as well as those of Peruvian reaction. That is why we must expose even further the counterrevolutionary essence of presenting the People's War as 'terrorism' or 'narco-terrorism'; we must denounce the increasing Yankee intervention and its plans of aggression. Let's develop and popularize our anti-imperialist campaign of 'Yankee Go Home!'. Let's aim better and make an effort to unite the Peruvian people, the immense majority of them, on the basis of the peasant-worker alliance; to prepare ourselves ideologically, politically and organically to continue developing the People's War under any circumstances, raising even higher Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought; to go on fighting each day persistently and relentlessly to conquer



Power in all the country, as part of the Proletarian World Revolution, to which we are linked stronger than ever in the overflowing cause of Communism; and to hit our enemies accurately and stunningly, whoever they are, and even more so Yankee imperialism [...]”<sup>14</sup>

Another issue intimately linked to human rights is “legitimization”, a key content of the Yankee strategy of low-intensity warfare, by which the allied regimes must be “democratically” elected, satisfy basic needs and respect human rights. But neither the vote achieved by Fujimori, nor the growing dissatisfaction of the fundamental needs of the Peruvian people, nor the lack of moral authority of a cynical demagogue who applies all that he denied during his electoral campaign, nor his systematic genocidal policy legitimize him; on the contrary, Fujimori loses more “legitimacy” every day in the eyes of the Peruvian people.

In conclusion, today that imperialism is in its final collapse, its human rights are ragged and outdated bourgeois banners, counter-revolutionary; a cover that “legitimizes” imperialist intervention in any part of the world, a deceitful resource to impose its domination, a means to condition its “aid” and an instrument to contain or overthrow revolutions. The one who most vehemently and hypocritically raises them is Yankee imperialism, which pretends to set itself up as the sole hegemonic superpower. For all that has been seen, our position is very clear, we reject and condemn human rights because they are bourgeois, reactionary, counter-revolutionary rights; today they are a weapon of revisionists and imperialists, mainly of Yankee imperialism. To raise human rights in Peru is to endorse the sinister interventionist policy of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, to serve the crafty genocidal sell-out Fujimori, and to work for the three tasks of the Old State; It is to deny the hunger and genocide suffered by the masses, it is to oppose the rights of the people, it is to be pawn and cannon fodder of the “low-intensity war” against the People’s War; it is, in synthesis, to be for Imperialism, against the Peruvian nation, for the big bourgeoisie and the landowners against the people’s masses, it is to sell out to the infamous past against the brilliant future.

As far as imperialist “aid” is concerned, it is nothing but highly profitable investment in its semi-colonies, allies or friends from whom it demands

guarantees for its capital and demands “legitimacy” and respect for human rights to guarantee its class interests; private property, the market economy, freedom of action to suffocate revolutionary wars or provoke local and even world wars of plunder. That said, let us look at the shameful bargaining between the “biggest producer and the biggest consumer”, for the so-called “aid”. The risk of suspending the “aid” stipulated in the Yankee Intervention Agreement in the face of the persistent violation of human rights in the counter-subversive war, not in any fight against drug trafficking. It led the genocidal and obsessive Yankee pro-imperialist Fujimori to hurriedly issue a series of legal provisions by order and direct advice of Yankee specialists; he was on the verge of not traveling because he would not bring any money to the country; and, magically, the reports of disappearances and extrajudicial executions were reduced. In an unofficial visit, servant and master met to plot against the Peruvian people; the main role of the lackey was also to offer the whole of Peru for sale, as well as to blindly accept all the conditions imposed by the boss.

The newspapers cried out:

“Human Rights is a worrying denunciation [...] the anti-subversive struggle without legal considerations only serves to feed subversion [...] if Peruvian democracy is savaged, it will have already lost the war.” “Only the bloodiest dictatorships can exhibit a record of human rights violations like Peru’s.” “Of the total number of cases of disappeared reported to the U.N. during the last year, 60% come from Peru.” “The subversion seeks precisely that democracy disqualifies itself with acts of this type.”

A subjective appreciation that hides the reality, since by their own counterrevolutionary nature they have to violate their own principles, norms and bourgeois-democratic laws. A valuable statement points out:

“It makes the Peruvian State lose legitimacy and the Peruvian State silently digs its own grave.”

At the international level, the Secretary General of Amnesty International highlighted:

“The situation in Peru is one of the most worrying [...] the military do not accept violations and attribute them to individual excesses [...]in the

emergency zones these violations are too frequent to be attributed to excesses.”

Therefore, they are systematic. In London, also Amnesty International:

“In Peru 300 men, women and children disappeared after being arrested by security forces [...] they still practice torture [...]”

Later:

“There are 150 cases of disappearances in Peru under the Fujimori government.”

The U.N. Human Rights Commission, through the Peruvian representative, denounced “Terrorism violates human rights”. And in Peru began campaigns and operations to “prove” the links of the subversion with drug trafficking; General (FAP) Velarde, president of the CFA discovers (!) a contract of commercialization and protection of drug trafficking by the Shining Path. They even spread that the subversion sells drugs to agents of the DEA.

A group of senators of the U.S. Congress, headed by Senator Kennedy, in a letter to Bush for the atrocious violation of human rights in Peru and because no military or police officer has been sanctioned or condemned, oppose the “aid” to Peru. They say:

“Bush’s attempts to disguise the deplorable human rights violations in Peru do not serve the cause of human rights or to eliminate drug trafficking [...] this violation will violate U.S. law and is an affront to Congress, shameful and fraudulent, until there is real progress in Peru not a penny should be given.”

The U.S. Congress stopped the “aid” of almost 100.000.000 dollars to Peru for military assistance and economic development, until September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1991, “after that date this problem linked to human rights in Peru will be dealt with”.

The Peruvian premier rejects the letter from the US senators.

In the U.S. they editorialize in favor of “aid”. In the New York Post:

“The worst human rights record but limited military cooperation against drug traffickers makes sense [...] in Peru no such campaign can succeed

without also attacking the connection between the cocaine industry and the Shining Path.”

In the Washington Post:

“Peru’s military often acts against suspected leftists, peasants and indigenous people in a way that diverts attention from the country’s brutal Maoist guerrillas [...] Peru is far from El Salvador and the Army can be expected to improve as an armed force and in its respect for human rights if the United States is attentively and actively involved.”

“What is the problem the crusade against the scourge of humanity that is drug trafficking or the fight against the Maoist guerrillas?” U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics Affairs Levitsky said to news agencies Reuters and Newsweek:

“It is a matter of knowing that the problem involves both drug traffickers and the Shining Path [...] if our assistance is used to confront the Shining Path so that the anti-drug activities can advance and be effective we will consider that as a legitimate use of our assistance.”

Here is his answer, it is more important to annihilate the People’s War than to fight drug trafficking and his interference is considered a legitimate use, otherwise the person who says it is a representative of the Yankee State (something like a Minister of State). He continues:

“They have made progress in Human Rights [...] we hope that Congress will consider that it is better to act in Peru than to simply leave it aside [...] If we leave Peru aside we will have left aside a good part of our strategy against narcotics. We need to participate and if we don’t they will strike a blow to counter-narcotics interests.”

Deep down he fears that we will defeat their strategy of low-intensity warfare.

WOLA questions “aid” to Peru. The Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) at the forefront of Peru not receiving Yankee aid, in a letter to the New York Times Carlota Youngers criticizes it for wrongly assuming that Shining Path and drug trafficking can be fought with the same military means; she says that linking counter-insurgency and anti-drug objectives will do more harm than good because the Peruvian government cannot fight the guerrillas effectively if at the same time it carries out actions against drug

trafficking. WOLA's recommendation is that the U.S. should not help Peru, because 1) its military has no interest in fighting drug trafficking and 2) it wants weapons and equipment to strengthen its counter-insurgency action, a process that has killed 5.000 Peruvians and many thousands more. WOLA's critics insist on predicting that if they continue with the current policy, the U.S. will be involved in the dirty war being waged in Peru, which is reminiscent of the Vietnam conflict.

Debates continue on the anti-drug strategy in the U.S.; Fujimori, through the mouth of his premier, announces that his trip to the U.S. is on hold. The Yankee opposition argues that it focuses too much on the military issue. Fujimori promulgates law authorizing prosecutors to enter prisons.

Yankee congressmen, 3 senators and 10 congressmen meet at the CFA. They were thoroughly informed of 10 years of internal war against the Shining Path and described it as "very bloody", they concluded that there was a lack of preparation of the Peruvian armed forces in human rights at the operational levels which had caused "excesses", but that in no way these were the doctrine of the forces of order, having taken recent measures to avoid them, such as the diffusion of human rights in the barracks. From those days on, the already known war reports began to proliferate in which, full of false victories, they denounced all our combat acts, assaults and ambushes or selective annihilations, as well as sabotage, as "human rights violations". Which reveals a more direct advice from the Yankees.

The head of the CFA travels to Washington. They also said that the U.S. would review its anti-drug policy and that this was confidentially communicated by the U.S. Secretary of State to the Peruvian delegation in Washington. They said that the problem of the fight against drug trafficking has to do with the State Department, the Defense Department and the Justice Department. Obviously they could not even refer to the fight against drugs because of the phrases disseminated by Bush about Peru no longer being one of the countries involved, but the main one.

It was at that time that the sell-out traveled on an unofficial visit to the U.S. and pronounced the condemnable words at the OAS, which we saw in the first part of the balance sheet. What interests us is to see what statements

the great genocidal Bush made in the face of the genuflection of his mercenary:

“You are Peru’s hope for the future [...] we have talked openly about the tough challenges Peru faces both in relation to economic hardship and the renegade insurgency of the drug war to the battle to preserve human rights [...] we reaffirm the May agreements [...] I urge Congress to help Peru and the Andean nations [...] you have replaced police officers suspected of corruption, abuse [...] you have opened detention centers to prosecutors [...] and offered to strengthen your military code. Your reports have begun to improve the human rights performance of the security forces [...]

There you are recognizing him as one of the best lackeys who will guarantee the implementation of the market economy, and the “renegade insurgency” is nothing but the way to cover the struggle against the People’s War; the rest is nothing but demagogic words from the master to the faithful servant. That later in Peru, Fujimori has arranged for his propaganda advisors to broadcast his meeting and his words on radio and television has been a counterproductive measure because it will not occur to the Peruvian people to applaud the flattery of a great genocide to a lesser one; another ridiculous thing is the photos of the Fujimori family in full with the imperialist world gendarme, there you can see the mentality of the pimp before the supposedly powerful of the Earth.

But not even Fujimori’s propaganda and begging trip got the money he requested and the opposition continued. Thus, U.S. Democratic Senator Alan Cranston expressed his fear that the militarization of the fight against drugs and guerrillas in Peru would turn into a dirty war and warned against directing aid to militarization but rather to technical assistance. America’s Watch on October 12<sup>th</sup> said that human rights violations during Fujimori’s government were as numerous as when García Pérez was in power and that Fujimori had designed a policy with some positive elements but that these should only be applied in the future; and accused him of not having brought to justice any military or police officer for violating human rights. In Lima, a few days later, the Senate announced that a small group of military subordinates would be tried for the Santa Barbara genocide in Huancavelica.

And the anti-war popular content of the Treaty was clearly revealed by the interesting words of another Yankee government official: Aronson who declares the "need to provide aid to achieve progress in the insurgent struggle of the Maoist tendency Shining Path"; he also said that a "comprehensive plan to stop coca leaf production requires defeating the Shining Path [...]" and that it would be a step in a long structural change."

Finally, they agreed to grant the money from the "Agreement" but cut by 10.000.000 dollars to be disbursed in three stages depending on Peru" progress in respect for human rights and anti-drug actions; funds that would not be allocated directly but would pass through a civilian sieve that would manage it. The suspended 10.000.000 was to be used to equip 3 battalions of the Peruvian army but as they have not yet demonstrated respect for human rights it will not be delivered. The total of conditional aid will be 83.000.000 dollars only, of which 24.000.000 are for military matters: to implement and maintain Army engineering units, civil works, roads and bridges, basically, 6.000.000; maintenance and repair of A-37 Tucano fighter-bombers and Bell 212 and 214 helicopters of the FAP, 12.000.000; logistics of some Navy equipment in jungle rivers, 6.000.000.

In addition, \$60.000.000 for economic development, of which an agreement has already been signed for \$52.000.000 (\$50.000.000 for balance and the rest for planning). The "aid" for '92-'93 is estimated to be around 130.000.000 dollars, they say.

The conditions of the US legislators to the Executive are the creation of a national registry of detainees, and the appointment of prosecutors with a mandate to prosecute human rights violators and unrestricted access of the International Red Cross to barracks where there are detainees; also that the government exercises effective control of airports and civilians and that the police and military forces act jointly against drug trafficking. It is expected in Washington that the first two requirements will be fulfilled by January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1992, and when the third is fulfilled, the third disbursement will be made directly to Fujimori.

This agreement was signed on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1991. Subsequently, the debate has continued and the fact is that as of December there is no representative of the highest level from either side; therefore, the appointment of Bob

Martinez as the Yankee representative would be nothing more than an act of formal compliance. And there is not a single cent for "alternative development" and it is vox populi the "failure of the Agreement"; while the peasants express their discomfort and are openly against the action of the DEA that spreads from helicopters the fungus plagues that devastate every plantation. But the coca fields spread to new areas in the Upper, Middle and Lower Huallaga and even in the Upper Mayo. At the same time, the Party extends its control to the Middle Huallaga. In addition, a fierce struggle between revolution and counterrevolution is expressed not only in the Huallaga region but in the entire jungle belt and the country as a whole, particularly in Ayacucho and Central Peru. In the U.S. the struggle continues, Bush defends his Andean strategy against drugs and criticizes the congressmen for having prevented the training of three battalions of the Peruvian army and that put in serious danger, he says, the plans of his administration in the Andean region. Levistky insists that an anti-drug program cannot be implemented "without taking into account the security threat posed by the insurgents". And in Peru they are worried that the results of the agreement will be a greater incorporation of the peasants into the People's War and that coca growers will go from being growers to being producers of PBC; that is why Express headlines "Peasants of Upper Huallaga resume their ties with drug trafficking", and organizations such as the ILD indicate that there is no sign that the U.S. will send the money to which it committed itself.

#### **YANKEE MILITARY PARTICIPATION. THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION.**

Let us start from the evidence that never before the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign to Impulse, has the People's War in Peru had so much repercussion in the center of Yankee political power; on the one hand it is seen that in the electoral struggle between Democrats and Republicans, they take our process to manage their contradictions but if this war did not mean a real risk for their hegemonic domination in Latin America they would not even take it into account. It is one of the great triumphs obtained in this Campaign to have shaken the entrails of the great world gendarme and the



latter has had to see itself involved more than ever before in the counter-revolutionary war in Peru.

The Yankee imperialist participation in the counter-subversive war is a fact and is manifested in all fields of Peruvian politics, there is a Treaty of military intervention which, as we have shown, is a complete interference in matters of economic and military policy, totally violating the Peruvian Constitution.

Some time ago they built a counter-subversive base in Santa Lucia, under the deception of an anti-drug base, and they are planning to build another similar one in the Ene valley; There is a Yankee detachment there with 14 agents of the DEA that depends on the U.S. Department of Justice, nominated "Vietnamese killers" by the local masses, who besides patrolling piloting UH I H. helicopters, act by contaminating the fields with cocaine, they act contaminating the fields with the internationally prohibited SPIKE or planting poisonous mushrooms as the Peruvian agronomists have proved and have destroyed all types of crops, to "eradicate" coca, attacking the farmers and not the drug traffickers; We have already denounced the arrogance with which they act, to the point that they are described as "rambos", because they are cowards who give the worst jobs to the Peruvians and enjoy a series of benefits such as only drinking their canned sodas. In addition to the DEA, the NAS, a financial organization that depends on the former, the CORAH, a North American eradication project, the National Police and since the end of February or the beginning of March, the FAP have been operating in this base.

There are Yankee advisors for counter-subversive warfare, confirmed by the same country-seller; There are planes of the AWACS type (warning and control system) that collaborated with the FAP on at least two occasions according to what the Lima magazine Oiga proclaimed, referring to the words of the president, it would be a Boeing E-3B sentry that proved its efficiency in the Gulf War, evidently it is not going to be for the eradication of coca cultivation, it has to do with the preparations that they are trying out in the Yankee intervention in the counter-subversive war.

Even in the letter of the North American associations addressed to their representatives in the North American Congress they state that since '89

when they got involved in the so-called war against drugs no positive results have been obtained and that rather in both Colombia and Peru, due to the presence of guerrilla movements "the U.S. military assistance has been explicitly described as counterinsurgency assistance [...] but any involvement of the United States in the internal conflicts of the region should be widely debated and decided by the Congress and not conducted under the guise of war against drugs."

A work published by the U.S. State Department in April 1989 by the Rand Corporation's National Defense Research Institute mentions that the U.S. assigns to the People's War in Peru "a role of growing relevance capable of provoking an eventual institutional collapse", it says that "although the action of the Shining Path has grown substantially in the last 5 years, it will not succeed until it can capture the cities". But, this same institute is preparing a recent report and some analysts comment that this institution currently conceives two possibilities, either that the present situation of the war continues indefinitely, an opinion qualified as optimistic, or that Shining Path wins the war within 10 years, this is the pessimistic opinion; they wonder why this change? Because they consider that the subversive organization would already be able to cut off access to Lima of 75% of their food needs transported by the central highway; they say that the economic crisis also favors and that a military coup has limited chances because it would favor polarization.

In the New York Times magazine it was published: "50 consultants are going to Peru"; before this news the Minister of Defense Torres Aciego said that it was up to the Ministry to decide if the Yankee instructors would come or not, but a few days later he announced the "arrival of North Americans with the purpose of confronting terrorism with greater efficiency", "they come to train in anti-subversive struggle". Levitsky said:

"The U.S. decided to send military advisors to Peru because it believes that it is impossible to fight drug trafficking without also confronting the Marxist guerrillas of the Shining Path [...] dozens, not hundreds."

General Velarde, head of the CFA, had a round table with Levitsky and the director of the National Security Liaison Office for what? It was never reported, obviously not for the fight against drugs.

The Peruvian premier Torres y Torres Lara first informed that there were no Yankee troops in Peru to immediately add "only training assistance will be accepted", he said that in June 1989 arrived personnel of U.S. Army instructors belonging to the first battalion 7<sup>th</sup> airborne group from North Carolina based in Panama for a course of operations in the jungle with the National Police. He reported the signing of two annexes to the Treaty in July '91 and said that on August 15<sup>th</sup>, members of the U.S. Army are in Mazamari for training. What a coincidence! Precisely when the counter-subversive war has intensified since the end of 1989 and the present year, when the plan in the center of the country has acquired genocidal characters known as those of Korea or Vietnam where the bodies were torn to pieces to punish. And who can be sure that there are only dozens of them?

Another very important fact to evaluate the growing participation of Yankee imperialism is the series of meetings of the Peruvian government with the Yankee rulers, for example the meeting between Yankee and Peruvian military in which they exchange experiences on military justice and human rights, a meeting presided over by a rear admiral of the Peruvian Navy. Others such as those of the head of the U.S. Army Southern Command, George Joulwan, who visited Fujimori, the president of the CFA, Quainton and advisors were present. On November 11<sup>th</sup>, another Yankee mission visited the Peruvian President with congressmen and the Undersecretary of State for Latin America, P. H. McLean, congressmen of foreign relations, human rights, budget and economic affairs, for what? evidently to legislate mainly in matters of pacification and we should ask ourselves if the Americans themselves have not intervened in the issuance of the last 126 Decree Laws.

That is why the chumbeque CIA agent and Yankee ambassador, a specialist in genocide, also accuses:

"Both the members of the Shining Path and the MRTA and the forces of order that affect human rights are enemies of democracy, which must be preserved."

And for traveling to the jungle, especially to the Center to check on the progress of the plans and meddles in Peruvian economic and military policy, he has even congratulated the genocidal country-seller for the "liberal revolution" he is applying and in one of the many forums in which he

participated he opposed that it was not about sending Yankee troops to Peru:

“We raise the possibility of assistance to the Peruvian military and police forces through equipment and instructors to the extent that the Peruvian government requests it [...] it is not about militarizing the fight against drugs but about contributing with elements for an integral strategy [...] we can share our experience and to a certain extent our own resources but it is not about the U.S. pointing out what the solution is.”

Shortly after, he added that one could not differentiate between a drug trafficker and a terrorist if one was in combat. And for the first 15 days of December he had a long meeting with the Political-Military Command of the Mantaro Front, with General Perez Documet to coordinate civic action programs within the so-called Agreement, for the rehabilitation and repair of roads; he also delivered tools for a thousand dollars to the Salesian Youth Center San Juan Bosco Another coincidence! the convergence of the Yankees with the Catholics, especially the Salesians whose major representative has just come to Peru.

Then, a North American mission visits Jauja and Huancayo “to see the progress of the counter-subversive struggle”, that is to say that under the protection of the Treaty they want to implement pilot plans and check their results.

But what is the result of such intervention? They have just published in The New York Times of November 10<sup>th</sup> that drugs and subversion dominate Peru, therefore it is an evident failure recognized by themselves, they even report an attack by the Peruvian army against a police helicopter that was applying a herbicide with the participation of elements of the DEA; that the center of the Yankee actions continue to be repressive and they say that the efforts of the Shining Path to capitalize on these failures are achieving successes and that according to a survey carried out by them 34% think that we will be able to triumph. Also in Newsweek magazine in an article “Support for Justice” Secret Agreement, they point out that Bush is losing the war on drugs in the Andean nations despite the military escalation in the region; based on Pentagon documents from the Southern Command, etc.; it underlines the alliance between the guerrilla and drug trafficking and

the coca producing peasants, especially in Colombia and Peru. It also reveals the strong frictions between civilian and military agents while the US military escalation in Latin America is within the framework of "low-intensity warfare"; for the DEA and CIA the objective is to dismantle the cartels and prosecute their members. In this "Support for Justice" operation, elite Latino military training groups such as the Green Berets, Delta Command and the New Seals participated.

Already in the *Newsweek* of last August they registered the failure of their plans in the Center by recognizing that in spite of the offensives perpetrated, the Shining Path still maintains a presence in many parts of the place, it says: "The Army has undertaken a counter-offensive this year, but the rebels are still the only law in many parts of the city", referring to Huancayo. They also recognize that 5.000 combatants (they confuse with militants because the combatants are hundreds of thousands) have been able to challenge an army of 120.000 men. In international economic magazines such as *The Economist* they spread "Peru, invest and die"; in another Peruvian economic magazine *Economic Actuality* they published: "High cost and risky path". And the Yankee Labor MP John McFall in a letter addressed to the newspaper *The Independent* denounces the persistence of human rights violations in Peru and indicates that various "barbaric acts" have been committed to which "the government seems unable to put an end", he adds that "in the 11 years of war no military was punished but rather promoted for their violations of human rights"; He said this in response to the letter that Ambassador Felipe Valdiviezo Belaúnde responded to allegations of missing persons in December. Then, Democrat Representative Robert Torricelli, according to the *New York Times* said: "I saw planes take off from municipal airports bound for Colombia, supported by control towers, without any police inspection", and he described the Peruvian police and military forces as "completely corrupt" and criticized his government for supporting them. And according to the last report of WOLA in December, he says that the U.S. loses the war against drugs in the Andean countries because the production of coca leaf has increased by 28% in Bolivia, Colombia and Peru in 1990 and by 10% in 1991; he accused the Yankee government of "having changed the Cold War for the War against Drugs in the priority political objective of its policy towards Latin America"; he also said "the U.S. strategy for those countries does not work, because drug

trafficking already has alternative zones of coca and drug production in Brazil, Ecuador and Venezuela". In Peru, E. Treveri wrote "Peru's anti-drug proposal takes a back seat in the U.S.". Then the Treaty fails and they will point it more to counter-revolutionary action; they reflect contradictions between the U.S. Department of State and the Department of Defense that seeks to deeply apply the "low-intensity war" to intervene in a more hidden way and to avoid the conquest of Power, hence they take great pains to strengthen their so-called "aid" in food, medicines, etc. and to propagandize them.

In view of the above, we can conclude that the direct participation of Yankee imperialism in the counter-subversive war being waged in Peru has already begun, with a signed Treaty, with the presence of military instructors, with operational groups and with the use of new weapons, even if only as a rehearsal. In addition to its actions in the elaboration, execution and evaluation of specific counter-subversive, political and economic action plans behind the story of the War on Drugs, further sharpening its internal contradictions regarding the management of the "low-intensity war" in Peru.

On the occasion of the trips of the country-seller and coinciding with his offers to sell Peruvian territory, publications against investments in Peru due to the advance of subversion and the possibility that we will soon seize power began to be disseminated in Europe and the East. This expresses the inter-imperialist struggle in their areas of domination and struggle for a new distribution and how they use the real possibility of the seizure of power to fight among themselves. In France, the Herald Tribune of Paris published the article "Iron bands threaten Peru" and the Peruvian embassy rejected it; on the same day that Fujimori visited Singapore, the newspaper The Straits Times published an extensive and commendable article on the People's War in Peru, dated in Lima although distributed by The New York Times Service, addressed to Eastern investors to whom it seems to say do not go to Peru, the Shining Path is going to take over the government.

There is also the idea that in the face of the supposed failures of socialism with the fall of the USSR "only the Maoists unfortunately have an active role", which demonstrates the consequence of Maoism as the base of unity of the Marxists in the world today and the obligation to apply People's Wars

specified to their conditions. We are not and have not been and will not be followers of the baton, so these so-called appraisals will not affect us, they are an expression of the bankruptcy of revisionism. And our principle is to rely on the masses, on our own efforts, we firmly apply self-decision, self-determination and self-support as our Programme subscribes.

The German, former Minister of the Interior of the former German Democratic Republic propagated that the STASI supported the Party and precisely when Fujimori declared that the CPP was very different from Chinese socialism. Chairman Gonzalo commented:

“Very good! We have nothing in common with Chinese, Soviet or any other revisionism! Fujimori’s efforts also serve to make this great truth shine once again; and, by the way, to repudiate all attempts to link us to Soviet revisionism as they pretend by infamously accusing us of having received aid from East Germany through the STASI, their secret police. (This is nothing more than a new Yankee fabrication that serves, moreover, the Peruvian reaction: the ‘declaration’ of this former Minister of the Interior of that country is simply the invention of rotten revisionism and Yankee agents seeking to do meritorious service to their new master.)”

As for the coordination of the Peruvian reaction with Latin American countries, it is worth mentioning those carried out with Bolivia, where the Minister of the Interior himself began by spreading the word that the police were on high alert for attacks in La Paz, blaming the CPP and radical indigenous groups, but the following day he denied this and justified himself by saying that he had expressed himself badly and that he ruled out the presence of the CPP in his country. A few days later, Bolivia mobilized its armed forces “to prevent the entry of Peruvian terrorists”. Later the general commander of the EP in La Paz with the Bolivian army began to define a bilateral strategy to combat the guerrillas in the border strip they share, but no agreement was signed (Dicen). In Bolivia they unleash a campaign against Peruvians and proclaim that out of 20.000 Peruvians entered in the last years, 8.000 were criminals and terrorists. Until in June the General Commander EP Pedro Villanueva Valdivia asserted the exchange of information and intelligence on terrorism between both countries and that this has three parts: preventive, intervention and consolidation. In the

commemorations of the battle of Ayacucho, Colonel Alberto Jara Almonte, Peruvian military attaché in La Paz said that Latin American armies and peoples "should fight together against the threat of armed subversion".

Another recent fact of support to the Peruvian reaction and to Yankee imperialism, mainly in the low-intensity war, is the participation of human rights organizations which, by agreement of their international meeting in Japan, are going to denounce the violations committed by the armed groups. Among them, Amnesty International and Americas Watch, who lukewarmly and hastily responded to the serious accusations of the genocide of acting with "timidity" and "lukewarmness" in the face of "the execrable murders committed by terrorism", of being "useful idiots". And as was to be expected, given their character, they defined themselves on the side of the counter-revolution, stating that they had always denounced the "atrocities", especially ours. However, Americas Watch, on October 30<sup>th</sup> sent us a letter asking us to investigate a case that occurred in Puno with Army prisoners of war; a document that was rejected by the Peruvian Foreign Ministry because it gives us the status of a belligerent force, which according to them we do not have. Amnesty International, for its part, published extensively its rejection of the "atrocities" of the CPP, which was qualified as a positive disposition by the Peruvian Foreign Ministry for having rectified its position of calling us terrorist groups and no longer political opposition groups; He simultaneously criticized that he had said that the security forces had disappeared and executed thousands in the emergency zones; he also rejected that he had said that there is a generalized uprising or that we have control of territory and that he should point out precisely that terror is the main method of the terrorists. The response of the head of the Americas Region, regarding the data, responded that the Prosecutor confirmed them in July 1990 and that there was a translation error in the generalized uprising, replacing it with "there is a conflict that has been spreading throughout the country"; that the first time our actions were condemned was in 1983 and that now the difference is that the condemnation is "more explicit"; regarding Fujimori, he said:

"It has been disappointing. The reality of the human rights situation in Peru is very far from the promises made more than a year ago [...] the summary of the first 13 months can be considered negative. Fortunately, in the last two



months, there has been a decrease in the number of reports of disappearances.”

Peruvian Ambassador R. Luna denounced the CPP in the sixth Legal Commission of the U.N. Assembly “they would like to replace the oldest nation in South America with a totalitarian community based on models that history has happily overcome”, he said; and that “his government has been especially careful to guarantee the fullest right to human rights in combating this scourge”.

The U.N. denounces the CPP for violation of children’s rights due to their recruitment methods and bloody actions with which they impose their presence in rural communities and metropolitan areas, as they violate the most fundamental rights of children and attempt against their own lives; the “experts of the Committee that monitors compliance with the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child” expressed their concern for the network of clandestine schools in which Shining Path ideologues train children between 5 and 10 years of age.

“All these children are forced by the method of fear or blackmail to participate in the indoctrination campaigns with which it intends to assure the future, either by nourishing its ranks with new political cadres or with new cadres of annihilation.”

“For the first time we are witnessing an immigration phenomenon based on the flight provoked by violence, but the saddest thing is that it attacks the social institutions that try to help them.”

News from the EFE agency. Here we see the support to the Peruvian government of organizations that we do not even know who they are because they speak of “experts”, what is clear and concrete is that the U.N. continues to fulfill its counter-revolutionary imperialist role and cannot accuse us of any crime against children and resorts to recruitment, which it knows very well is not forced, and to indoctrination because it is afraid of ideology. But they can incorporate or form “scouts” or indoctrinate the same as the churches, the Communists cannot because we violate rights and where is the freedom of expression of ideas? There is only freedom to spread their ideas. This is another proof of the class character of their human rights.

Another situation that caused a stir and was quite agitated and distorted in Lima was the arrival in Peru of the Inter-American Human Rights

Commission of the OAS, around which an alleged riot and "provocative action" of the prisoners of war of Canto Grande in Lima was spread, nothing of this happened and the organization spoke with priests, with military authorities such as General Araico or General Perez Documet and with the genocidal traitor who presented the Peruvian government's denunciation of the three alleged cases impossible to be proven because we did not commit them, that of the child who flew in a mined tower under the direction, planning and execution of the intelligence service created by Fujimori, that of a neighborhood leader annihilated by a scab; And that of the APRA and false leader of the masses in the Callao slum, justly executed for being a traitor to the people and working with the reactionary army; but of the genocide perpetrated by his crony García Pérez he said absolutely nothing. They also spoke with political leaders of the CPP and the MRTA who are incarcerated in Lima in the Canto Grande prison, where they refused to enter; with the Association of Democratic Lawyers; with the Committee of relatives of political prisoners and disappeared, among others. At the end of his visit, Vice President Marco T. Bruni declared in a press conference that:

"The State has a firm intention to watch over human rights", "neither the struggle to overcome poverty nor the defense of democracy or the rule of law can justify selective assassinations, destruction of infrastructure, torture, forced disappearances or the use of terror as a social condition to impose certain ideas", "violations have decreased but serious problems persist in the use of guarantee actions such as habeas corpus and amparo; guarantees for entities that watch over human rights; so far no member of the forces of law and order has been sentenced for human rights violations and they should be judged by common law"; and "that the rondas have increased as an effective method of self-defense of the people against subversive organizations."

Here we see the position of ambiguity that leans more against the CPP since at no time does it speak of genocide, nor does it recognize Fujimori's militaristic strategy and recognize advances when the evidence of the manipulation of human rights violations figures is scandalous. Then they said they were going to see the case of the El Frontón "massacre". This does not contradict our denunciation because it is against the genocide in three Shining Trenches of Combat of Lima.

The news also spread through EFE from Madrid that the Committees of Solidarity with Peru and Latin America (eight Spanish, one Portuguese and one Irish) issued a communiqué on the economic and social situation in Peru, they affirm that the situation "has provoked an aggravation of the spiral of violence" and that "the response of the Peruvian State continues to be exclusively military, increasing the dirty war that for the fourth consecutive year places Peru as the country with the first number of detainees and disappeared. Here we see how an international organization criticizes the government and the CPP.

Already in December it was published that the 4<sup>th</sup> Meeting of Human Rights Organizations concluded that there is a risk that the impunity of violations and the lack of control will turn Peru into a chaotic country where the "law of the jungle" must be applied to preserve life and condemned terrorism in all its forms.

As we said before, the human rights organizations must see them as part of the two-handed policy of imperialism in general and of Yankee imperialism in particular; unmask them, differentiate their positions, not consider them as a bloc and take advantage of their contradictions, our policy is to use everything that can be useful to the revolution and that allows us to clarify the genocidal policy of the counterrevolution.

In synthesis, the support of other powers and international organizations to the Peruvian reaction is taking shape with agreements between imperialist powers such as Spain or with backward neighboring countries such as Bolivia; and as for human rights organizations, mainly those of Yankee imperialism and of the churches, particularly the Catholic churches of Europe. The particular human rights organizations such as Amnesty International or Americas Watch reveal contradictions but within the same reactionary and imperialist camp.

## CHAPTER III. CHURCHES

### THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

#### ACTION OF THE CHURCH. IDEOLOGY.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum we reaffirmed the role of ideological shield that the Catholic Church plays and that makes it politically and organically concrete. Subsequent events corroborate our agreements. Let us refer to the official position of the Papacy and the official positions of the Church in Peru in order to better understand the character and the reactionary, counterrevolutionary essence of the Church in general.

On May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1991, Pope John Paul II's 3<sup>rd</sup> Social Encyclical was published: *Centesimus Annus* (100 years after Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum Novarum*). Regarding the "new evangelization" that they invoke so much, he says:

"The 'new evangelization' of which the modern world is in urgent need, and which I have insisted on more than one occasion, must include among its essential elements the proclamation of the Church's social doctrine which, as in the time of Leo XIII, continues to be suitable for indicating the right path in responding to the great challenges of the contemporary age, while the discredit of ideologies is growing. As then, it must be said that there is no true solution to the 'social question' outside the Gospel and that, on the other hand, the 'new things' can find in it their own space of truth and the proper moral approach."

Just as imperialism spreads the supposed expiration of ideologies to sell its stale, outdated, false, old idealistic obscurantism and always opposed to the new, the words of Chairman Gonzalo in the "Interview" are justified and correct to combat it:

"Marx taught us that 'religion is the opiate of the people'. This is a Marxist thesis which is completely valid today, and in the future. Marx also held that religion is a social phenomenon that is the product of exploitation and it will be eliminated as exploitation is swept away and a new society emerges. These are principles that we can't ignore, and that we must always keep in mind. Related to the previous point, it must be remembered that the people

are religious, something which never has and never will prevent them from struggling for their basic class interests, and in this way serving the revolution, and in particular the People's War. I want to make it absolutely clear that we respect this religiousness as a question of freedom of religious beliefs, as recognized by the Programme which was approved by our Congress.

So the question you asked really has to do, in our view, with the ecclesiastic hierarchy, with the Papacy, that old theocracy that had succeeded in developing as a powerful instrument in Roman times. Later, adapting itself to the conditions of feudalism, it gained a vast power, even greater than before. But it always tried to rein in the struggle of the people, and defended the interests of the oppressors and exploiters, acting as an ideological shield for the reactionaries, changing and adapting itself as new situations emerged.

We can see this clearly if we think about the relation between the Church and the bourgeois revolution, the old bourgeois revolution, I'm referring to the French Revolution, for example. The Church fiercely defended feudalism, and later, through a lot of struggle and after the defeat of feudalism — let me repeat, through great struggle it adapted itself to the bourgeois order and became once again an instrument at the service of the new exploiters and oppressors. In the present situation, what we see is a historical process which is unstoppable. The era of the Proletarian World Revolution, the new era begun in 1917, presents the problem for the proletariat of how to lead revolutions to change the old decadent order and create a genuinely new society, communism. In the face of this, how has the Church responded? As in previous times, it seeks to survive, and this is the basis of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vatican Council, where the Church sought to develop conditions that would permit it, first, to defend the old order as it has always done, and then, adjust and adapt itself in order to serve new exploiters, to continue to survive. This is what it seeks, this is the essence of the 2nd Vatican Council.

The question of the 'new evangelism' refers explicitly to how ecclesiastical authority, the Pope in particular, sees the role of Latin America, where, as they themselves say and the current Pope said in 1984, half the world's Catholics live. They are, consequently, trying to use the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of

the discovery of America to push forward a so-called movement of 'new evangelism'. In sum, this is what they hope for: since evangelism officially began in 1494 following the discovery of America, with this new centennial they want to develop a 'new evangelism' in defense of their bastion, this half of the 'parish', half of the bastion that sustains them in power. This is their goal. In this way, the hierarchy and the Papacy aim to defend their position in America and serve Yankee imperialism, the dominant imperialist power in Latin America.

But we have to understand this plan in the context of a campaign and a worldwide plan, linked to its relations with the Soviet Union on the occasion of the millennium of its Christianization, the ties with Chinese revisionism, the actions of the Church in Poland, the Ukraine, etc. It is a worldwide plan and the 'new evangelism' operates within it. As always they are attempting to defend the existing social order, to be its ideological shield, because the ideology of reaction, of imperialism, has become decrepit. In the future they will again seek to adapt in order to survive. But the prospects will be different, not like things were before. Marx's law will assert itself: religion will wither away as exploitation and oppression are destroyed and eliminated. And since the Papacy serves the exploiting classes and what will follow is not an exploiting class, the Papacy will not be able to survive, and religion itself will wither away. In the meantime the freedom of religious belief has to be recognized until mankind advancing through new objective conditions, comes to possess a clear, scientific and world-transforming consciousness. We must therefore, analyze the 'new evangelism' in the context of this plan of the Church to survive under new conditions, a transformation that they know must come."<sup>15</sup>

Continuing with the encyclical, it is textually against revolutionary violence, against class struggle, against justified and revolutionary wars:

"Extremist groups, who try to resolve such controversies by means of arms easily find political and military support, are armed and trained for war, while those who strive to find peaceful and humane solutions, respectful of the legitimate interests of all parties, remain isolated and often fall victim to their adversaries. Even the militarization of so many 3<sup>rd</sup> World countries and the fratricidal struggles that have tormented them, the spread of terrorism and increasingly cruel political-military means have one of their

main causes in the precariousness of the peace that followed the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War. In short, the whole world is threatened by an atomic war, capable of wiping out humanity. Science used for military purposes provides the decisive instrument for the hatred fomented by ideologies. But war can end, without victors or vanquished, in a suicide of humanity, which is why it is necessary to repudiate the logic that leads to it, the idea that the struggle for the destruction of the adversary, contradiction and war itself are factors of progress and advancement of history. When the necessity of this rejection is understood, both the logic of 'total war' and that of class struggle must necessarily enter into crisis."

He speaks of the "fall of Marxism" and invokes dialogue:

"While Marxism considered that, only by taking social contradictions to the extreme, it was possible to solve them by means of violent clash, on the other hand, the struggles that have led to the fall of Marxism insist tenaciously on trying all the ways of negotiation, of dialogue, of the testimony of the truth, appealing to the conscience of the adversary and trying to awaken in him the sense of common human dignity."

But if he refers to the USSR or Eastern Europe, in both cases there has been either a State coup or national uprisings or even a war like the one in Yugoslavia; besides, in none of those places has there been Marxism but revisionism since 1956 with Khrushchev and precisely what has been produced is the logical consequence of capitalist restoration. He continues his idea:

"That attitude has disarmed the adversary, since violence always needs to justify itself with lies and to assume, even if falsely, the aspect of the defense of a right or of a response to an alien threat [...] Would that men would learn to fight for justice without violence, renouncing the class struggle in internal controversies, as well as war in international ones!"

In the history of mankind the whole process of transformation of modes of production has been through wars, to pass from the primitive community to slavery there were great wars of domination, without which there would not have been the powerful slave societies such as Egypt or Rome: to pass from slavery to feudalism, the slaves rebelled in innumerable wars against the slaveowners until they managed to stop being sold like animals and entered feudalism, but the new system imposed did not end the oppression,

the oppressed became peasant serfs of the feudal lords against whom they rose again in immense and tenacious peasant struggles to wrest the land they worked and belonged to them and to destroy feudalism; among the feudals themselves a multitude of feuds broke out between pairs to define who was king and between the kings of a place and the kings of another intense wars for power were lived until defining powerful European kingdoms for example the Spanish Kingdom or the Tsarist Russia or the Manchu Empire in the East. Also during this period of feudalism, as well as wars between feudal lords, there were fierce wars for political and economic power between the hierarchs of the Catholic Church, between Popes, between Bishops, as in the case of the well-known Borgia Pope and his family. It is also part of the history of the Catholic Church the wars of the Crusades to impose their religion in other parts of the world or the atrocious extermination of the Peruvian and Latin American natives when they conquered America with their swords and divine crosses, with the savage reductions of the Jesuits. Then, when feudalism collapsed, capitalism developed and generated the proletariat, the last exploited class of the earth that has to destroy that ominous system also with wars, but revolutionary wars that finally put an end to all systems of exploitation, in the definitive course of humanity towards its true freedom: and the violence that we proletarians proclaim, the Communists as vanguard of the class, we do not need to justify it nor do we lie about its necessity: before an iniquitous system that provokes wars of plunder like the two imperialist world wars that cost about 60.000.000 dead, what is it that by historical materialism corresponds? To destroy capitalism that has become imperialism in its final phase and to build socialism and the brilliant future Communism: we are capable of proclaiming before the world: "It is right to rebel!" So those stinking words of incense smell cover up realities to attack the just, correct and necessary revolutionary violence and defend the counter-revolutionary, unjust, erroneous violence, defender of exploitation and oppression.

He spreads his idealistic theocratic conception of "Christian revelation" as a means to understand reality:

"On the other hand, man, created for freedom, carries within him the wound of original sin that continually pushes him towards evil and makes



him in need of redemption. This doctrine is not only an integral part of Christian revelation, but also has a great hermeneutical value insofar as it helps to understand human reality [...]"

"It is up to God alone to separate the followers of the Kingdom and the followers of the Evil One, [...] this judgment will take place at the end of time. Pretending to anticipate the judgment already now, man tries to supplant God and opposes his patience [...] Thanks to the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, the victory of the Kingdom of God has been conquered once and for all, [...] the Lord will return in his glory for the final judgment, establishing the new Heavens and the new Earth."

First, behind the absurd and anti-scientific idea of original sin they cover up the existence of exploitation and exploiters; second, man does not need any crucifixion or any redemption if not to emancipate himself from exploitation and oppression and his emancipation is the work of his own action; and third, if they believe in an imaginary final divine judgment, if that is their conception, then why do they set themselves above their god and judge us as followers of their supposed evil one by qualifying us as terrorists? Why so much condemnation of those of us who fight for the demolition of exploitation here on Earth?

Referring extensively to the events of Eastern Europe in 1989, which mark a milestone in the bankruptcy of revisionism and which is the object of imperialist refutation, neither condemns one nor repudiates the other, but rather qualifies as a crisis of Marxism and draws conclusions beneficial to their class interests:

"The first consequence has been in some countries the encounter between the Church and the workers' movement born as a reaction of the ethical and concretely Christian order to a vast situation of injustice. For almost a century this movement had largely fallen under the hegemony of Marxism, not without the conviction that the proletarians, in order to fight effectively against oppression, had to adopt materialistic and economic theories [...] In the crisis of Marxism, spontaneous forms of workers' conscience sprouted up again, revealing a demand for justice and recognition of the dignity of labor, in conformity with the social doctrine of the Church. The workers' movement is leading to a more general movement of workers and people of

good will, oriented towards the liberation of the human person and the consolidation of his rights; today it is present in many countries and, far from opposing the Catholic Church, it looks upon it with interest [...] The crisis of Marxism does not eliminate in the world the existing situations of injustice and oppression, on which Marxism itself fed by instrumentalizing them [...] To those who today seek a new and authentic theory and praxis of liberation, the Church offers not only social doctrine and, in general, her teachings on the person redeemed by Christ, but also her concrete commitment to help combat marginalization and suffering.”

Here he recognizes the influence of Marxism in the workers’ movement and as he thinks that there is a crisis of Marxism then he applies “All fishermen profit from a troubled river”, the old dream of the Catholic Church to lead the proletariat; and as the causes have not disappeared she comes out as the solution with her social doctrine. A very clear comment of Chairman Gonzalo to judge these ideas is the following:

“If the problems and situations of injustice and human suffering that caused its appearance subsist, as it really is, only that today they are more and more aggravated, extended and totally unbearable because they do not correspond at all to the social development achieved, even more so having lived socialism with its conquests and grandiose perspectives under the dictatorship of the proletariat (the only State form under which it can be built and developed); Communism exists and fights every day sustained in the class interests of the proletariat and in the defense of the popular masses of the world, today and in the immediate future in the midst of a complex and intricate class struggle and facing a convergent and sinister offensive of imperialism, revisionism and world reaction developed in collusion and struggle to which the Catholic Church joins not only ideologically but politically and organizationally: Communism today as yesterday and tomorrow fought, fights and will always fight, unshakable certain of the final victory, under the red and unfading banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the all-powerful theory of the international proletariat. The decisive weapon of Marx, Lenin and Mao.” (02.05.1991.)

On the development of the productive forces, he reduces them to the personal exercise of seeking God:

“Finally, development should not be understood in an exclusively economic way, but in an integral human dimension. It is not only a matter of raising all peoples to the level enjoyed today by the very rich countries, but of founding a more dignified life on work in solidarity, of making the dignity and creativity of every person grow effectively, his capacity to respond to his own vocation and, therefore, to God’s call. The culminating point of development leads to the exercise of the right-duty to seek God, to know him and to live according to that knowledge.”

He persists in his closed defense of private property because it is a natural right of man to enjoy the goods created by God and acquired with the sweat of his brow, with his work that does not exploit but dignifies, and he embellishes his defense with the supposed universal destination of those goods, that is, not to impede the right of other men to appropriate a part of God’s creation with their own work. He says that Leo XIII already affirmed and argued:

“[...] the natural character of the right to private property [...] this right is fundamental in every person for his autonomy and development, and has always been defended by the Church up to the present day. Likewise, the Church teaches that the ownership of goods is not an absolute right [...] While strongly proclaiming the right to private property, the Pontiff affirmed with equal clarity that the ‘use’ of goods, entrusted to one’s own freedom, is subordinated to: the primordial and common destiny of created goods and also to the will of Jesus Christ.”

And John Paul II, drawing on these words, reaffirms the same ideas:

“The primordial origin of everything that is a good is the very act of God who created the world and man, and who gave man the earth, so that he might dominate it by his work and enjoy its fruits [...] Now, the Earth does not bear its fruits without a particular response of man to God’s gift, that is, without work. It is through work that man, using his intelligence and his freedom, succeeds in mastering it and making it his worthy dwelling place. In this way he appropriates a part of the Earth, which he has conquered through his work: this is the origin of individual property. Obviously it is also his responsibility not to prevent other men from obtaining their share

of God's gift, indeed, he must cooperate with them in order to dominate the whole Earth together."

Thus he conceals capitalist economic basis, surplus value and exploitative relations.

He defends the family as the center:

"The first fundamental structure in favor of 'human ecology' is the family [...] The family must be considered once again as the sanctuary of life [...] it is sacred [...] it is the place where life, the gift of God, can be welcomed and protected in an adequate manner against the multiple attacks to which it is exposed [...] Against the so-called culture of death, the family constitutes the seat of the culture of life."

In capitalism, more in imperialism, the family is to protect the inheritance of the goods acquired through exploitation; it is a concept opposed to the Communist society in which the whole will look after everyone; today only the families of the exploiters can protect the rights of their children; but the iniquitous system does not even allow the development of social relations between the members of the supposed family that, as things go, does not even exist anymore because individualism is so exacerbated in the bourgeoisie that there is no greater interest than the particular above the general. And in the proletariat and in the people's masses there is not even the right to decide how many children they can have and they impose on them birth control programs that the Church itself facilitates covertly, officially prohibits abortion but underneath it works behind the stupid and mendacious slogan of "responsible parenthood".

With the hypocrisy that for thousands of years it exercises, it hides its pro-imperialist position of defender of the market economy although in no paragraph of the document is the phrase social market economy written; and its criticism of consumerism or the uncontrolled market does not mean that it does not defend the market; what it rather reveals is its pro-European position but imperialist in the end; what happens is that foreseeing that Yankee imperialism advances to be the only hegemonic superpower it cannot retaliate against it and it accommodates itself:

“Returning now to the initial question, can it perhaps be said that, after the failure of Communism, the winning system is capitalism and that the efforts of the countries trying to rebuild their economy and society are directed towards it? Is this perhaps the model to be proposed to 3<sup>rd</sup> World countries seeking the path of true economic and civil progress? [...] The answer is obviously complex. If by ‘capitalism’ we mean an economic system that recognizes the fundamental and positive role of the enterprise, of the market, of private property and the consequent responsibility for the means of production, of free human creativity in the sector of the economy, the answer is certainly positive, although perhaps it would be more appropriate to speak of ‘enterprise economy’, ‘market economy’ or simply ‘free economy’. But if by ‘capitalism’ is meant a system in which freedom, in the economic sphere, is not framed in a solid juridical context that places it at the service of integral human freedom and considers it as a particular dimension of the same, whose center is ethical and religious, then the answer is absolutely negative [...] The Marxist solution has failed, but phenomena of marginalization and exploitation remain in the world, especially in the 3<sup>rd</sup> World, as well as phenomena of human alienation, especially in the most advanced countries; against such phenomena the voice of the Church is raised.”

“The Church has no models to propose [...] For this objective the Church offers, as an ideal and indispensable orientation, her own social doctrine, which — as has been said — recognizes the positivity of the market and of enterprise, but at the same time indicates that these must be oriented towards the common good. This doctrine also recognizes the legitimacy of workers’ efforts to achieve full respect for their dignity and broader spaces of participation in the life of the enterprise, so that, even when working together with others and under the direction of others, they can consider in a certain sense that they are ‘working on something of their own’ by exercising their intelligence and freedom.”

“The enterprise cannot be considered only as a ‘society of capitals’: it is at the same time a society of persons, in which those who contribute the capital necessary for its activity and those who collaborate with their work enter in different ways and with specific responsibilities [...]” “In the light of the ‘new things’ of today the relationship between individual or private property and the universal destination of goods has been considered anew.” “The

ownership of the means of production, whether in the industrial or agricultural field, is just and legitimate when it is used for useful work; but it is illegitimate when it is not valued or serves to impede the work of others.” “The obligation to earn one’s bread by the sweat of one’s brow is, at the same time, a right. A society in which this right is systematically denied and economic policy measures do not allow workers to achieve satisfactory levels of employment, can neither achieve its ethical legitimacy nor just social peace [...] property is justified when it creates, in due ways and circumstances, opportunities for work and human growth for all.” He conceived of a balanced bourgeois-democratic State, with three powers:

“Leo XIII was not unaware that a sound theory of the State was necessary to ensure the normal development of human activities [...] that is why the Pope presents the organization of society structured in three powers: legislative, executive and judicial [...] Such an ordering reflects a realistic view of the social nature of man which demands a liberty adequate to protect the freedom of all. In this respect it is preferable that one power be balanced by other powers and other spheres of competence, which keep it within its proper limits. This is the principle of the ‘State of law’, in which the law is sovereign and not the arbitrary will of men.” He defends the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie against the dictatorship of the proletariat:

“The Church appreciates the system of democracy insofar as it ensures the participation of citizens in political choices and guarantees the governed the possibility of choosing and controlling their own rulers or else that of replacing them opportunely in a peaceful manner.” “For this very reason, it cannot allow the formation of restricted ruling groups that, for particular interests or ideological motives, usurp the power of the State. An authentic democracy is possible only in a State governed by the rule of law and on the basis of a right conception of the human person.” “Nor does the Church turn a blind eye to the danger of fanaticism, or fundamentalism, of those who, in the name of an ideology with scientific or religious pretensions, believe that they can impose their conception of truth and goodness on other men.” “Not of this kind is Christian truth. Since it is not ideological, the Christian faith does not claim to frame in a rigid scheme the changing

socio-political reality and recognizes that man's life unfolds in history under diverse and not perfect conditions. The Church, therefore, by constantly ratifying the transcendent dignity of the person, uses respect for freedom as her own method."

Finally, we believe it is necessary to know his conception of the much touted human rights:

"After the fall of Communist totalitarianism and many other totalitarian and 'national security' regimes, we are witnessing today the predominance, not without contrasts, of the democratic ideal together with a lively attention and concern for human rights. But precisely for this reason, it is necessary that the peoples who are reforming their legal systems give democracy an authentic and solid foundation, through the explicit recognition of these rights. Among the main ones we must remember: the right to life of which the child's right to grow under the mother's heart, after having been conceived, is an integral part; the right to live in a united family and in a moral environment, favorable to the development of one's own personality; the right to mature one's own intelligence and freedom through the search for and knowledge of truth; the right to participate in work in order to value the goods of the Earth and to obtain from it the sustenance for oneself and one's loved ones; the right to freely found a family, to welcome and educate one's children, making responsible use of one's sexuality. The source and synthesis of these rights is, in a certain sense, religious freedom understood as the right to live in the truth of one's faith and in conformity with the transcendent dignity of one's person."

Therein lies the crux of their rights: to live in the truth of the Catholic faith, in the transcendence of human life.

By way of conclusion we transcribe Chairman Gonzalo's comments on the Encyclical and which summarize the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought position of the CPP:

"See the historical context and perspective in which both Encyclicals were written: 1891, *Rerum Novarum* and 1991 *Centesimus Annus*; the first 20 years after the defeat of the Commune, when the old revisionism was going on the offensive, Marxism had not yet found the way to conquer power by force of arms, and capitalism was developing in the so-called 'Belle

époque' completing the formation of imperialism. The second, the Centesimus Annus, 35 years after the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, and 15 years after the same in China, when a convergent offensive of imperialism, revisionism and world reaction against Marxism is unfolding in collusion and contention; when imperialism proclaims a 'technological revolution', extends its domination over the remains of what was the socialist system and proclaims the definitive triumph of capitalism and bourgeois democracy; but when the proletariat guided by Communist Parties and with the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism learned to conquer power with the People's War, build socialism and with the cultural revolution continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, even though; it is still pending to create in the class struggle the laws of socialism, to discover, understand and apply them fully and completely, to establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat taking the power more and more from below to guarantee its exercise by the masses under the leadership of the Party; and when the task of the international proletariat and the Communist Parties, as well as the deepest need of the masses, remains irrepressibly today more than yesterday and tomorrow more than today, to develop and lead the Proletarian World Revolution to its triumph by sweeping imperialism from the face of the globe, to build deeply and broadly socialism in all spheres of society and with successive proletarian cultural revolutions 'to make the Earth a paradise'. Communism, the beginning of the kingdom of freedom for all of humanity. In this context, drawing lessons, it is necessary to analyze the new Encyclical, conceiving it as part of the offensive of imperialism, revisionism and world reaction, although with its own specific interests, those of the Papacy, those of the Vatican and its theocratic dreams, today sinisterly revived." (03.05.1991.)

Within these criteria we can judge the systematic condemnation of the Archbishop of Peru Vargas Alzamora and other hierarchs. When the great blackout in April in Lima, he denounced that 12 people had died as a result of the action and declared that it was very important to reinsert them, where are they? And who were they? Chairman Gonzalo commented:

"Very good! Here is a clear and resounding example of the role of the Church: The highest hierarchy of the Catholic Church of Peru artfully



attacks the People's War and at the same time puts his hopes in imperialism. An expressive negative example which, like others, must be explained to the masses."

In May, while the bishop of Moyobamba was dealing with the MRTA for the release of the hostages, the archbishop manifested his willingness to participate and mediate in pacification: "Agreement in all sectors is necessary to pacify the nation", furthermore "the Church is willing to mediate between the government and the rebels in arms, but not only so that the subversives speak but listen [...] the Church cannot act for the hostages in Moyobamba [...] it is another jurisdiction". While the bishops with an appeal pointed out; "once and for all it must be clearly stated who are for life and peace in our homeland and who on the contrary exclude themselves and place themselves at the margin of this personal and social commitment. Peru can wait no longer!". Within days of each other, the Peruvian Episcopal Conference asked to lay down their arms and once again called on "those who have chosen the path of violence [...] to banish all forms of terrorism, participating in the construction of a more just and fraternal Peru [...]" and invited all political groups to sit at the "peace tables" to seek an integral strategy of responses against political violence "seeking the progressive and profound pacification of the country".

In June again the Archbishop asked "men of violent heart" to abandon the wrong path because "death, terror and threats only bring more suffering and unrest to the affected families and hinder the development of the peoples", but of the application of the brutal shock of August '90 and the criminal measures of Boloña in '91, under the mandate of the starver Fujimori that generated 13.000.000 Peruvians in poverty, there was not a single word of condemnation or summons, at least; instead he claimed for the importance of "reinsertion", that is, the payment of the debt to imperialism which causes hunger, desperation, greater unemployment and plunges into ignorance more than a million children who stop studying, thus acting against what his own pope claims and denounces against the debt in his Encyclical. Thus we can see the counter-revolutionary black entrails of this raven of the Catholic Church, incapable of confronting a starving, genocidal and country-selling government. On the day of the peasants he returns to the charge of "sow that something remains" and blames us for being the cause

of the poverty of the peasantry as if the roots of semi-feudalism, submission to imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism had been generated by the People's War; but if he speaks of the peasants being the ones who suffer most from the violence, he should in any case specify that it is the violence of the genocidals.

In July is when the archbishop is going to go on to call his front. "Unity against the subversives" he said "it is necessary to rise up in a single force to not allow subversion to take advantage of our weaknesses", this is his desire to command a front of pacification and the Catholic Church feels it is the only social institution, with the capacity to put itself above the classes that can "save" humanity and also wishes to subsist in communism and so it specifies today its role as ideological shield: to be an active ideological, political and organizational part of the general counter-revolutionary offensive.

And on July 28<sup>th</sup>, the priest Jorge Aguilar proclaimed his praise for the pro-imperialist position of the arch-reactionary Fujimori government defending the so-called people's capitalism, the micro-enterprises that are but a complementary part of the neoliberal economies and that De Soto described as the solution to the general crisis of bureaucratic capitalism:

"As Church we are witnesses of the economic originality that the people have not only in their creative capacity but their audacity to invest in projects [...] we see how small shops, wineries, small industries, community and communal works are multiplying, the Church supports them and asks the government to support these initiatives by easing the formalities so that people can work [...]"

And since we are the "Devil" who is against these initiatives, he reminds us to "put down violence as an attitude of life and show us your faces to build the country". Our attitude of life is not to subsist, the people do not want to live for the sake of living, they want to live to transform the world, to manage its laws and with these to build a just and equal world for all humanity, to build Communism; and that we show our faces is similar to what the military spreads, "they do not show their faces", is that they seek to betray us and annihilate us; when we are the only ones who with our naked bodies and our souls filled with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought revolutionary conviction, show ourselves without hypocrisy and proclaim our ideology in words and deeds because we are not afraid to die the death

of a thousand cuts, that is why we are capable of destroying the old and build a world of lasting peace. Who among Catholics acts like this?

In August, following the pattern of mainly Yankee imperialism and the country-selling Fujimori, the archbishop demands that the diplomatic corps spread abroad the image that Peru is a country of faith, that seeks to conquer peace for its territory. In September, Bishop Dammert, another black raven hierarch, has the shamelessness to speak of a Peru of peace in a country bloody with hunger and in a mass for peace he speaks to Chairman Gonzalo and tells him that he will pardon his life and the lives of his followers. But we do not need his forgiveness because we have nothing to be forgiven except not doing more for the revolution and we live with our souls in peace immolating ourselves for the most beautiful thing a human being can do, to give himself to the fight for Communism on Earth. They have just distributed a booklet, "Peace on Earth", at the Peruvian Episcopal Conference, reflections they say for these times of violence, despite not having studied it, it can be seen that in the point on judgment on the situation, of 9 points it contains, 5 are directed directly against the CPP and the People's War, part of which is that nothing justifies violence using the pretext of ideas:

"The terrorists have no consideration for human life and subordinate it to the achievement of their objectives; that violence is the result of a negative mentality: that the terrorist groups that have taken up arms against the Peruvian state violate the minimal humanitarian norms that should be applied in an armed conflict, evidence? There is none, that is why they do not provide it; what does terrorist violence seek? To obtain power by imposing terror in order to achieve subjugation; contempt and hatred towards the poorest."

The other points are the violence exercised by certain elements of the forces of order; it seems to be added to the previous ones a violence called "paramilitary"; another source of violence are drug trafficking and various types of crime; It ends by saying that "politics and national institutions such as the Judiciary, the National Congress, regional and municipal governments as well as all public administration are at the service of the human person and must have a special consideration for him", this is so vague that it is not known if it is the policy of the State or of the government

and it does not even mention the Executive, much less the genocidal and country-selling President Fujimori who is the one who establishes Peruvian policy, according to the Peruvian Constitution. In addition to politics, "the economy must also place the human person and the satisfaction of his basic needs at the center of its concerns": We are therefore right when we describe the Catholic Church and its hierarchs as mendacious and hypocritical. But we do not only note their political actions. So the statement that "my episcopate is not of this world" is superfluous.

In Mexico they have just spread in the weekly magazine *Always* that "the Church is first of all the oldest power, indeed, the oldest, most intolerant and intricate power that humanity has ever known". And they are not Communists and they say this referring to "the locks that today the government is removing from the Mexican clergy and that later the government will put them on the clergy in the form of pressure or perhaps even as a gag", regarding the modifications to the articles of the constitution favorable to the Catholic Church.

"Red alert in Peru". "The guerrilla group Shining Path is one step away from power in that country." This warning was originally published in the newspaper *Avenire*, an organ belonging to the Italian Episcopal Conference, published in *El Mercurio* of Santiago de Chile.

In short, the Catholic Church in the world and in Peru is acting within the general counter-revolutionary offensive ideologically, organically and politically, playing an increasingly active role.

### **PLANS AND CAMPAIGNS.**

As ideas come from practice and return to it to transform it, the role of ideological shield that this reactionary institution is developing is taking shape through an intense political activity and proliferating a series of "pacification" organizations of religious and seculars, we will mention some of its plans and campaigns carried out during this 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign.

As we saw in the Preparatory Session of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum, they will participate in the PES, Fujimori's social emergency plan, which was a complete failure

and from which they withdrew in sharp contradiction with the government. They have continued with their own subsistence plans with donations mainly from the Yankee government and other European imperialists, especially in the countryside and in the slums of the cities, Caritas is an example; there they manipulate the needs of hunger to buy the masses for their stomachs and win followers to their anti-scientific ideology based on faith and charity which is nothing more than class conciliation. Another very active plan is that of the so-called pacification, it collaborates at last in the Council for Peace and we have already dealt at length with its twists and turns, but the main thing is the set of campaigns of its own within which are the Act for Peace in the Plaza Francia in Lima where the Peruvian Association of Studies for Peace with the priest McGregor gave his opinion on the Council for Peace and said that it was on the right track, that the October meeting would allow uniting all the forces of our country in a single dimension, which? against the People's War. In that same political act organized by the Institute for Life and Peace, the repentant of his Liberation Theology, the priest Gutiérrez described the Party as "bloodthirsty", that "it does not respect the life of anyone", that "no considerations should be made", that "the killing of priests and neighborhood leaders shows that it acts against those who are not considered enemies". Other marches such as those of the Young Peoples of Lima, where the Party acts with force, also in the northern cone such as the march for peace and human rights in the districts of Independencia, Comas, Los Olivos, called by the Commission "Peru, life and peace" in which the "committed lady" spoke. One of the most publicized was that of Canto Grande, even because of the place it was strategically important for them to get a good contingent and agitate against the People's War, but the truth is that not even with nuns, priests, parish libraries, catechists, parishes and other neighborhood organizations, mothers' clubs, soup kitchens, Christian communities, non-governmental organizations, etc., were they able to gather not even 400 people. They could not even gather 400 people and they called it: "Great mobilization for peace and development." They did not go beyond carrying a few white banners with "We want peace!" and "Children are not used, children are respected!" fulfilling their active part in the distribution of counter-revolutionary tasks such as the black campaign of the alleged use of children to discredit us before the masses, knowing that the Church, because

it is well informed, that this was a false accusation and a plan set up by reaction. Another slogan "No to hunger and terror!", who causes the hunger? Who are the genocidals? Yes, but mothers are also divided into classes and being poor or proletarian they can become lackeys of reaction or servants of imperialism or agents of the genocidal Armed and Police Forces, even snitches and scabs of their own children, then the problem is to unmask and differentiate what kind of mother one is either of the people or against the people and what plans of the community one is serving consciously or unconsciously. It is very symptomatic, for example, the article of the government newspaper *The Peruvian* entitled "Shining Path against the people" and the article signed by Henry Pease of the IU with the same title appeared in *The Republic*, both disagree on questions of economic policy but coincide in pointing against the people's war and converge in the psychological campaign of the army. Another banner pointed to the youth: "The youth of Canto Grande work for peace" is that the Church with its old experience knows who to aim at, that is why we are two parties in conflict that must know each other well, we have the youth, not the Church, but we must increase more young people and children because they are the future. There they sang the national anthem which is a hymn of oppression and a supposed representative of the Broad Front for Peace and Development of San Juan of Lurigancho spoke. We have already dealt with these development and peace organizations in the mobilization of the population and resources in the Yankee strategy of so-called low-intensity warfare. He said that it was necessary to overcome the fear of those who assassinate leaders in the name of the people, he demanded support from the government for the development of the district, that the law that finances the Glass of Milk be complied with and requested an industrial park for the youth as well as the development of small and micro entrepreneurs; his rejection of us was limited to invoking the authority of the votes of the bourgeois-democrats because they can no longer accuse us, as they did before, that we are disconnected from the masses, now they appeal to how many votes the CPP has obtained? The IU mayors of San Juan of Lurigancho and Villa el Salvador also attended. It is correct that it was a failure, however we must learn to know the enemy well, strategically underestimate it and tactically take it very much into account because this is how they are going to use their contingent and move it against the People's

War, that is why it is necessary to carry out counter-campaigns of political ideological unmasking so that the masses do not allow themselves to be cajoled by one of the most recalcitrant institutions of reaction and do not allow them to be used by taking advantage of their respectable popular religiosity or buy them because of their hunger. The response before, during and after with local anxiety was of great effect but we must strengthen it with leaflets, graffiti, incursions in assemblies and above all strengthen more the double policy and infiltrate all types of organizations and unmask them, undermine them until they are destroyed, they are yellow or gray apparatuses and there we must act in function of promoting the preparations for the insurrection.

In the department of San Martin the Church has formed another front in collusion with the IU and local authorities. In Puno they are claiming the main role in pacification. In the North we have already seen the “peace rounds” and there are those sent by the Pope. In the middle North, the Church is the one distributing counter-revolutionary leaflets prepared by the Army. In Ayacucho they act with all the plans they have, from the subsistence programs to the jungle missions in the support bases. In the Center, the food subsistence programs are used as a way of trafficking the hunger of the people to serve the annihilation plans of the People’s War. In Lima, in addition to their marches for peace in the PJ, they develop artistic-cultural presentations with what is left of the IU, above all with the MAS, to attract young people to their ranks because their beliefs do not convince the youth; as well as the carnival marches, false “pasacalles” that they use to increase their contingents, organized by “Peru, Life and Peace” in the center of Lima. Also at Flag Square they made vows for peace on the “Day of the tree”, we oppose this vile traffic of the customs of our people for counter-revolutionary purposes. Another way is the active participation in the flag hoisting on Sundays, organized by the Army and executed by the municipalities or the Cuaves in Villa El Salvador where the Church makes public appeals for Peace.

It has financed and directed very expensive television and radio campaigns against the People’s “ar, among others “Compartir” and “Cuida a tus hijos” or a last one about children. “We want to live”. And it is calling for a minute of silence throughout the country for the World Day of Peace.

In June, the Episcopal Conference of Social Action (CEAS), through its executive secretary, informed the German press agency (DPA) of the soundings initiated in Sweden and Germany by the Peruvian Catholic Church to promote a peace dialogue between the government of President Fujimori and the subversive groups, saying:

“The Church has information according to which the Túpac Amaru group is willing to sit at the table to dialogue on pacification and that many members of the CPP group that has absolutely no political will to dialogue, wish to leave that group.”

He also said that the government had been clear in affirming that it was not going to dialogue with people who are armed, “but we also know that there are some sectors that would be very interested in opening doors”? That within the MRTA there were two tendencies, one ready to begin negotiations for a surrender and a dialogue and another very strong one that still maintains the position of the armed struggle and the current conditions of their war. On the other hand, the CPP is trying to push the MRTA forces to isolate them in remote regions of the jungle towards the border with Ecuador or Colombia. He concluded that the Church has to be at the side of the people and that it will not withdraw from the zones that are suffering this situation of violence; he added that the Church insisted that there has to be another way out than military and that “this is the moment to open the conditions to open the dialogue in Peru, in spite of the fact that everything divides us”. These simple final sentences are another demonstration that we are in the strategic balance, the Church is also recovering positions to defend the system against the People’s War and feels that this is the moment if it cannot move to unmanageable circumstances for them.

They invited the German government to receive reports on human rights in Lima and promoted the arrival of a European Catholic Human Rights Commission that coincided with the OAS Commission in an interesting political convergence. In November, the European Commission for Justice and Peace was formed by members of the Peace and Justice Commissions of Spain, Germany, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, England and Wales, (organizations created by the Episcopal Conferences following the call of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Vatican Council to raise organizations that study the issue of



development, peace and human rights) came to Peru and urged the subversive groups to "renounce this wrong path and seek ways for dialogue and pacification" and the government "not to answer terrorism with terrorism"; they said:

"We have been able to verify that Peruvians suffer from the violence that reigns in the country. We condemn the terrorism with which armed groups try to impose their ideology. The ways in which these groups operate deeply violate the human dignity of the victims."

They added that they had received many testimonies from victims of counter-subversive violence of the Peruvian government, which confirmed:

"The almost total impunity of crimes of terrorism as well as the impunity of human rights violations by the State, which contribute to the high level of political violence in Peru."

That:

"If we want to solve the problem of terrorism, we must solve the problem of drug trafficking that sustains or finances these groups." "We consider the murders, death threats, forced recruitment into the ranks of the Shining Path and any other violence of terrorist action to be totally reprehensible. In addition, violence causes serious material damage to the national economy." There one can verify the eagerness to place themselves above classes, groups or regimes in order to basically apply their own counter-revolutionary plan, apart from always leaning in favor of the counter-revolution.

Another of the counterrevolutionary political plans that they apply is the formation of training workshops for young people in micro-enterprise projects with money from the United States and the Basque Country of Spain. The adjunct bishop of Callao, Irizar, pronounced in an inauguration ceremony of one of these centers: "Let us not be afraid of those who want to put fear into us", always instigating against the People's War and discrediting the Party, we Communists do not put fear into anyone, there are the imperialists, reactionaries, exploiters and revisionists who are afraid of the power of the class and its ideology. This "Craft Tools Center" has been created with donations to Caritas Callao where, according to the director himself, they are carrying out a plan to create soft loans for the technicians trained in this Center, purchase and sale of supplies for training

workshops and occupational centers sponsored by the Church. The president of the respective CEAS Commission informed that as of 1991, 9.000 people have been trained, 400 family productive units, 150 micro-enterprises and 27 pilot workshops. The North American institution "Hope and Solidarity" contributed 80.000 dollars and the Basque donation was 40.000. Consequently, behind the fallacy that we are frightening them, they cover up the capitalist accumulation plan that neo-liberalism is promoting today to promote the market economy and under these modalities to suck the blood of the people, who are putting their hopes in the little that they have been able to get from years of exploitative work; these modes of family and artisan work do not bring any benefit to the masses, first, they do not receive any salary, second, they work piecework, in days longer than those stipulated by the Peruvian Constitution of 8 hours because they are between 12 or 14 hours of work invested, even more the whole family works including children and the elderly and if by chance a visitor arrives they also make them participate in the work to comply with the deliveries that are committed to make on certain dates, third, lacking social security and subject to pay the full cost of inputs, highly burdensome because they are purchased in small quantities; fourth, the masses themselves pay for the electricity, water and fuel used for the work, an expense that is added to the costs of production but which is not taken into account; fifth, the people are generally the unemployed workers that have arisen due to the anti-people measures of Fujimori and his master, Yankee imperialism. This is what the Church is fomenting the accumulation of capitalist surplus value for the benefit of the Peruvian bourgeoisie and imperialism and its political background is to dampen the explosiveness of the masses to serve the three tasks of reaction, in this case to re-impulse bureaucratic capitalism. This is what we need to make the masses understand and also penetrate these monsters to unmask them, undermine them and blow them up from within.

The superior of the Salesian Congregation also came to Peru from Rome and proclaimed that the Church responds to fear with the education of the youth: "In the world totalitarian and militarized violence has fallen because of its internal rottenness not because of international conflicts", what is this internal rot? He does not say, maybe he is talking about Italian fascism that his pope Pius XII never condemned; he said that "teaching the youth and

the people in human values was the answer of the Church to violence”, they want to put their ideology in the youth and get more into Education. He informed that they have 45 schools in Peru, 3 pedagogical institutes and homes for abandoned youth. The Church is allowed to have its own schools to poison the youth and create arch-reactionaries who will lead the old exploitative States in the future.

But their work does not stop there, in the specific field of their religious work they program masses for peace such as the one in which Bishop Dammert allowed political banners with counter-revolutionary slogans: Thou shalt not kill! No more violence! No to terrorism! They program days of prayer for peace such as the one on October 14<sup>th</sup>. They promote events such as the Debate on Evangelization in America in Ayacucho. Or the 1<sup>st</sup> Catholic Social Encounter: “The social doctrine of the Church and work. An option in the face of the crisis”, in which instead of focusing on their religious functions they undertake them against the popular war from the words of the inauguration to those of the closing as when the Apostolic Nuncio Luigi Dossena manifests:

“Today we are violently threatened by terrorism that murders priests [first them], businessmen [the owners of capital], politicians [the reactionaries and revisionists], civilians [exploiters, gamonals, lackeys, informers] and military [the genocidals], and destroys every public and private initiative in favor of progress and development.”

The eternal defenders of the old now gibber against the builders of the new. There they also expose political and economic talks their secular cadres as the dean of the Faculty of Economics of the University of the Pacific Gonzalez Izquierdo who spoke on “The role of labor in the market” or the economist who floats since Velasco in power, Silva Ruete “The options before the crisis” in addition to German theologians paid especially by the Peruvian Church.

They develop the 4<sup>th</sup> Peruvian Social Week sponsored by the CEAS, “The Peruvian Church and the world of work” around which the lectures deal with unemployment, underemployment, the role of the unions, the entrepreneurial management of the State, etc. They use, then, these tribunes to propagandize their market economy and the social doctrine of the Church as the solution to the crisis of socialism and the mercantilist consumerism of capitalism, they want a market economy of the German

type with the participation of the State with social measures, etc., which is in their encyclical, but directing their attacks against the People's War and the CPP. An issue that we also verified in the words of Dammert in that September event is the decreasing acceptance of his ideology by the Peruvian people when referring to the social doctrine of the Church in Peru:

"I detect a slow and painful advance of the same in our environment, which indicates that the DSI has not yet sufficiently penetrated the hearts of believers to be able to make the profound changes that the social situation demands."

They have also held the 1<sup>st</sup> Encounter of Catholic Youth with the same counter-revolutionary content as the previous events, seeking to win over the youth because every day there are fewer and fewer who approach them, but how are they going to be defined by the Catholic Church, angry colts who seek the new and who in this country have lived 11 years of their lives the greatest process of revolutionary transformation? And while they see that the one preaches submission, the other applies rebellion, if they hear promises of a heaven that no one has ever seen and see new worlds built in very few historical times, their logical and consistent position is to tend towards the revolution and this is the revolutionary enthusiasm that we must continue to stimulate so that they join more to the People's War. The same is true of the women who make up half the world.

All these acts are eminently counter-revolutionary political acts that aim behind the scenes of pacification to annihilate the people's war, that is why they also act as informers and informers or interpose themselves in the midst of combat. But it should be very clear that these plans and campaigns are programmed by the hierarchs of the Peruvian Church following the orders of the highest hierarchy of the Vatican and that very different is the attitude of some religious, grassroots elements that live in the countryside and that although they are very few, they also feel the need to participate in the revolution and with them we apply the policy of the United Front.

#### **RECALL OF SACREMENTS AND MONKS. THE POLISH CURIAE.**

In the Preparatory Session of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum, we rightly stated:

"The Church also demands an anti-subversive strategy from the government; upon his return from Rome, Archbishop Vargas Alzamora

strongly condemned the criminal attitude of the subversive groups and said 'pacification is a task that cannot be postponed for all Peruvians'. The Church has started a campaign, 'Compartir 1990', under the banner of aid to the 50.000 displaced people in the emergency zones. In the month of October it has come to light how the Church develops its organizations to fight us and how years ago they had organized apparatuses to confront us. In his visit to Peru the Pope said: 'Turn your gaze towards Ayacucho [...] it is still time', and gave birth to the Commission of missions in emergency zones of the conference of religious of Peru; 40 congregations are part of it, it was created 5 years ago, in '85, as a result of the first papal visit, they work in the highlands, in emergency zones, they offer instruction, literacy, in the local and communal schools. They are an instrument of ideological penetration, of undermining the People's War, using their condition as nuns and women, a counter-revolutionary female battalion to better protect themselves and generate scandal in case they are attacked. The Church fulfills ideological, political and organizational role, this must be unmasked and known by the people so that it can be seen that the class struggle confronts that 'putting oneself above dreaming of the kingdom of heaven' covers up ardent crusaders, frenzied counter-revolutionaries here on Earth."

We differentiate the Church as a reactionary institution defender of the order of exploitation and the religiosity of the people which is nothing but the social creation in which it takes refuge to explain its situation of hunger or poverty; we also differentiate religious function of Church, that is the exercise of its worship, prayers, masses, from its counter-revolutionary action, we base ourselves on the Programme of the Party which conceives of the full freedom to believe and not to believe; and within the Church we differentiate its hierarchy from its grassroots elements. And as for the separation of Church and State, only when socialism develops will this be achieved, because today what they proclaim in this regard is a farce, since the Church is part of the institutions that sustain the old reactionary States, even though they apparently keep themselves apart from them.

During the present 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign there have been the death of two Polish priests in Ancash, that of the nun McCormack in Junin and that of the Italian parish priest of Santa, Chimbote. All these cases deserve to be

investigated and fairly analyzed. An immense propagandistic outcry was generated about the Poles and the Italian, but it was not the first time that similar events had occurred, as in the case of the two Peruvian Sisters of the Good Shepherd and the Australian Sisters of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart, in September 1990 and May 1991 in the jungle of Junin and in the highlands of Huasahuasi, when on those occasions they limited themselves to accusing us of their authorship and the causes were their active participation in subsistence plans and for actively opposing the execution of black heads, and they did not go beyond two journalistic pronouncements. Who were these priests? Let's start from the fact that in Peru most of the religious missionaries are foreigners. The Italian and the Poles belonged to the parishes of the Northern Zone of Peru where the active counter-revolutionary role of the Catholic Church has been proven. Of the Poles it is clear that being Franciscans they depended directly on the Papacy and not on any of the two provinces of the territorial organization of Franciscans of Peru: that it was the bishop of Basque origin of Huaraz Gurruchaga, he of the peace rounds, who expressly requested their presence three years ago; that from Krakow, Poland they went to Chimbote from where Bishop Bambarén sent volunteers to a red zone from which the police had retreated; that they worked actively in the zone and bought a mobility with the money of the Italian parishioners, that they erected a Church; that they learned Quechua and came to direct the subsistence food program; That they received an invitation from the CPP to leave the zone and let the masses organize themselves in these distributions; that on August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1991, in the second incursion, the mayor and the deputy mayor were executed and that the two priests and Sister Bertha Hernández Guerra were taken away in the parish car and that later the woman returned alive, but not the men, whose corpses with a bullet in the back of the neck appeared with a sign: "Death to the faithful of imperialism!"; that, according to what the nun revealed, on the way they talked for 45 minutes about the political content of the so-called social emergency programs of the Church.

Before these events, as well as before the death of the parish priest, the repercussion reached the Vatican, the Pope celebrated a special mass, sent a telegram of condolences and the Poles, before the Peruvian chancellery, demanded security for their compatriots. Express urged the Church to lead a crusade to call for prayers, processions against terrorism, but received

silence for an answer, we already know that the Church has its own plan and does not want to be used by anyone. Bishop Dammert advised the priests, especially foreigners, to withdraw from the emergency zones and in general recommended prudence and caution to all priests, which was harshly criticized and among the series of interviews he gave to the press he also said that the murder of religious by the Shining Path could mean a new strategy considering that the Catholic Church, due to its roots in the nation, is the entity that can stop their advance. These declarations clashed with the publication of the Pastoral Letter of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference signed by the same bishop, in which they state that God has entrusted them in those areas and that he has demanded their blood, it is necessary to say that there is no religious fervor. Later the same bishop declared that it was a war crime like others. Here one can see the divergences that the hierarchs of the Church have and how not even one has firm ideas but changes them like a weathercock according to the interests at stake.

Bambarén said that "there was a diabolical blackmail", that "the CPP has set its sights on the Church", at least in his diocese, he says that we see in them a great impediment because of the evangelical message they preach, what message is he talking about? It will be their counterrevolutionary action that we are going to unmask and defeat definitively. The bishop of Callao Durand replied to the previous one: "They are not going against the Church" and said on radio at national level that he knew by eyewitness that they had been annihilated for lulling the people to sleep by speaking so much for peace and for paralyzing them with supplies from imperialism, he said "they have been accused of impeding the advance of the revolution". Meanwhile, Archbishop Richter Prada asked that these crimes against foreign religious be clarified. The acolyte, lay administrator of the sacraments, H. Pease, said: "It was for favoring peace, which is Christ's option." There were also those who said that the motives were the xenophobia of the CPP towards all foreigners. By way of conclusion on this concrete problem, we take a paragraph from the aforementioned Letter that expresses the profound upheaval that these events have caused in the institution:

"The new situation of violence against the Church invites us to reflect and to review our works but above all to the evangelical authenticity in our missionary work."

In synthesis, we have unmasked them and the repercussion has been worldwide reaching the very burrow of the papal ecclesiastical hierarchy and in the Peruvian Church they are reflecting on the role of their so-called welfare works which are nothing but counter-revolutionary political plans and campaigns.

Another situation of similar repercussion and which has been very much used by the Peruvian reaction as part of the psychological action of the low-intensity war they are applying is the propagandization of the action of the evangelical of the Cutivireni Mission, the Franciscan Magnon, in the Ene valley, with the Ashaninka natives. He had been working in the region since the 1970s but since ILA-80 he adopted a contrary position, particularly since '85 when the Party installed one of its support bases in the place and his parishioners were joining our ranks; he went so far as to request in writing the presence of the reactionary army until they installed a counter-subversive base. The policy of our Party was to invite him through many forms and requirements to submit to the New Power and limit himself to strictly religious work and abstain from counter-revolutionary actions; several incursions of sabotage and razing were carried out until we forced him to leave the place, the truth is that he never confronted the guerrillas; Today, in what yesterday was a "religious mission" there is a counter-subversive military base from where the bloodiest campaigns of annihilation of combatants and the masses of Junín and Ayacucho are planned, directed and executed.

Here we have a difference, some were counter-revolutionary cadres trained by the present Pope to act as crusaders against the people's war in Peru and others who in the course of their duties have adopted an active counterrevolutionary position.

That the Church should return to the catacombs and act clandestinely seems more like remorse of conscience for its daily mortal sins of systematically pronouncing itself for imperialism, revisionism and Peruvian reaction, against the proletariat and the Peruvian people against the powerful Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought and part of the ridiculous campaigns of psychological warfare.



Finally, we want to say something about the vile traffic that Fujimori made during this first year of government of the religiosity of the Peruvian people with the weeping virgins and the Brazilian saint:

“It is clear what interests are behind the campaigns of the ‘Weeping Virgins’ and ‘Joao de Dios’, as well as the proterious role of Express. Here is a monstrous and sinister demagogic management of the people’s backward funds; the dirtiest manipulation of popular religiosity trafficking with the misery and suffering of the people and with desperation; encouraging and exalting the most stultifying superstition that pretends to close the way to political awareness so that the masses do not assume their destiny in their own hands. This crude and artful handling shows fascist methods of the so-called mass psychology and also reveals the action of Yankee imperialism; they are plans and rehearsals on how to develop their psychological operations against the People’s War and management and control of the population for their three tasks. Take a serious look at these issues.” (Chairman Gonzalo’s comments. 04.05.1991.)

### **THE CHURCH AND THE PACIFICATION.**

It synthesizes all that has been dealt with: it fulfills its own plan within the so-called pacification which is nothing but a plan of imperialism and Peruvian reaction to annihilate the People’s War; it develops its role of political and organizational ideological shield and wants to lead because it believes itself to be above the classes; it is an active part of the general counter-revolutionary offensive.

### **OTHER CHURCHES**

Imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, continues to strengthen non-Catholic religious apparatuses with the aim of undermining the revolution in 3<sup>rd</sup> World countries in particular, hence the active participation of the Peruvian Evangelical Church in the general elections and the presence of active members of this in the current Executive as well as their trips to denounce the alleged killings of their activists by the CPP, joining the condemnations of other international organizations in the campaign against the People’s War in Peru at the international level. It also follows the

proliferation of religious sects in the jungle and in some parts of the Peruvian highlands, all of them fulfilling the same role as the Catholic Church, keeping a distance of dimension.

It was of great repercussion the blow to the World Vision Institution (WVI) causing its withdrawal from Peru starting this year.

## CHAPTER IV. THE TÚPAC AMARU REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

### ITS ROLE IN PERUVIAN POLITICS.

Acting within the division of tasks with reaction to annihilate the People's War, they have developed their capitulationist action of amnesty and enlistment through the following facts: greater and more active action in the annihilation of combatants for the People's War: rescue of the leader M. A. Cumpa: propaganda action in the northern part of the department of San Martín; dialogue and legal integration into the system; division and with bullets to resolve their internal struggles.

On the rescue of the Cumpa. Evidently, with the help of the police forces, a series of strange negligences were committed, from the lack of citation of the detainee by any judge or the type of car that was used or the changes of the escort personnel at the last minute to the chattering and laughing attitude with the miserable guards on the way and even the death of police elements present at the events; including the shooting and the scandalous farce that one of the accused had tried to escape, linking her to the CPP. All these facts showed that they did not want anything to be clarified about the role played by the APRA in the departure of Polay and company and the fall of this leader should have provided new data or elements for the trial, but since the conditions were not ripe to uncover the matter, then the "escape" was fabricated. Chairman Gonzalo's comment on the matter is very good: "Another 'timely escape' is part of hindering the proceedings on the exit of Polay and his followers, as part of their struggle is on the table."

### ABOUT THE "BIG ACTION" IN THE NORTH OF SAN MARTÍN.

In their own communiqué they state that it was a "political-military campaign to call the attention of national and international public opinion to the situation of abandonment of the region, the corruption of many of its authorities and the abuse and arrogance of the Political-Military command". The political objective defines the type of action and this is a simple propaganda action. And what are they calling attention for? There are no

causes of the system of exploitation or of the character of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial or bureaucratic capitalist society; nor causes of political superstructure, that is, of the character of the old State through which a class government acts, which they do not see either, because for them the problem of Fujimori is “the inhuman policy of the government of Mr. Fujimori” or “the swindling of electoral promises” or “the submission to the international banks” or “the surrender of our sovereignty through the anti-drug agreement”, for them it is not a big bourgeois landowner exploiter or imperialist, mainly Yankee. Therefore they make an armed struggle to change an inhuman president and solve the problems of the country. And as for the propaganda action itself, it has been but one of the thousands of actions that for more than 11 years we have long and highly overcome in the form of guerrilla combats such as attacks on police posts, simultaneously not in one but in all regions of the country and as part of a set of complementary armed actions such as sabotage, blockades, blackouts, seizures of weapons and capture of hostages or holding of forces in cities and strategic points including massive propaganda actions as the basis of people’s assemblies of agitation and armed propaganda including people’s trials. So it is only in small and deformed form a type of propaganda action that failed them. Their focus was to draw attention but to date they have not addressed the problems of the department and by the way they did not even denounce the genocide that continues today. The policy with prisoners for us is rather our routine and we apply it in all the political sense that corresponds because the prisoners of combat are asked if they want to return, if they want to desert or if they want to join, we never deliver them, on principle, to the enemy as spectacularly and with the Catholic Church they did, violating precisely one of the Geneva agreements that they so scrupulously claim to respect; their proposal that the International Red Cross should enter also failed; the game of the reaction to differentiate terrorism from subversion was also a failed rehearsal. The dialogue they also called for in their official communiqué was directed to “all forces without exception that are interested in change to achieve a peace based on justice and the sovereignty of our people”. Chairman Gonzalo justly and correctly teaches us that for MRTA the issue is: “All for dialogue, no revolution, no revolutionary war, no New Power, etc. and all in the name of ‘peace based on justice and the sovereignty of our people’.”

**COMMENTARIES.**

The statements of the Cumpa leader and those of “Evaristo” in *Caretas* are quite ridiculous, especially the first one, which shows a revolutionary woman who focuses on personal issues and the desire to appear, for what she said she did the interview expressly to explain that she had not paid thousands of dollars for her departure. The other was in favor of the Agreement and does not qualify it as imperialist, does not reject it either and like the previous one says that if it fulfills the conditions of developing the zone, favoring and involving the peasants then it would be good, he asked for a congestion in the eradication of coca, he said “we are not against the Agreement, but to oppose it does not mean support to the drug traffickers” and attacking the CPP: “it has a very fluid relationship with the narcos in Upper Huallaga”.

About the division and resolving their internal struggle with bullets has been made evident by the consecutive interviews of their leaders to the reactionary magazine *Caretas* making apology for the MRTA. In July, the so-called “Germán”, referring to Polay, stated that “he had abandoned the struggle for socialism, replacing it with a neo-Aprista revolutionary nationalism of the 1920s” and the “abandonment of the struggle for power”; that “in its 3<sup>rd</sup> Plenum they thought about the possibility of reinsertion into the system and he said that this should be more integral”; that the Shining Path strategy “is a strategy of defeat [...] the minimum conditions to move on to a pacification process must necessarily include the defeat of the Shining Path. A surrender of weapons under the present conditions would develop more violence because it would provoke the growth of the Shining Path and the same will happen with the Armed Forces.” “We are willing to dialogue with the Armed Forces, with the Church. We believe that this government has no moral strength but there are sectors with which it can at least begin a dialogue [...] the Society of Industries itself should be willing to talk with us [...] In this context we are willing to defeat the Shining Path politically and militarily as we have done in this zone where we have eliminated more than 60 Shining Path commanders, this would be our contribution to the pacification of the country. This would be our contribution to the pacification of the country. But we should facilitate the way to dialogue and not totally oppose it as the government and the Armed

Forces do.” Very clearly their contribution to pacification consists of annihilating us, there is the statement of fulfilling their role in the distribution of tasks that they apply especially in the Huallaga and the Center.

For Gálvez Olacenea, today detained in Lima, in Canto Grande, the problem of the divergences is that “there is no range of tendencies” and that “Polay is my friend”; he says “We want a transformation and we believe that it is possible with democracy”; “We have nothing to do with the Shining Path, we do not work for them. We are not of the same line or doctrine”; “the surrender of weapons by the MRTA is not the only possibility to achieve the pacification of the country”; “In the eventuality of a dialogue, which we do not deny, the interlocutors would be the Church or the United Nations, we would have to look for the necessary mechanisms for this to take place, it is a variant, everything depends on the real political will of the MRTA and the dominant groups”: “it should be clear that we are not fighting for our benefit but for the people’s. We would be crazy if, knowing that this would improve the situation of the country, we did not agree, but do not think that we are exhausted or trapped if we do so”. It is seen that he is also for the surrender of arms and believes that with a dialogue the political situation could be changed in favor of the people. He expresses a shamefully capitulationist and ambiguous position, conciliatory in the internal struggle.

In October they held an Enlarged Executive Committee meeting, part of whose agreements were published in the magazine *Cambio*. It says “Fujimori starvation! The people will win, once again they do not define the class character of the government. Yankee imperialism is now no longer a question of U.S. interests”. They speak of traditional pragmatic and neo-liberal right wing and put AP, PPC, Libertad etc. They speak of the legal left and where do they place the APRA? They forgot it. From the CPP they recognize, without wanting to say it, that we are advancing and it burns them that we are in strategic stalemate. They say textually: “The authoritarian character of Fujimori’s government [...] his neo-liberal and surrenderist policies [...] his alliance with the Armed Forces and the parties of the traditional right [...] as well as the absence of the legal left [...] have created a vacuum of alternatives for the popular movement and the people as a whole. The situation of profound economic marginalization [...] is

creating political conditions for a possible process of people's revolution with violent characteristics". To dare to say that after 11 years of People's War in Peru political conditions have just been created for a possible process of revolution with violent characteristics is to gild the pill and close one's eyes to a reality, since they are not Marxist-Leninist-Maoists they do not put forward objective conditions, nor subjective conditions, nor revolutionary situation and they get entangled in describing facts and lucubrate creations that are already analyzed and clearly established in Marxism; and what it is about is that they are revisionistically reflecting the conditions of maturation of the revolution for the conquest of power, in the end they are denying them because of their capitulationist position. Well, but he goes on to say that in these possibilities, "In one way or another the Shining Path wants to capitalize on these elements to widen its radius of political and military action; however, the tactic adopted confirms once again that the path chosen leads inevitably to its strategic defeat". It is not that we want to widen the radius of action, what we want is to strengthen mobile warfare and promote the preparations for the insurrection and develop the strategic stalemate to conquer power throughout the country. They are hurt by the existence of the People's Republic of New Democracy, the strengthening of guerrilla combats such as ambushes and assaults, sabotage, selective annihilations and armed agitation and propaganda actions. They conclude that there is then a "Fujifascism versus a Senderofascism", if this were so, its logical consequence would be what their advisor Tapia has been proclaiming, a broad anti-fascist front; but their petty bourgeois and mainly revisionist hepatic reaction clouds their understanding of what they are recognizing: the strategic balance, the polarization of forces between the big bourgeois, landlord bureaucratic and pro-imperialist regime of Fujimori and on the other hand the Communist Party which advances in being the unifying center of all the forces susceptible of being united by the People's War and the People's Republic of New Democracy. The rest is about their action: "Civil disobedience, towards people's rebellion!" or simply applying the struggle within an article of the Peruvian Constitution. That is why we affirm that they are marching more towards their amnesty and enlistment. And for Yankee imperialism, as one magazine said, it is nothing more than a "known demon".

Polay's interview with Borges, the Nicaraguan revisionist, also in Caretas, is another declaration of capitulation and admiration for the APRA and confirms what "Germán" declared. He does not speak as a Marxist but as a renegade of Marxism, he does not invoke Marxism at all and of the situation of revisionism in the USSR he says that Gorbachev could not foresee the disintegration. Of the anti-drug agreement he does not say a peep, he only says "the Americans prioritize a repressive elimination and that is what we oppose", of course, not the agreement! Of the CPP he says "it is the brother enemy of the most reactionary sectors of our country, because one and the other are necessary, they feed each other"; that we have a "messianic vision" or we are an "Islamic fundamentalism" or that we "believe ourselves to be the only depositaries of the truth" or "the Peruvian version of Pol Pot", just like what Fujimori said in Bangkok, and he does not mention at all that we are a Communist Party with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought ideology. He says that "the MRTA fights for justice and peace and that in Peru change is only possible by combining all forms of revolutionary struggle" and he does not even defend the main form of struggle which is the armed struggle and in which his leaders are giving their lives.

Recently they have just published a communiqué from a new Front called "Free Fatherland", this organization is one of the channels through which the MRTA could insert itself into Peruvian politics by running in future elections or by amnesty and enlisting in the old State. There they speak of a Plan of People's Salvation and that they are in favor of peace with social justice and the Great National Dialogue.

### **ITS SITUATION AND PERSPECTIVE.**

To sum up, the MRTA is advancing on its capitulationist path and will act more actively against the People's War in this division of tasks of Peruvian reaction and imperialism, it could even sell itself to Yankee imperialism now that Soviet social-imperialism is bankrupt and relations with Cuba are somewhat indefinite and in crisis, they who have always applied the command staff will have to opt to enlist in the amnesty and enlistment to annihilate us by selling themselves to the highest bidder, after all the APRA is not their only card.



## CHAPTER V. POSITIONS, DECISIONS AND OPINIONS

### NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

In May, the newspapers The Commercial, Express, The Republic, Eye and the magazines Caretas and Oiga presented a document on subversion to the Prime Minister. They state, among other issues:

“Ten years have passed and subversion and terrorist violence have become more and more serious in the country. It is now more evident than ever that in order to face this unconventional war with the weapons of democracy, new approaches and the support of political and institutional decisions of singular transcendence are urgently required [...]”.

It proposes:

“Superior Council of Defense Ad Hoc presided by the president himself [...] to create instances in which the Church, political parties, business, labor and other organizations participate [...] to create a Unified Operational Command exclusively dedicated to fight subversion, an operative and stable vertical organism, with a chief endowed with ample powers, placing under his mandate all the forces of order, police, aviators, military, intelligence service, health, etc. [...] budgetary priority [...] continuity in command [...] unify and strengthen the intelligence services [...] national fund for internal defense”.

All of this in the Defense and Military System.

Also covering issues in the judicial field:

“Greater security, incentives and training, modification of sentences (life imprisonment, more severity with minors), simplification of procedures, extension of terms for preventive prevention, reserving to the common justice system all cases of human rights violations, reorganization of the prison system, preventing it from continuing to be a school of subversion and placing it at the service of intelligence work.”

In the educational field:

“Education campaign and a comprehensive strategy aimed at promoting in schools, universities and teacher training centers, the ethical and essentially progressive values of the democratic system.”

In the field of communication:

“To create in the Unified Operational Command of the anti-subversive struggle a communications office that feeds the media in the following ways: reporting with precision about the warlike confrontations, about the positive facts victories, advances, reporting periodically how the subversion is going in order to create an awareness and psychology of the anti-subversive struggle, an office that not only reports the facts but that uses them and mobilizes an entire information strategy, take advantage of the advantages offered by the written media for the ideological struggle by resorting to the detailed study of all the doctrinal production of the Shining Path and the MRTA [...] in order to refute in didactic terms the very theory of subversive violence...to permanently raise debates and interviews about the anti-subversive strategy in order to gather contributions and increasingly involve politicians and business and labor leaders, etc. in the conduct of the struggle that belongs to the whole of society.”

Chairman Gonzalo’s commentary is very clear for us to judge it, besides being fair, correct and accurate, even more so today after the issuing of the decrees on pacification:

“This document is part of the central problem of the reaction: how to defend and maintain the old State? This is a reiterated question that today demands a peremptory answer but, from the beginning, the approaches to the military question reveal serious divergences with what was reported by the Prime Minister in the name of the government; thus the ‘agreement’ on the so-called pacification is not as simple as they believe it to be, it will take place in the midst of intense and constant collusion and struggle. On the other hand, in the field of revolution, the peremptoriness they raise also shows that they reflect an evident reality: the People’s War unfolds in strategic stalemate.”

About Express and its campaigns we transcribe some comments by Chairman Gonzalo: Regarding the news that another car with an arsenal of explosives was found in Lima:

“Within the same Express police plan as always, serving Yankee interests of fighting drug trafficking and targeting the People’s War to advance economic interests; it is their concrete goal now.”

Two linked to the MRTA:

“The MRTA is raised and the government’s ‘successes’ and the Shining Path’s ‘setbacks’ are touted.” And: “Yesterday it supported dialogue with the MRTA taking the police ‘hostages’ as an instrument: today that the collusion and dialogue plan failed, ‘Express’ criticizes it to distance itself, clean itself and plot new contubernios against the People’s War. Yesterday in its editorial it exalted the MRTA as the great opponent of the Agreement; seeking once again to raise the MRTA whose San Martin action has failed in its objectives, and, the main thing, when the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign expresses great strength and success, even more so when an armed strike is underway in Lima with very good perspectives.”

Another one referring to the murder of Persiles was a “mafia vendetta” after spreading that it had been a Party action, a usual attitude of this newspaper in recent times, says:

“As always Expressis mudslinging.”

Another referring to the supposed defeat of the Party in the Huaycán elections:

“Strange and magical calculations to fabricate another ‘resounding defeat of the Shining Path’, the same old story and the same Express campaign; same reactionary plan, same puppeteers, only the puppets change: now Cambio 90 and Socialist Left”.

And about The Peruvian:

“Part of the psychological operations of the counter-revolutionary war, on the one hand to discredit us before the people and, on the other, to raise and promote the MRTA. The Peruvian is the same as Express; in the same campaign of reaction in general and its media.”

Referring to The Commercial on the alleged news of “After confrontations, EP troops seized weapons from Shining Path”, Chairman Gonzalo commented:

“The Commercial reported the same on 03.06, under the headline: ‘Military troops killed 30 Shining Path Members’. The ‘dead’ of the

3<sup>rd</sup> become today 'presumed dead' and the 'dean' goes on to focus on 'a significant part of the armament used by the Shining Path in Upper Huallaga was recovered by the Army'. This and other examples show how The Commercial, (the newspaper of 'Independence and veracity' according to its slogan) joins more actively each time and with equal or greater artfulness and cynicism to the Express campaign against the Party and the People's War."

And on the occasion of an article by H. Guerra in the editorial page of the same newspaper "The frustrated generation" which points against the youth forged in 11 years of People's War, the commentary becomes even more forceful:

"Here is a sample of the ideological campaign proposed by the editors of newspapers and magazines. They want to oppose the youth to the People's War. But, as can be seen, this ideological campaign is flawed in its bases and perspectives: let us insist on fighting it thoroughly and we will destroy it."

In conclusion, the proposal of the newspapers was rejected in fact because it is convenient for the genocidal country-seller to apply his own plan, the promulgation of his pacification decrees express a fundamental divergence with the proposal of the journalists in that it does not take into account the political, civilian organizations, but rather empowers the military power. Therefore, the newspapers have been acting with their own plan and will sharpen their divergences.

## OPINIONS

PUM, In Amauta No. 82 of 07.06 they report on the culmination of the 10<sup>th</sup> Session of the Central Committee, there in terms of National Situation they say:

"It is characterized by a deepening of the neoliberal offensive of the government, defensism in the people's movement and its vanguard and the extension of the internal war."

There what they define will be the political conjuncture and their pessimism is notorious, they see the reaction as so big that the popular movement separates it from its highest political expression. This is the People's War,

and since their political group is in bad shape, divided and ideologically confused, then they attack the vanguard of the Peruvian proletariat which has been leading the People's War for more than 11 years and they consider themselves the vanguard in defense; if they were Marxists, because they are not, they are bourgeois, they would understand that war is the continuation of politics and the highest form of resolving the contradictions; it is enough to compare the response of the Argentine or Bolivian people with that of the Peruvian people to demonstrate the high quality of the people's response here; and it is responding with its blood and the possibility of conquering power with arms in the hand is opening up more, in the whole country led by the Communist Party, and if we go to proportional quantities of popular masses in struggle, well, there is no point of comparison; so, the popular response in Peru is much higher in quality, and quantity; not to see that reality is to start from a bourgeois pessimism. Hence its response to the conjuncture:

"The Central Committee of the PUM has approved as an immediate and short term tactical line the development of a movement of active resistance to neo-liberalism and counter-insurgency; prevention and containment of the coups of the Shining Path; and recovery of the political initiative of the masses and their vanguard."

Example of the counter-revolutionary march of Deputy Letts with a dozen people and their white flags of surrender and reactionary alliance on the central highway of Lima, recalling the execution of the PUMist scab, at the most opportune and favorable moment for the government for which they voted.

On the strategic stalemate they expressed the following opinion in their official document of the 10<sup>th</sup> National Conference:

"For the analysis of the political situation [...] seek to understand what the Shining Path announces when proclaiming the beginning of a new stage of the war, based on the conquest of a supposed 'strategic balance' against the State and the Armed Forces. It is evident that in this declaration there is a high dose of voluntarism and bravado and a third refusal to recognize the failures and losses suffered during the last campaign linked to the electoral boycott. Be that as it may, what is certain is that the Shining Path is forcing

the machine to produce a crucial leap in its accumulation of forces and its combat capacity.”

We have long refuted the supposed defeat of the boycott in “Elections, No! People’s War, Yes”, and they do not even touch that document because it burns them. Faced with the strategic stalemate, they appeal to voluntarism, this in politics is called ultra-leftism and deep down it is rightism, how do they prove it? Ultra-leftism is defined in Marxism as the deviation that does not see the objective conditions and forces reality to act on it based on the will, it is not handling laws, but it could be said of our process that for so many years we have been forcing reality? Who has raised the semi-feudal, semi-colonial and bureaucratic capitalist character of Peruvian society? Us, and it is also we who are unveiling the reactionary character of the old, landlord-bureaucratic, pro-imperialist State, which political party has demonstrated it before the masses? Who has defined the character of the democratic revolution today on the uninterrupted road to socialism and through cultural revolutions to reach Communism? Chairman Gonzalo, the CPP. And we do it by applying in practice what we preached in words for years because we are Marxists since Mariátegui founded us as a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, we believe that a Party is constituted to take political power and not to be a party in itself, but in this country since the 1960s the Party was reconstituted and the Marxist Base of Unity was taken up again, revisionism was defeated and swept away and the Party developed in the light of Maoism, generating its own specific Thought applied to the objective conditions of our society, Gonzalo Thought, becoming a Party of a new type, a reconstituted Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Party. Then, handling the laws of the process of contemporary Peruvian society and applying the ideology, he developed the Maoist thesis of bureaucratic capitalism and thus showed the two roads that occur in Peru, and it was concluded that having reached the third moment of bureaucratic capitalism and having a Party of a new type, what corresponded to us as a dialectical and historical materialist response, what we had to respond to the objective conditions and the existing subjective conditions was for the Party to rise up in arms and lead the masses to develop this revolutionary situation with armed struggle and new power and to generate the revolutionary crisis to conquer and defend power. And what Party is there in Peru that has a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Great Leadership? A complete

orthodox Marxist, capable of defending Marxism with his own life, totally, absolutely and unselfishly given for Communism in the midst of a new general counter-revolutionary offensive? who has developed Marxism, raising it to levels that you cannot even imagine how much it contributes to the revolutions in the world today? Who has established all those laws of society, of the State, of the Party, of the revolution, of the People's War, of the army and of the New Power? everything has been done by Chairman Gonzalo, the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist on the face of the Earth today, can anyone prove otherwise? Then, having ideology, defeating contrary lines, a Party of a new type and the Great Leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, anybody could say that we do not have masses? Could a People's War be sustained without masses? Who, what Party today has raised the deep masses of the countryside, the poor masses of the cities, the proletariat has organized it in its vanguard in Peru? Even the Central American bourgeois-nationalist groups themselves do not recognize it, not even they all together have been able to do what we are just beginning to do. It makes no sense, then, that having a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Party, having a Great Leadership and having a People's War in the second stage for so many years and so many masses can be forced and nobody can say to us that we traffic with the principles because we keep our word, we said to take up and develop Mariátegui and we achieved it, we said ILA-80 and we did it, today we say we will conquer power and we will do it until we pursue socialism, the cultural revolutions and Communism. What happens with the PUM is that as a party that represents the interests of the bourgeoisie it fears the leadership of the proletariat and takes refuge in parliamentary cretinism and in denying the objective and subjective conditions. And just as yesterday it opposed taking up and developing Mariátegui, today it also opposes Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, it is because of the class character of its ideas.

But as they usually do, they publicly slap each other and after accusing what they cannot prove, they go on to give their brainy reasons as to why we say that we are in the strategic stalemate and they recognize the existence of the same, what worries them is and where will they be? What will their bases tell them? They say:

“The sense that can be found [...] [that is to say that what we say makes sense] can be summarized in: a) maintain defensive potential to conserve their zones of strategic rearguard [...] b) Guerrilla Army and that we must pass from acts of small groups to greater concentrations of combatants [...] c) broaden the participation of the masses in the war [...] to take them to a violent and frontal clash with the State [...] d) insist on sabotage and terror in the big cities to place the Armed Forces and Police in a defensive position [we could never have said that because it is a military error]. e) confront the left and the mass leaderships that are out of their control, as obstacles to the war [another bourgeois lucubration, it would be better if they read our documents textually and debate on that, what happens is that they see it with bourgeois eyes] f) extend the scope to the whole national territory.”

Then they see that we are advancing and they are lagging behind:

“It has zones of strategic control [...] others in the process of consolidation [...] in them it has announced the passage from Clandestine People’s Committees to Open People’s Committees and support bases aiming at real power structure [always denying what exists] [...] It is true that it has managed to gather a numerous contingent of combatants.”

How can they not say that we are forcing the masses? just as yesterday they said that we did not have masses, now they say that we do have them but by force:

“What they have not achieved is the passage to armament, modern and semi-heavy.”

This is not true either, because in this we are advancing in wresting it from reaction which is our main source.

“And from whom have the ronderos learned in Ayacucho to make weapons?”

“In terms of simultaneous and sustained deployment of forces and strategic support, it is the Shining Path that maintains clear supremacy.”

They refer to the MRTA to which they attribute better armament but they do not say that they buy it. Then:



"[...] the Shining Path offensive seems to be centered on producing hard blows against the patrols [...] and to maintain a state of anxiety and confrontation in the cities [...] The armed strike in Lima on May 29<sup>th</sup> was a successful test in this direction that neutralized the government and the political parties as a whole."

Another situation they raise and which reveals that they want something:

"Nothing, in this new stage of the Shining Path war, indicates that there are modifications in the dogmatic and authoritarian conceptions that characterize their line of action towards the masses, the left and our party." Regarding Express's campaign on the development of the People's War in Puno, the article by PUM congressman Alberto Quintanilla was published in response. Chairman Gonzalo commented:

"These statements by the PUM allow us to clarify once again their positions. Regarding their action for 'land seizures' for 'restructuring' which opens 'a path of hope to close the door to the Shining Path': it implies: 1) any advance (if any) in recovering some land, in this case is a by-product of the People's War; 2) 'Seizure' to oppose the People's War and the Party; 3) Who benefits? Not the poor (or minimally the poor); 4) furthermore, the land problem which they considered to be overcome, subsists and what the Party said about Velasco's agrarian law, today they repeat it, but yesterday, especially the PUM, condemned it as 'ultra-leftism', 'dogmatism', 'infantilism' so, therefore, they have to swallow everything they vomited. As for their repeated phrases 'between two fires', 'they assassinate leaders' and that repression generates 'discredit and mistrust of the State'; the first two are old tales and closed defense of rotten leaders on whom people's justice fell; and the third inveterate defense of the Old State and proof of how what happens to their State hurts them, and they are not wrong: it is the udder that suckles them, like their cronies and congeners of the IU, among others. And as regards the solution, 'the alternative' that they put forward, let us highlight: (a) 'land tenure' is an old position of Christian democracy in the country (Cornejo Chavez); (b) 'restructuring' is the PUM's version of the 'redimension' of General Morales Bermudez; (c) 'defend communal enterprise' is to maintain one of the associative forms and to sustain the goodness of those false 'socialist' modalities) 'to democratically choose the business model' is concordance with Fujimori's decree; d) 'regional agrarian

agreement' is one more sample of their frontism ('modern farmers', neither big bourgeoisie) trafficking in reactionary regionalism." (07.06.)

Regarding the IU, the only thing it has done is to support Fujimori's government, the revisionist Red Fatherland does not get over its astonishment at having representatives in Parliament and in its newspaper the secretary states that the task consists of organizing the Party, otherwise all the work of the masses (which they do not have) will collapse. On the strategic stalemate he did not go beyond qualifiers and as always adjectivizing they solve the struggle. The revisionism of Unity, which is no longer published, has defined itself against Gorbachev after having defended him. All there, also the IS and the MAS continue to insist on cleansing themselves of their votes. The strike called by their divided leaders for the 18.07.1991 "civic strike" or "national people's strike" to counterpose the "armed strikes" that we were developing all over the country was a resounding failure.

"Sendero sets out for peace". Oiga magazine interview with Carlos Tapia, former member of the Defense Committee of the Chamber of Deputies and currently advisor to CEPRODEP, an institute dedicated to migrants in emergency zones, June 24. The path of this individual has always been characterized by repeating what others sustained, taking a little from one and a little from the other, his incapacity to analyze is typical and the root is his counter-revolutionary class position, known trafficker of Mariátegui and arríbista parasite; if he now feeds on the People's War it is out of desperation to sell himself to the new government and many of the approaches he badly repeats are found in "Arms for Peace" by S. Pedraglio. Deeply frightened he says that we have advanced:

"It has advanced significantly [...] it extends in almost all the national territory [...] it controls 1% of the population of the country and a territory that is equivalent to 2%-3%."

Then he recognizes that we have a new State:

"They control it directly [...] According to their Base Development Plan, it has caused a vacuum of power in 8-10% of the national territory where approximately 5% of the national population lives [...] when I speak of 2% of the territory and 1% of the population there it does have a State, in the

5% there the State is in dispute [...] in the old Mao style they are mobile support bases.”

“They claim to have 24 support bases, of which 16 are in the central-southern highlands of the country. There they have built a New State where the People’s Committees function [...] This is the concrete expression of the dictatorship of the New State [...] it imposes this functioning with authoritarianism and violence [...] it is a military dictatorship that does not mean violence against the peasantry but a paternalistic attitude.”

The journalist Pedro Planas questions him, could it be said that it is punctiliously fulfilling the phases projected in 1980? He answers:

“Yes. Definitely [...] have planned an integral strategy divided into phases, plans and campaigns, with a rigorousness that is rare in this country.”

Thus he is recognizing, in spite of his class hatred, the role of political strategist, military and philosopher of Chairman Gonzalo. He adds:

“Many times the Shining Path side is underestimated and it is not understood that Guzmán is such a philosopher that he did his thesis on Kant and that upon encountering a philosophy of war in the Maoist theory he has been able to establish certain philosophical principles to develop his strategy.”

He is surprised and terrified to see the role of the Central Committee and the strategically centralized and tactically decentralized plans:

“The campaign is approved within a plan that corresponds to a great phase and the Central Committee takes the agreement. The operational actions are not defined in the Central Committee but correspond to a tactical decentralization on each front.”

Contrary to his wishes he records that we are the most important political party. The journalist:

“We have seen that it would have direct control over 220.000 people, which is 1% of the national population, but how many members can it have?”

He answers:

“If we were to give veracity to the figures that say that they have died, between 10.000 and 12.000, then it would be the largest party in Peru [...] I

believe that it is an absolutely exaggerated figure and that there are many more civilians dead. The number of dead Shining Path members must be between 1,500 and 2,200 [...] With that number it would be the largest political party of the left.”

What he does not want to register here is the existence of the PGA, because he is afraid to register the strategic stalemate, it is that as prophets of the past the opportunists only register what has already been demonstrated in decades of years as in our case today, who would think of denying what he is recognizing that it exists? Only a fool, but as for the Army, he does not register it because it would lead him to affirm what he believes that still does not exist, we will see later when we pass to the third stage of the war, then he will recognize the Army and the strategic stalemate, it has always been like that.

He speaks of the four forms of guerrilla combat and of which he considers that 20% are guerrilla combats but that we undertake them against the patrols; to the annihilations he puts 4% and says: They are not interested in these actions of annihilation now:

“They are going to be interested in these actions when they pass to the phase of strategic stalemate and work the insurrectional project in the cities. This strategic stalemate has nothing to do with military force. It is foolish to believe that there can be a stalemate between the military forces of the State and the Shining Path. This strategic stalemate has to do with the global correlation of forces of society as a whole and aims at creating a degree of illegitimacy in the repressive action of the State [...] They are going to compare the illegitimacy of the State with the degree of legitimacy that they have managed to achieve in certain areas of the country. That is the goal they want to achieve in order to reach the strategic stalemate.”

This confirms what we have said before.

He records that we have made progress in taking over cities such as Ayacucho and Huanta, but that in Lima we are advancing in some neighborhood zones and are not interested in taking them over for now, however he says that we lack union work.

He repeats the same as others about one of our supposed weaknesses, the construction of the Front and rejects the militarization of the Revolutionary Movement in Defense of the People (RMDP):

“As it is militarized it cannot include larger sectors of society. This is, in my opinion, the first element of vulnerability in the political field but not in the military field.”

And then he says that in order to advance in the Front we must correct the subjection to Gonzalo Thought. What happens is that, as we have said in public documents, we conceive the United Front for the People's War and not at the margin of it, we build it in the countryside as a State of joint dictatorship and in the cities as the RMDP, aiming today to develop the United Front of the Revolution for the conquest of Power. The other is an absurdity because the ideological basis that should lead the front is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, if not we would be abdicating the leadership of the proletariat in the Front and giving way to the bourgeoisie to lead it, this individual as others consider that the CPP should not lead the Front, they are supporters of the order and pretend a Front with the bourgeoisie, even big, for them, the bourgeoisie, to lead it: What we conceive is that this leadership is guaranteed through the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and that in the Maximal Programme we consider Communism as the goal and in the Minimal Programme we take into account the interests of the other classes that make up the Front, that the Front varies according to the stage of the revolution, that is according to the main contradiction of the moment. Basically, what they are now applying to criticize us is that since this mess of adjectivations does not fit to discredit us, they use the expedient of sectarianism when they are the ones who oppose the leadership of the proletariat and seek the leadership of the bourgeoisie: second, they play that socialism has failed, that Communism has expired and that it is not an ideology that should lead the masses, and third, as many are already proposing that we will conquer power but that the problem will be that we will not be able to sustain it, that it will not be a viable project, what will happen is that they will invade us, that the “powerful” Yankee imperialist world gendarme will come to save them and they will overthrow us. It is within this that imperialists, reactionaries and revisionists are moving to fight us today.

He adds that since 1987 there has been a change in military strategy that had to do with the organization of the patrols and civil defense, expresses his full agreement and says that it should have been done before. He proposes a "political thesis to guide military action" that would consist of a "change in economic relations and a new sense of democracy to build a new power structure where the peasantry is the protagonist" and concludes that "it cannot be a proposal to reestablish the old State that was so easily defeated by the Shining Path" and "a common political proposal to mobilize civil society and make it participate in this struggle". An impossibility without a democratic revolution led by the Communist Party.

In October, Express interviewed him and there he came out with: "We must socially isolate the Shining Path", the central issue of his proposals was his proposal of "District Committees of pacification and development", we have already talked about this: on the action of the army in Raucana he considered it a good precedent but that it cannot be generalized because the forces would not reach them; and he proposed a "mini-war cabinet", which is nothing but another absurdity. In the forum "Structural violence and insurrection" he qualified us as fascists, saying: "There are only two positions here, the fascist position of the Shining Path and that of the rest of the democratic society." The desperation and impotence of opportunism leads to affirm without proof fascism in the ideological aspect? Why? Because the ideology that sustains us is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, it is Communism that hurts. In the political? In the organizational? In the leadership? In the mass work? In the military action? He is ignorant of the content of fascism since he was one of the worshippers of the fascism of Velasco whom he qualified as "reformist" and "advanced". Precisely, an important development of Gonzalo Thought is about fascism. Another article: "Total political mobilization of the country", interview by Oiga with General S. Jarama on June 3<sup>rd</sup>. He says in synthesis that the armed strike called in Lima, as recognized by the magazine SI is another success of the Party. That:

"The war we are waging is not military but political to conquer power; that power is conquered when you have a Party, social base or Front and PGA."  
That:

“They are trying to broaden their social base, their people’s support using their generated organizations; they are trying to broaden the Front.”

We can apply the same criticisms as to Tapia with the attingence that it was the general, the first one, who began to spread that problem about the Front.

“I don’t think they are beating us, I would say that we are losing because we are not doing what we should do.” “[...] we are doing what they want us to do, that is, they are managing our strategy and theirs.” “Do you think Abimael Guzmán improvises? He evaluates, measures, defines the objective, the modality of action and begins to push his forces. And then he observes the result.” “We don’t because there is no one to do it.” “The citizenship does not have much credibility, for example, in the authority of justice, it begins to lose credibility in its public force, it begins to question the validity of institutions such as the Parliament, in the official word. These are objective manifestations that the system is losing its basis, its consistency.” It is a demonstration of the advance of our People’s War and the expiration of their State.

Regarding the MRTA, he confirms positions that we have been denouncing, although of course, due to his class position, he aims to confuse when it comes to the use of the MRTA by the Armed Forces, he refers only to the use by the APRA:

“I believe that the MRTA wishes to have a more decisive presence in the national political panorama with a view to a future in which it could be the force that reinserts itself in the peaceful political scheme of the country.”

Interviewer: “From the military point of view, there is no point of comparison between MRTA and the Shining Path?”

Answer: “No, there is not. They are totally different terms, they respond to different strategies and conceptions, between the two there is a total abyss.”

“The Shining Path does not care about the MRTA?”

“No, because the MRTA has proven to be a force that in its time will be crushed: today the MRTA does not constitute any danger for the Shining Path. [...] The MRTA has its origin in the APRA. Let us not forget that the APRA Rebelde is a faction that separated from the APRA and gave rise to the MIR, and from the MIR’s ranks the MRTA was born.”

On the departure of Canto Grande:

“I believe that this was an exchange of Delgado Parker for Polay”, “I believe that during Alan García’s government the MRTA meant a paramilitary force that could have been used to play strategically in the face of the possibility of a military coup: it is also possible that Alan García had in mind to use the MRTA for a possible confrontation with the Shining Path.”

It is worth commenting on the article by Alejandro Miro Quesada Cisneros in *The Commercial* who proposes “A new strategy”. He starts from the premise that subversion is an eminently political phenomenon and that it has one objective, to change the system of government. It is not only that, we do not only want to change the system of government but the main and decisive thing is to change the dictatorship of the ruling classes, the class dictatorship of the State, the State system; overthrow, then, the reactionary classes of this old State and build a New State of joint dictatorship, of United Front of four classes in which the proletariat has hegemony through the worker-peasant alliance, the only State of a new type that can apply the new democracy, that is the dictatorship against those who exploit and democracy for the people; the new State cannot exist without democracy, just as the People’s War cannot be managed without democracy, it is the opposite of an old State and of an unjust, counter-revolutionary war. He says:

“In the case of Peru, the subversives have opted for one way, terror, becoming more terrorists than subversives: thus understood, terrorism is the armed manifestation of subversion.”

This gentleman does not know the military problem, terrorism according to the theory of war is but one of the forms of struggle used in the revolutionary war and it is not the main one. He says that we conceive that “everything that signifies the presence and service of the State must be destroyed”, yes, that is what we want, to demolish the old State, in Marx’s terms, and to build a new one, the People’s Republic of Peru. He says:

“By deepening the analysis, we will also explain why the State is having little success in combating subversion.”

Here he is recognizing that the old State is not succeeding in its counter-subversive combat; and then he shows us why and how the State is; he says:



“The State has been disarticulating itself. Today it does not provide the citizens with many of the most elementary services to which it owes its *raison d’être*.”

This is a very good statement, it confirms what we have been spreading, more, we must insist on demonstrating that this State is failing to comply with its most elementary functions of food, health, work, education, that if it fails to comply it no longer has a *raison d’être* and what corresponds is a New State. The writer sees that the citizenry is largely unprotected, that the citizens themselves, whether in young towns or residential areas, organize their own security, he says:

“In rural areas there are ‘tactical’ retreats of the forces of order to the cities.” As the People’s War advances the enemy will retreat more and more to the cities, that is where they entrench themselves, leaving the small towns unprotected, where we become stronger, the Party, the Army and the New Power, the People’s Committees. He says:

“As a consequence of the lack of protection, the political authorities are withdrawing or in extreme cases are assassinated; entire zones are thus left as easy prey for subversion. The massive resignation of authorities in the Tarma area is still present. Likewise, in these days of complementary elections, we see that in many localities there are no candidates. But the exodus does not end here, along with the authorities, the representatives of the State in charge of providing basic services of health, education, etc., are leaving. Then, only the representatives of the State and the inhabitants who decide to live with the subversion will be left. Finally, first underhandedly and then openly, the subversion will take control of the town or area. They will then have achieved, in a small way, a final objective.”

This is reflecting the political conquest that we obtain: the construction of the new State, even Fujimori has said it in one of his speeches: “My government will not coexist with another State”, what is happening is that they are recognizing that there are two States in opposite class contradiction and it does not fit them, this is another manifestation of the strategic stalemate that they all insist on denying but that is so evident that it hits them in the face like the wind; It is for this very reason that because the new State is developing in the countryside and because it is advancing to the People’s Republic of Peru that they have to insist on recovering and

consolidating positions; for an outdated State it is a shame that they make them State forms even a few meters from the government palace, in their own capital, we do not mean that we build State in the cities, we have specified that this is a sixth form of power and first in the city and it has its name: People's Struggle Committee. He continues:

"In the city, the citizens' weakness in the face of subversion can manifest itself in very personal ways. Every time a businessman stops investing in a project, every time we stop going to the movies or to the theater; in short, every time terrorism manages to frighten us and alter our rhythm of life, subversion obtains small micro successes [...] just like the drop of water that pierces the stone."

What he is expressing is our advance in the cities where we are acting in function of promoting the preparations for the insurrection, although this is still a complement to the countryside, it is not yet the main one, and it is not only about one city but about the cities. He continues: "In the cities attacks on the productive apparatus are prioritized", it hurts him, but then it is good, we must continue the sabotages against the big State and non-State monopoly capital, against imperialism. He says that the consequences of subversive action are not only economic but that public morale has been shaken. What happens is that an old State by its class character is immoral and what the People's War does is to show that character in a clearer way and explain it scientifically, the moralizations of the old States are nothing but children's stories.

"This stark analysis makes it clear that subversion has been succeeding in its main objective: to bring down the State. In contrast, the State's strategy, primarily military-anti-terrorist and, apparently not oriented with political criteria, has not reached the bottom of the problem."

He does not agree with Fujimori's counter-subversive policy centered on the military and he recognizes our political success and if the political is successful, the military is also successful; he is a reactionary who understands the problem well, he is not ignorant and he is quite informed, it is true that we are hindering, undermining and even demolishing the old State. He continues:

"What does it imply to face the anti-subversive problem from a political angle? Unfortunately, it implies following a much longer and more complex

path than that of weapons. This does not mean deactivating the military front. On the contrary, the military front must be strengthened, but from a different point of view, integrated to a political strategy.”

What he conceives of is an integral strategy, in the four planes and that the military be subordinated to the political, to a political direction. He says:

“The path begins with a real awareness of the ideology that sustains us.”

But the Peruvian people feel that their rights and liberties are being curtailed more and more every day, Fujimori is determined to circumvent the Parliament, to attack the judiciary, so what kind of democracy is he talking about if not freedom for those who oppress us with impunity from above; But the good thing is that he is challenging the new government, he is telling it that if it continues to trample on its democracy it is trampling on its starting point to fight us and thus they are going to fail; he says:

“We have to oppose it to the ideology of subversion: Maoism.”

Very good, it is bourgeois ideology versus Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought.

“Strengthened our ideological foundation and consequent step will have to initiate a general recomposition of the State.”

He goes from ideological strengthening to political strengthening which consists of a State restructuring.

“Together with the other services, the new State should provide the conditions for those who are efficient and hardworking to develop.”

This is part of the search for the legitimization demanded by imperialism, that the States of its allies are capable of satisfying the basic needs of their citizens, he also thinks that a new State should emerge, which would emerge according to him under the banners of strengthened democracy, but that is impossible because a State of exploiting classes will generate in a society like ours a democracy for those at the top and the conditions to develop are nothing but asking for bureaucratic capitalism to develop, that is why he clarifies further on:

“To offer the conditions so that it can face the first echelon: the capital.”

This is what we have commented on before which is concretized in reimpulsing bureaucratic capitalism.

“The New State must also soon have reached sufficient economic order to face the anti-subversive struggle with adequate logistics.”

Then they need to solve the economic problem to buy more weapons to fight us, he says:

“No more lack of bullets [...] nor of food [...] or uniforms.”

There it is, here he is reflecting on the lack of means of the armed forces; “no more lack of communications”, they need roads; “no more lack of fuel”, they even need gasoline for the helicopters; “no more demoralized troops”, the lack of morale of the troops and of the chiefs is proven.

“The reader will complain about the complexity of the proposal. He may be right. But if we analyze the latest political events, we will see that we are beginning to walk in that direction. The State apparatus is being restructured little by little.”

What he wants is an evolutionary path and reflects the pessimism of the exploiting class.

“In the anti-subversive struggle we can also see advances, although still embryonic, with the activation of the Council for Peace [...] together, politicians and military, the whole nation, each one in his specialty, we must confront this scourge that has begun to corrode us. It will not be easy for the State [...] possibly many institutions should be completely restructured.”

This is key, he is talking about the three tasks, he is reflecting the need for the old Peruvian State to restructure itself, but what is under debate is under what form, whether it should be a bourgeois-democratic form, more arch-reactionary or the other, which would be a corporative form, this is what has not yet been defined, moreover, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum proposes that we think in new fascist forms or in bourgeois-democratic forms in which the Executive is increasingly strengthened.

“For the State it will not be easy [...] It will have to find honest and efficient representatives at all levels: prefects, governors, judges, prosecutors, ombudsmen, teachers, police officers, doctors, social workers, etc. Possibly many institutions will have to be completely restructured, perhaps even to the point of creating a new institution [...] For the entire nation it will not

be easy, it will require a profound restructuring of its values [...] to recover mainly civic values: respect for the rights of others and the punishment of those who act against the rules [...] Let us take advantage of the problem of subversion and let us face the restructuring of a State and of a society that long ago needed a good modernization.”

After “modernization”, what he wants is to restructure the State.

Synthesizing his proposals, he says that a new strategy must be managed starting from the ideological strengthening of bourgeois democracy, political strengthening, which implies State restructuring, social transformation, change of values, and simultaneously an economic impulse to manage the reimpulse of bureaucratic capitalism. Thus, he conceives of a politically centered strategy to annihilate the People’s War and foresees a difficult perspective. Debate, vol. 13, No. 65, July set. In the Annual Survey of Power in Peru, Chairman Gonzalo is considered number four of the 10 most powerful Peruvians, after having been number five in 1990; and he is placed after the recently entered Fujimori, the country-seller; Boloña, the one fabricated by Yankee imperialism and De Soto, the bureaucrat of Yankee imperialism. If we remember, in previous governments the first three have always changed. The magazine says:

“The persistent capacity of influence of subversion over the course of events in the country is clearly reflected in the survey results that place Abimael Guzmán in fourth place [...] the leader appeared for the first time in the results of the Power Survey in 1982 in 28<sup>th</sup> place, but since ‘83, Guzmán has always been among the top ten.”

It is reflecting the advance of the People’s War and the persistent leadership capacity of the Communist Party in Peruvian society, the polarization between Fujimori, mainly Yankee imperialism and the CPP.

Businessmen:

“Without decisively confronting this situation it will not be possible to attract national and foreign investment.”

This was said by Luis Vega Monteferri, president of the SNI. The businessmen felt threatened by the Party and in El Diamante the factory undertook a sinister campaign against the class accusing them of being

terrorists and of putting the factory in a "state of war" to fire the workers under that pretext and respond to the trial that sentenced him for three months against that defamation; He used all the economic resources at his disposal and on TV 4 of Lima he spread his insults until the 4<sup>th</sup> Correctional Court presided over by the vocal Hermoza Moya acquitted the businessman Gino Pinasco, stating that "what Pinasco did is a legitimate claim to develop the production activities with confidence". In a press conference, the president of the SNI, Luis Vega Monteferri expressed that "the sentence honors the image of the Judiciary at a time when terrorists threaten and try to weaken the business sector, which is fundamental for the development of the country." The lawyer Lengua Balbi announced the definitive closure of the factory. Security expenses of businessmen, "[...] is equivalent to 150.000.000 dollars, almost 7% of their operating expenses, more than the budget assigned to the National Police", affirmed Julio Favre, president of the organizing commission of the 5<sup>th</sup> National Congress of Private Enterprise. He added:

"We have to pacify the country. It is a fundamental task of the State. But in some way we, the businessmen, have to show our face and help. [...] We are going to propose channeling the efforts of the business community to help the PNP. It is a matter of getting organized. Instead of spending dollars on 'guachimanes', we could allocate that money to the police in the area, so that they are well paid and protect the citizens of the surrounding area. [...] There is no development if there is no security. The businessman not only has to be a leader in the development of the country, but also in the confrontation with subversion, because this is a phenomenon that is already overtaking and impeding development."

Another opinion that worries the reactionaries and imperialists is that of the almost 20% of young Peruvians who believe that the Party will win the war and conquer power and they carry out a series of juggling tricks to divert them from the brilliant path going against, once again, history.

And as a culmination, at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign, the newspaper articles registered our overwhelming advance:

"The bloodthirsty escalation of the Shining Path in search of the so-called strategic stalemate continued its course [...] The strategy of the Shining Path is not random, it obeys the teachings of Chinese Maoism [...] The belt

is tightening around Lima and in this field the Fujimori government does not know where it stands.” (D’Ornellas, 06.09.)

Another:

“Strategic stalemate? The Shining Path has intensified its actions in the last weeks in a desperate attempt to make the formula of strategic stalemate a real phenomenon and not a simple desiderative exercise [...] It must be taken into account by the leadership (if it exists) of the counter-subversion. It is not difficult to foresee an escalation of actions of a different style than the one practiced so far [...] The Shining Path is not a weak or superficial enemy [...] to underestimate the enemy is the worst possible strategy, even more so when there are no reasons to do so. To be pleased as some government authorities are that the so-called ‘strategic stalemate’ is little more than a phrase does not lead to anything.” (“Strategic balance or mental imbalance?” *The Peruvian*. 30.09.)

“The resignations are more and more numerous [...] as part of his vast plan to move his war from the countryside to the city [...] he rehearses his plan with mock insurrections with night demonstrations [...] Guzmán’s troops are advancing in those sectors where the presence of the State is weak [...] his followers are the poorest neighborhoods of Lima [...] in another field they seek to dominate the wholesale markets and other supply centers where they have imposed price lists [...] not one but hundreds of marches would be necessary to counteract the escalation.” (“Red Harvest”, *The Republic*, 30.09.)

Gorriti said as early as July:

“Strategic stalemate [...] it is a calculated exaggeration, they seek to put in tension their forces to set themselves that goal and achieve it [...] however if they are marching towards that, they can achieve it within one or two years.”

The Commercial said in November:

“Terrorist actions have not diminished, far from it, in recent times [...] the happy efforts of the President, of our diplomats and businessmen, in offering the world an attractive face, are a dead letter in the face of an action that blurs all initiative [...] the same lack of strategy is being suffered [...] the lack of security will not allow an economic reactivation in which the

assistance of foreign capital and technology is indispensable on a single basis: security.”

Another:

“Abimael ‘95?”

Ricketts on the Barrios Altos genocide:

“After eight days, the country knows nothing about it. [...] it is embarrassing [...] why they so lightly attributed this crime to the Shining Path [...] the only thing that can not only defeat but is stopping the Shining Path so far is the superiority of the rule of law [...] between two or more terrorist groups in conflict, the country has no possible choice.”

And Express editorialized against the decree laws on the so-called pacification:

“An exclusionary strategy does not work.”

Synthesizing this part, the opinions of parties, senderologists, military, journalists, economic magazines, all reactionaries, are reflecting the great success of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign, the strategic stalemate, the advance in the cities and the fulfillment of the strategies and objectives outlined.

*Peru, 1991*

*Central  
Communist Party of Peru*

*Committee*



# **PREPARATORY SESSION OF THE II PLENUM**

## CHAPTER I. FRAME OF REFERENCE

This will be the central report for the preparation of the II Session of the Central Committee. Several days ago an outline on the topic of Building the Conquest of Power, was distributed. We have revised this outline and added a fifth part, "the III Campaign to Impulse," with the goal that this report will have all the pending questions that we are interested in handling. Afterwards, aside from studying documents, we have evaluated the Balance of the II Campaign to Impulse and its expansion. Consequently, since this is our work, and what is appropriate today is to see the part of Construction as a substantial problem and see it as an Outline of the Strategic Plan of Construction.

It is also necessary that we look at the III Campaign. Before beginning this exposition, we would like to recall what we concluded from the Congress. The Congress is an event of transcendental importance for the Party, and we move and guide ourselves within its framework. Obviously we must guide ourselves on the Basis of Party Unity, that is, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, on the Program, and on the General Political Line. We would like to highlight point six of the Program. It says: "Fight for the formation of the People's Republic of Peru as a class Front based on the worker-peasant alliance, led by the proletariat headed up by its Communist Party, as the formation of New Democracy that carries forward a new economy, new politics, and a new culture." We know what this implies. It is very important in this moment within the perspective of conquering power throughout the country.

It is intimately linked to point 14 which says: "Fight tenaciously and heroically for the total and complete triumph of the democratic revolution throughout the country, and with the culmination of this stage, immediately, without any pause, pass over to the socialist revolution along with the international proletariat and the people of the world, in order to continue humanity's march to its final goal, Communism, by means of cultural revolutions." It is also very important that we bear in mind point 14 of the Program. Evidently, we must complete the first stage of the revolution, for which the conquest of power countrywide is aimed. But the question doesn't end there, the problem is the continuation of the

revolution, as a socialist one aiming at Communism, linked to the international proletariat and the peoples of the world through all the zigzags and great struggles that will be unleashed through cultural revolutions.

On this point 14, it is very important that we always reaffirm ourselves on our final goal: Communism. If we did not do so, we would not be Communists. On the other hand, we must focus on to and base ourselves on the characterization of this period made by this same Congress. The document tells us:

“But considering that the democratic revolution in the country is passing through a period characterized by:

1. A deepening of the general crisis of Peruvian society, principally of bureaucratic capitalism;
2. An increase in the reactionary nature of the state, today with a fascist, corporativist, Aprista government headed by the genocidal Garcia Perez;
3. The sharpening of the class struggle, with the masses realizing the necessity to combat and resist;
4. The People’s War is developing vigorously and increasingly; and
5. The people need a People’s Republic built according to the principles of new democracy.

This is a period that covers approximately four or five years, which is to say that we are moving forward within this period and the characterization made by the Congress is plainly valid. Item one talks about the deepening of the crisis of Peruvian society, principally of bureaucratic capitalism. The Peruvian republic is living through its worst crisis within the third moment of bureaucratic capitalism, which is its destruction; all the daily events demonstrate it. Item two tells us that there is a major increase in the reactionary nature of the state. This is obvious since it is its path. When we characterized them as aiming at a new restructuring of the old state, this can be nothing more than its reactionarization.

Thus, they try to fortify their state to better combat the People’s War, because their state represents a rotten system. Obviously, now we are not dealing with Garcia, we are dealing with Fujimori and his new government. Even before the government took command of the Peruvian state it was

deeply discredited, and in a short time, has shown all of his reactionary essence. Item three refers to the sharpening of the class struggle, and we see that it is happening. Furthermore, this sharpening of the class struggle takes as an example the People's War (and its innovative forms of struggle) for its daily combat. Events show this. What item three is telling us in reference to combat and resist is more evident every day, with the understanding that today the problem is to combat and resist to serve the People's War as the Party.

Item four states that the People's War is developing vigorously and increasingly. This is shown now that we are engaged in mobile warfare. This shows the fortification of the People's War, its development, and the difficulties that the reactionary government has in fighting us. At the same time we hear how the reactionaries are demanding a new strategic plan, which demonstrates the difficulties they have in confronting the People's War that is vigorously expanding countrywide. Item five, refers to the People's Republic. It is a sincere hope of the people. It has already been specified as the People's Republic of Peru and it is precisely in its service that we must work. This is the form of state that the conquest of power will establish. The third element of the Basis of Party Unity is the general political line.

In synthesis, we develop what was established within the framework of the Congress, which guides us. In the same way, we should consider the I Plenum of the Central Committee, which is very important because of the problems that were outlined there. The First Plenum aimed at problems of construction and the building of conquest of power throughout the country, and we are guided by this because when a political line is just and correct, the greater the necessity to line to apply it. We are opposed to the believe that "line is enough." Thus, the meeting of the Political Bureau, and the events handled there, are proof of the politics that we are applying and how they are stamped on reality.

Similarly, in the August circular we specified outlines of the new government, its plans, and how to respond to them with the goal of launching our "Third Campaign to Impulse" [the People's War]. Furthermore, we must always keep in mind our victorious process of People's War which after 11 years is transforming Peruvian society. The war

is the superior form through which the fundamental problems of the revolution are resolved and society is transformed to benefit the class and people. It is the principal form of organization. It is a war of masses, peasants (especially poor ones), the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. We must see the role of the masses in the war. This is very important because the masses make history. We must keep in mind the role played by the People's War in Peru in the world proletarian revolution, which for us is a major responsibility.

Finally, we must see that everything that the Party leads cannot be developed unless we guide ourselves by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought (MLM, GT) our ideology and essence of the Basis of Party Unity (BUP). We must reaffirm ourselves in it today more than ever before, because MLM, GT is under attack, and they try to defame and deny it. We must maintain absolute conviction that it is all-powerful because it is true, it is the plain truth. A solid truth like a rock. After all, their attack is idealist verbiage, it will pass, and the deeds will remain as incontrovertible reality. It is true that we live in difficult times, but the main tendency of history in today's world is revolution, it is incontrovertible and will impose itself.

Communism will impose itself and shine throughout the world. We must keep in mind the words of Chairman Mao that the road is difficult but the future is bright. Thus, Comrades, the revolution will triumph throughout the entire world, and whether it takes more or less time depends mainly on the actions of Communists. This is the frame of reference unfolding today. We must keep in mind that the resolutions of the Congress is our guide, including the Basis of Party Unity with and its three elements set forth in the First Plenum of the Central Committee (CC), in the Meeting of the Political Bureau, the process of the People's War and the role played by the International Communist Movement.

## TITLE

Very expressive and with a slogan. Our problem is to conquer power countrywide, and that is what is said here as a guide, a goal to reach. It calls on us to build the conquest of power countrywide, to structure it based on the ideological and political construction as principal and simultaneously in organizational construction, in the midst of the class struggle of the masses and in the two-line struggle. At the same time, it emphasizes that we can

only do all of this through the People's War. These are three slogans intimately united, unbreakably linked, and inseparable. We cannot build this without the People's War nor without the goal of building this for the purpose of serving the conquest of power countrywide. We could not conquer power without People's War, or without building it, and we could not wage the People's War without the goal of conquering power countrywide, nor could we wage it without the construction of the Party, the Army and the Front. The People's War is of major importance by having the construction as a base and the conquest of power as a guide, because it is part of the Program established by the Party's Congress. The three slogans are: "Develop the People's War, Build the Conquest of Power, and Conquer Power Countrywide." [also known as Develop, Build, and Conquer]

## OUTLINE

This should be an outline in the strategic plan of construction, and we believe that an outline is relevant. The Party has experience in making them. In 1978 in the VIII Plenum of the CC, the outline for the armed struggle was approved. This expressed the particularity of our People's War which should evolve in both the countryside and the city, with the countryside as the principal [scenario of the war] and the city complementary. In 1980, the Party approved the outline of the militarization of the Party by way of political and military actions, and a defined policy to complete the initiation of the armed struggle, established the organic forms needed to build the army, the detachments, the forms of struggle, and the elemental armed actions.

Today, we are presented with the need for an outline to build the three instruments. This outline is more developed than the previous ones we have had, but we consider that it should be worked on and developed so that after being approved by the CC, it will begin to be applied as a pilot plan. After a reasonable time it will be approved in a definitive form and then evolve into the strategic plan of construction. Both the pilot plan as well as the approval of final plan have as a correlation, military plans of the People's War. All of the above will carry us to a future plan for the conquest of power, which will be a military plan that specifies the People's War in its final stage, a plan that will also have its outline and a pilot plan, a plan that will address the control of the countryside, and will have a vertebral column in the New State in a

much wider form. It will also contain the insurrections for the conquest of power in the cities, from the small, to the medium, to the large: the capital. Consequently, the principal thing this session should deal with, is this outline for the strategic plan of construction, which does not contradict the primacy of the People's War.

## CHAPTER II. QUOTATIONS

1. May document pg. 113.

There are many who talk about the “obsolescence of Marxism,” which is nothing more than the putrefaction of revisionism which impedes the march of humanity. Chairman Mao, applying contradiction, taught us that the “new” is always imposed and replaces the “old.” This is a universal law. It is eternal like matter (no matter how many detours we run into.) This means that the profound conviction of Communists is in accordance with the process of development of matter. Mao also taught that the “new” is born in the midst of hardships and opens its path amidst very difficult struggles. At the end it imposes itself. This is how it has been, is, and how it will be.

2. May document, p. 105.

The march of matter and humanity has given, as part of this material process, the ideology of the proletariat, that is the greatest ideology, because the proletariat is the last class in history, and the most complete ideology which cannot be prevented from developing. It is also good to emphasize that it is an ideology and system that differs from any other ideology and system, because today it is denied. They are the upholders of the obsolete irrationality of the XVIII Century. We Communists are radical transformers, developers and practitioners. We carry forward the most rational processes like the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism, the goal of communism, and an immense historic process that will complete the long work of humanity, towards the realm of liberty.

3. May document, pg. 105.

Humanity has a course, and a nonlinear development with specifications and a specific nature. It is this way, because this is part of contradiction, it is the particular. Historical reality shows that we have had a process since primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and socialism, and that we have Communism as the goal. This is the historical path of the class struggle. They are modes of production established independently at the will of anyone, as the product of the development of humanity, the process of the struggles of humans to meet their needs. The tortuous paths of today



are nothing more than the expression of what was before. In history, there is no new and different system which has imposed itself all at once; it has always done so through a struggle that was first laid down, consolidated, and then imposed upon. In our case, upon creating the Communist revolution, the revolution led by the proletariat, having democratic or socialist or cultural revolutionary forms, we make the only true revolution of history.

Marx taught us that all revolutions before ours have been the substitution of one group of exploiters by another. Only the Communist revolution substitutes the power of the exploiters with the power of the exploited, and is the one that initiates the process of the dictatorship of the proletariat and lays down the conditions that make everything based on classes disappear and make the State disappear. For this reason, it is something original, different and new. The road to arrive to Communism is complex but will be victorious. Humanity will not be able to enter easily into Communism. We will see great complexities and extremely hard struggles but we will handle them, because since 1917, we have entered the new era, the era of the world proletarian revolution, and we will see situations that have never been seen before. This is what Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao taught us. Socialism and Communism will be imposed on the Earth. There is no other goal for humanity. This is a consequence of the unstoppable process of matter and humanity.

#### 4. May document, pg. 113.

There is much talk about peace these days, but we Communist know that as long as there is private property, classes, and imperialism, war will be a continuing danger. What is happening in the Middle East? They keep sending more troops and not only to Iraq and Kuwait are implicated there, but also both of the imperialist superpowers. They participate in a different way, but they are involved, along with many other imperialist powers, even Japan. The situation has some features of extending itself and having violent repercussions throughout the region, one of the hot spots of the world. Chairman Mao taught us that as long private property, classes and imperialism exist, the danger of war will continue. The process of these wars and their dimensions depend on the sharpening of the class struggle. We must apply this today, and keep in mind what the First Congress agreed

upon about spheres of influence, and a new redistribution of the world that were accurate.

Later, the Chairman Mao taught us, we must be prepared for war, but, not when war is knocking on our doors. The problem is to focus on the principal aspect, which is revolution. Revolution is the principal historical and political tendency in the world, because the problem is that in politics, revolution is what is new, and counterrevolution is the old, and the new imposes itself on the old. In this way, revolution will impose itself on counterrevolution. Politically, history unfolds in zigzags as part of its process, not its negation.

In the face of a counterrevolutionary offensive, man must act, Communists even more so. We must transform this offensive into a revolutionary counteroffensive; because the expression of the main political principle, depends on the transforming action of man. We Communists must make People's War a concrete reality according to the concrete conditions of each revolution. We believe that this is not sufficiently understood by the Revolutionary International Movement. Thus, we must see revolution as a historical tendency, as a political expression, and as the way man reflects upon situations. We must act to transform them, so that they act as the principal historical and political tendency.

5.

Chapter II, quotes from Chairman Mao, Sixth quote, "organizing the people in order to demolish the reactionaries is our obligation." If we do not strike at everything reactionary, it will not fall no matter how decayed it is. It is not enough that the old state is decomposing, we must destroy it. Its destruction is the prerequisite to building the new state.

6 May document, pg. 190.

Chairman Mao calls upon the Marxist- Leninist-Maoists to joint with the vanguard of the proletariat. It is indispensable to add the Maoists, because Maoism is the new, third and superior stage. It is the ideology that unites the Maoists of the world. He calls upon the people of the oppressed nations which constitute the growing mass of the world's population. He also calls upon the people of the imperialist countries, in the U.S., in the USSR as well as in other imperialist powers like Germany, Japan, and China.

Thus, he calls upon Communists and revolutionaries of the world to unite, so that the immense masses express their power over the earth. We must unite to defeat imperialism, revisionism and world reaction, which is clearly valid today. He ends with a powerful affirmation. As long as there is exploitation on the Earth there will be no new world. Therefore, our task is to destroy imperialism, revisionism, reaction, and every system of exploitation, and construct socialism. It is enough to see the social experiences that have been lived through, how they swept away centuries of exploitation in a few decades. This was not total and complete because there was not enough time, but how was it that backward countries like China and the USSR became powers and superpowers?

Only socialism is capable of developing the forces constrained by imperialism, revisionism and world reaction. In these processes there has been (capitalist) restoration that has evolved into revisionism that is shamelessly unleashing capitalism. It is because they have abandoned Marxism, because they restored capitalism, and abandoned the construction of socialism. But revolution will arise and socialism will once again be developed. We must investigate all the things that socialism has advanced in those experiences, with the goal of gaining positive and negative experiences from the construction and development of socialism.

## CHAPTER III. THREE STRATEGIES

This outline of the Strategic Plan of Construction is headed by three strategies.

### **POLITICAL STRATEGY: CONQUER POWER**

A Party has as its objective the conquest of power and to follow the path to enter Communism, the greatest radical transformation that humanity will live through. The passage to Communism will not be easy or short. We must consider that the entire system of four thousand years, more or less, of private property must be swept away, and the period prior to the entry into Communism will be less, but more than decades. Every Communist Party should work with this perspective, conscious of the process. Our Party was founded to conquer power. It was reconstituted to complete this objective and initiated the armed struggle to follow a road, and this road has taken us to the nearby goal of conquering power countrywide. We have a political strategy that guide us, and it is a complex, intensified, and glorious struggle to finish off the democratic revolution and build the People's Republic of Peru. All of our work aim toward this goal.

### **MILITARY STRATEGY: PEOPLE'S WAR DEVELOPS MOBILE WARFARE AND FORGES THE PREPARATIONS FOR INSURRECTION**

People's war is the highest military theory that history will see, no other will surpass it because the proletariat is the last class in history. This strategy of people's war is the source of our advance, of our victories, because it is a war of masses led by the Party, and based principally on the poor peasantry, which upholds the interests of the proletariat and defends the people. This war must continue developing and its nerve centers, the base areas that are spreading to higher levels, up to the conquest of power countrywide, this will demand another leap, another military plan from us. What is appropriate today is to develop mobile warfare, which we are already handling, and at the same time develop the preparations for the insurrection, which we are already doing so.

**STRATEGY OF CONSTRUCTION: BUILD THE CONQUEST OF POWER  
COUNTRYWIDE**

For the first time we propose three strategies. Today it is indispensable to propose a strategy of construction, a consequence of the process of the Peruvian revolution and the People's War. We have dealt with the reasons for the title. Our problem now is to build this conquest and apply the principle of construction linked more closely to the three keywords: Develop, Build, and Conquer!

## Chapter IV. Introduction

### 1. On optimism and Party work (Peking Review 37-38/, pg. 8.)

Our point of departure is the law of the unity of opposites, the essence of our understanding, the universal law of contradiction. We must always base ourselves on that. We must apply contradiction to whatever task we begin, first taking it up with the conviction that it is possible; second, that without arduous and tenacious work, we will not complete it well. This governs the immediate goal today. To fear and not to fear is another contradiction, it is part of the human condition, it exists in the individual dimension and is natural.

But in the class struggle, this takes on a much greater dimension, the contingencies are greater and more complex and the number of problems are greater. We may even have to master nature, which is still hardly understood today. Entering into the principal part of the quote, the greater part of humanity, the proletariat and Communists, put optimism on the first level. "A strategic challenge to death, scorn for the hardships, and all the difficulties will be overcome," is what guides and sustains Communists. The exception are the cowards and opportunists because they are not centered on the collective, on what is new, or on the perspectives of humanity. They see everything black, because the bottom of the grave is like that; but few think that way. Why be optimists? Being optimistic allows us to overcome difficulties; it is the condition to take each work seriously, allowing us to understand and investigate issues of concern. Only in this way can we see the diverse facets of things, take their essence and manage the laws that govern them, so that by applying them, we can transform the world.

With those laws we can resolve contradictions; turn true tigers into paper tigers, from democratic revolution to socialist revolution, turn what is difficult into easy. For us today the task of conquering power countrywide is a new task. There are many problems we need to understand better, but we know that we have the conditions to solve them. Furthermore, we are aware that the People's War is a necessity and must be completed. All of this demands optimism from us, a great optimism to handle this new situation. We must recall the beginning. It was also a leap similar to today's, and we

now have experience. The difference is that today, the leap is qualitatively superior.

Hence, we must be optimists to complete our goal of conquering power countrywide. As always, Chairman Mao forewarned us about possibilities and realities, apparent possibilities, false ones (the supposed insurrection that the PUM dreamed about), real possibilities, the conquest of power countrywide, the People's Republic of Peru and the transition from democratic revolution to socialist revolution. This is not writing in the water, it is practice that is reaching its goals. Another contradiction is that there are some hotheads whose ardor butts their understanding. Impetuosity, is good but not sufficient, we require cool heads and scientific judgement to analyze. Some say we have already conquered power but don't say how, or what plans to make. They only see the sparkling exaltation of victory but don't do anything to create it. Some only have cool heads, and from so much meditating and racking their brains, they end up being spectators.

Tomorrow they will say, "See, I told you there were no conditions!" at every minor setback we are faced with. They are the ones who wait for mistakes to show or jump up. War, then, needs both impetuosity and cool heads. Thus, we don't need sparkles that soon go out, nor cold spectators. We need to have revolutionary passion, counting on clear minds and a resolute will sustained by the optimism of conquering power countrywide. Peking Review, 27/28, pg. 8.

### **ERRORS AND INJUSTICES**

Sometimes, some comrades don't see their faults and only judge the faults of others. It is very painful when one is the victim of an injustice, but Chairman Mao taught that even if they take you from one place to another, or pass you from one responsibility to another, but in these times of greatest adversity we go through, we will be able to learn better and there will be no obstacles to accomplish our tasks well. It is ridiculous to turn personal questions into questions of state, or to disavow principles because you think yourself treated unjustly. Those who think this way are centered on their own skins, putting their own merits ahead of the Party, not seeing the powerful actions of the masses but rather believing it to be their titanic individual labor.

There is no deed free of making mistakes. Unjust treatment will always occur; Communists must not become sullen because their mistakes have been criticized. Errors will occur even with a just and correct line, because of new situations, people who make mistakes in application, etc. But if the leadership analyze, discuss and correct these errors, and reasons are given to those who made them, then we advance. If a case occurs where someone has been wrongly displaced from his tasks, he is exonerated before the people, and thus, that person will be happy and will not act against the Party or the revolution. But if the leadership is not just and correct, if the leaders maintain a wrong line, these rectifications will not be feasible. In this case, those who have the correct line must unfold a struggle to impose it. We must ask the masses to observe us, to criticize and self-criticize as many times as necessary.

Chairman Mao taught us that we must serve the class and not individuals, not ourselves, but the revolution. It is because of individualism that the affliction hurts so much, that it even dents service to the revolution that is the condition of being a Communist. Marx taught that the historical processes determined that in order to benefit humanity, we must sacrifice and grind down the individual and even classes. We can see this also among animals and plants. When all is said and done this grinding of one part serves the preservation of the entire species. What is important then is the class, the whole, not the individual. It is what Chairman Mao teaches us as the “quota”.

## 2. On understanding the objective world (Peking Review, 27/28, pg. 13.)

The problem requires that the entire Party reach a unification of understanding of its process; it proposes that the means of achieving this, is the rectification campaign. Today we need to develop the rectification campaign so that the entire Party understands how to develop and complete the democratic revolution, the necessity to conquer power countrywide. We are armed to achieve this goal. He [Chairman Mao] teaches us that only after two reversals and two victories could they understand the situation in China. For us today, now that we are going to conquer power countrywide, we are presented with many reversals and problems, even defeats, which is why we must be tempered for these contingencies. Don't forget that it is we, ourselves, who are responsible for our revolution. There is no international



strings from powers or superpowers and everything that happens to us, will be entirely our responsibility. We are conscious of this immediate goal. We know that we can and will achieve it.

We must make this necessity understood by the entire Party, the army and the masses throughout the country and the world. We must create public opinion as well as attack all those falsehoods and defamations until they are defeated as well as the sinister campaign they spread, which is that we are not going to conquer power. They seek to create confusion and lack of confidence in the masses and in the people's army, in order to isolate us. Note that only after 20 years did they have a clear idea of the general political line. They say that for a long time they acted with a large amount of blindness. The Congress [of 1988] has established the Basis of Party Unity (BUP), but we must consider, how much is mistaken, how much is due to insufficient understanding in the Party, the army, and the masses.

If we are going to conquer power countrywide, we must have political plans, defining what to do first and what to do later. Our Party needs indispensable theoretical, ideological, and political work in construction, and in the People's War. We need to synthesize all our experience so that we can use this to arm the Party, the army and the masses. As Maoists, we will achieve this.

3. The ideological and political line decides everything (use the full version of the quote).

It tells us that the ideological-political line allows us to find men, the contingent we need, militants and arms to conquer power. We have a line that is just and proven, endorsed by the Congress and by almost 11 years of the People's War. If the line is incorrect, everything will be lost; the ideological-political is the key thread in the network. If we deviate from it all the network will unravel. The basis to resolve all the new problems is our ideological-political line.

In the May document, pg. 108. It is the realization of politics in command. The revolutionary organic forms serve the political necessities as their objective. The Party is not an end in itself, it is to lead the revolution, and the masses are making it. When an organic form is no longer in accordance with the needs of the struggle, it should be changed. The organic forms

change according to the necessities of the revolution. Some are obsolete and should be changed, others are insufficient and should be developed and improved, while others may express their goodness. Today, these problems present themselves as a necessity and even more so, if we are in the building of the conquest of power countrywide.

We must be very clear in this process, as there will be comrades who will say that what we were doing before was wrong, when it was not that way. It is a failure to see that the very development of the revolution demands changes, new modalities. These positions express a lack of confidence in the revolution. In the line they enclose a loss of perspective. We also think that in general people tend to repeat what is known, and there is a certain resistance to change. This also must be overcome in order to take on the new.

The great orientation. See the May document, pg. 108. The problem is a correct leadership and handling of the three “magic wands” of the revolution [the United Front, People’s Army and the Party.] in an interrelated way. This is the thesis of Chairman Mao, and we should keep it in mind. These quotes on construction also make us to consider that in the current situation, in building the conquest of power countrywide requires that we realize a series of new modalities. New things also have laws. Part of this is the tenacious effort needed to impose them and above all, the need to develop a firm and astute struggle to prevent the old from reestablishing itself, since the “old” resists and denies its own death. The struggle to impose the “new” is a necessity.

#### 4. The proletariat, organization and the Party.

Lenin in “One Step Forward, Two Steps Back” outlined a great thesis. The proletariat is powerful, but it expresses its transforming force only when it is organized. But take note that Lenin is talking about construction, and in the context of ideological-political construction. Later on, he outlines the basis for ideological unity. What is the situation of the proletariat today? The class is not united in the country. Due to the general crisis of bureaucratic capitalism, the big bourgeoisie following the advice of its imperialist masters are trafficking with the necessities of the class. They lower their wages, and they don’t recognize their conquests, and they worsen their working conditions. Unemployment is the order of the day. They

think that the proletariat will submit to this, because if they don't sell their labor power what will they live on? It is even worse now that they are seeking the greatest surplus value possible, an even greater capitalist accumulation. Misery is gorging more and more on the class. They seek to brutally sink them, and they want to impose all the rot of capitalism on them and, therefore, use every means toward this end.

But, before everything else that the proletariat generates, when it is organized and united, it generates a Party capable of opposing all of this, a party that is similar to the army, a part of militants, "the legions of iron" as Lenin says in another part. Recall what Engels outlined about the two powers in the world, the organized power of reaction and the disorganized power of the masses, that is a power that must be organized in order to express its superiority. With such a party, with the class organized and united in its Party, no decrepit reactionary power will prevail.

Our Party, the army of the class, the organized masses led by the Communist Party can conquer power by way of the People's War. Reaction will not prevail. We will demolish the old state and we will destroy bureaucratic capitalism, imperialist subjection and semi feudalism. Internationally, we Communists will finish off imperialism, revisionism, and world reaction. Communism will be imposed despite all the zigzags the revolution experiences. Today, the proletariat will tighten its ranks. It will strengthen itself despite all the imperialism, all the revisionist rot, despite all the anarchism of the anarchist intellectuals who always oppose the Party and burst with tinsel and noise, as their unfounded attacks reveal.

In this way, the proletariat united in a powerful Communist Party will conquer power in the country and will follow its socialist path until Communism. In the world, it will sweep away imperialism, revisionism and world reaction. Let us reiterate, the basis for all this is the organization of the class. Marx said that "the class has the power of numbers": the organized class, then, is powerful. Lenin in "Urgent Tasks of our Movement." Once more he speaks about the Party. The Party should always interest us because it is the vanguard of the proletariat, and it is the general staff of the revolution. More than this, if in today's world the need for the Party is denied, if they change the names of the parties whose leadership they usurped in order to negate their necessity, if they abandon the symbols of

Communism, we must then reaffirm ourselves in the necessity of the Party. The Party is key, because it is the indispensable leadership for the Communists. It is a Party with men and women who not only dedicate their free afternoons but also devote their entire lives. We should also note the need for a large organization, without forgetting that it is a class Party with a mass character. Don't confuse the two.

What is referred to is the need to count on a large contingent capable of fulfilling every type of task more so today, when we aim at the conquest of power countrywide. We need to aim for the specialization of the leaders, of the cadre. We apply being Communists first, and principally combatants and administrators. We must, therefore, keep this in mind, it is very important. Chairman Mao taught us the need to be red and expert, principally red. We must never tie our hands. The Party must propose activities that it can fulfill, using all the procedures that correspond to its conditions, activities that permit the greatest results, according to conditions. A Party that is well organized can lead a strike and obtain major victories; note that the precondition is that the Party be well organized. The class, the masses must fight to win victories. These struggles are feints, military exercises, preparations, maneuvers, that will prepare the masses for the decisive battles to come. This coincides with what Marx taught us about guerrilla warfare that prepares the class for its future struggle for power.

This is very useful in handling the struggle for living conditions serving the conquest of power. We are facing an enemy fortress, the old power, and from there they strafe us with machine-guns and take away our best leaders. This is the reality, hard but certain. Faced with this, what is to be done? He doesn't say dialogue, he doesn't say surrender, he doesn't say retreat; he says assault it, take it, and we will do so. What is the condition for this? We must unite all the forces of the proletariat that wake up with the force of the revolutionaries in a Communist Party, a Party that will have the broadest masses, a Party that unites all the active and honest elements that want revolution. Some will be militants, some supporters, others only friends. We must aim for the Party to be the only center of leadership and the recognized vanguard of the class. Internationally, the problem is also one of Communist Parties that maintain their character as parties of the class. We must think about the problem of the parties in Eastern Europe, wouldn't it have

something to do with that peculiar process of making parties from an amalgam of parties? This is a problem.

### 5. On Capitulation.

This merits our attention because many are capitulating in the world and in the country. The phenomenon of the new revisionist counterrevolutionary offensive is serving the imperialists and world reactionaries, and it is rotting part that of the people, insufficiently based on principles and in the dialectical understanding of the world. It has repercussion among the intellectuals. In the 1960s, they got tired of calling themselves Marxists, or rather they got tired of dressing up as such, so now they renege and are embarrassed to have put on that mask. They are striving to be worthy of serving imperialism, revisionism and reaction. This convergence of the new revisionist counterrevolutionary offensive in collusion with imperialism dreams of the definitive destruction of Marxism.

It dreams of sweeping away all that the revolution has done, all its gains, all its heroic actions. They seek to enthrone the old once again, that wicked domination by reaction in the most sinister moment of imperialism. This has repercussions and we see capitulation and monstrous apostasies. We see this among the petty bourgeoisie, among the scabs of the working class. The MRTA, for example, is the chief hawker of capitulation in the country. They spread “peace,” bourgeois democracy, the market economy, human rights, reactionary ideologies, and bourgeois culture. They capitulate in the face of imperialism. Capitulation expresses itself in two ways: capitulation in the face of native reaction and capitulation in the face of world reaction. It is always this way. Its objective is to sell out the revolution. It is rot that needs to be rooted out with blood and fire and this requires a strategy and tactics.

In Peking Review, 37/1975, on pg. 8, “Criticize Water Margin.” Chairman Mao in the struggle against the rightist wind launches a struggle against capitulation. He takes a literary work and criticizes it, because comrades, art has a class character. He says that this novel is an example of what capitulation is. It is criticism that forms part of the efforts to apply the politics of Chairman Mao in the study of theory and on the prevention and opposition to revisionism. We must note the importance of theory: theory is a great battle front, it is an international necessity. Communists need to

handle Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism. We need to apply it and defend it, because with it, we can defeat every assault against Marxism. For us it is also a necessity. It is indispensable to handle the new state, to build socialism. The May document should be studied well and thoroughly, because it shows how we see Marxism and what questions we must resolve today with its illumination. It shows how to build the new state, describes democracy and dictatorship, private property, the problem of the united front, etc.

These are real problems that present themselves today to Communists in Peru and the world. For victory, we need a contingent of Marxist theoreticians, obviously indispensable to maintain the course of the revolution and to build socialism. Chairman Mao called upon the Party to study theory. The merit of this novel is that it describes capitulation. It aims against the corrupt officials and saves the emperor. We see this in our country, for example PUM aims at [Economic] Minister Hurtado and exonerates Fujimori. This is capitulation. To practice capitulation is to practice revisionism, amnesty and enlisting. This is what the MRTA seeks, it is what the IS, IU, MAS, Minister Amat and Minister Hellfer seek. Those who capitulate, seek the offer of amnesty and recruitment, it is what they are offered, but as far as the MRTA, what does it do? It doesn't wait, it demands it, and offers it. Combating capitulation is important because it is part of the struggle of the Party and the people in its efforts to adhere to Marxism, to combat revisionism and to persist in the revolutionary line. This is a problem more important than yesterday, because it plays into the next 50 to 100 years. In order to combat capitulation we try to carefully differentiate between the specific characteristics of the capitulators.

In the case of Del Prado his problem is to adjust to perestroika. For the MRTA and Polay, they capitulate with Castroite positions by means of arms. MAS says that Marxism is supposedly obsolete and that there should be a replacement with social-Christian positions. Patria Roja, like the Chinese revisionists of today, proposes that Marxism is going through a combination of reforms to advance, and that the world reactionaries or bourgeoisie are trying to use them to combat socialism. Internationally, they kneel before imperialism and the many revisionists, within the country capitulate before the big bourgeoisie, the landlords, and all are against the

People's War. Do not forget that there are two factions of the big bourgeoisie, and that within each faction there are also groups.

Revisionists are all those who call themselves Marxists but revise Marxism; opportunists are those who accommodate themselves with whatever faction to survive; and the bourgeoisie, are those who uphold the ideology of the bourgeoisie and defend it. We must study Marxism well to combat revisionism, imperialism, and reaction. We must apply elevation and popularization and differentiate between leaders, cadres and militants, the army and the broad masses.

In Peking Review, 9/1976. The novel is a negative example. It promotes the capitulationist line, and then what does perestroika propagate? It propagates capitulation before imperialism, the most unchecked capitalist restoration, and it promotes revisionism. For example, to oppose corrupt officials without aiming against the entire bureaucracy as a component of the old state, but only against the corrupt, is for what purpose? Moralizing to make the old order more tolerable. We have an opposite position. We aim at the recalcitrant representatives of the old state, using selective annihilation to overthrow the decrepit order. The entire novel is impregnated with the idea that the officials are bad and the emperor is good, this is its basis.

For this reason, they aim at Hurtado because they think Fujimori is good, but they try to force, and impose on him. They ask Fujimori to moralize, that he renovate his justice. On the other hand, we ask nothing of him, we try to take away his power. To oppose the corrupt officials is to be loyal to the emperor. They aim at Hurtado they defend Fujimori, if they are "moralizing" then they are defending the system. In the heart of the reactionaries there is a contradiction. Some aim to annihilate the revolution and some wish to disintegrate it from within, but both defend the system and are opposed to the revolution. They are two sides of the same coin. Confronted by the revolution the reactionaries adopt a double tactic: the armed repression and the offer of amnesty and enlistment, that is capitulation. However, to reject or accept capitulation constitutes the focus of the two-line struggle. The trilogy of the capitulationist line is:

1. To aim their attacks against officials, not the emperor;
2. Amnesty and enlistment;

and 3. Repress the revolution.

We must not confuse the limitations of those who fight with those who surrender to the enemy. In China the peasants fought but were defeated, because without proletarian leadership they could not triumph, that was their limitation. Those who are in the struggle and capitulate, who surrender before the enemy, are seeking positions, and in this way form their armed base to later divide the peasant movement. One of the characters, the capitulator, practiced revisionism disguised as revolutionary, developing counterrevolutionary activities and aimed at substituting the revolutionary line with a capitulationist line. He wasn't even a fellow traveler, but a traitor, an arch-criminal.

The philosophy of the capitulator was feudal and bourgeois. Loyalty and justice were synonyms that they used, and they acted in those names. If one has a bourgeois conception and is in the revolution, then he will capitulate. His practice, ideas, and tactics are more perverse than the violent actions against the revolution, he uses feudal ideology with words about peace, justice, equality, and democracy to put out a rope and drag the masses behind them. The philosophy of life of all exploiting classes is characterized by seeking high positions, and recruiting lackeys. In all times, capitulationists will inevitably arise within the revolutionary camp. There are old capitulators and contemporary ones, who practice class capitulation in the country and national capitulation overseas. Class capitulation is where they submit to the bourgeoisie and to imperialism. This fits like a ring on a finger to those who act this way, within and outside the country.

*Peru, 1991*

*Central Committee  
Communist Party of Peru*



II PLENUM

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FUNDAMENTAL OF  
POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

## **CHAPTER I. MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, GONZALO THOUGHT: IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM AGAINST THE COMBINED OFFENSIVE OF REVISIONISM AND IMPERIALISM**

### **1. THE COMBINED COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGN OF IMPERIALISM, REVISIONISM, AND WORLD REACTION AGAINST MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM.**

In recent years we have been combating the new revisionist counter-revolutionary offensive (1990). We have been the only Party that defined it as such. What we ought to see now is that new offensive has been developed more completely by Gorbachev, who has largely repeated the sinister action of Teng (China). We have seen the direct participation of the Soviet Union and its subsequent repercussions, in collusion and struggle with Yankee imperialism, on the uncontrolled wave of capitalism in Eastern Europe. The participation of Gorbachev in that sinister counter-revolutionary plan is undeniable. A manifest proof of his services rendered to imperialism is seen in his nomination for the Nobel peace prize.

At the same time, we have also denounced the new and extended attack of imperialism against Marxism, which proclaims one more time its collapse. We have seen how on the ideological plane, in a form most wild and excessive, the problem has been explained as primarily a struggle between two imperialist superpowers.

We believe that, in summary, we ought to arrive at a conclusion: a combined counter-revolutionary campaign of imperialism, revisionism, and world reaction against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is being developed. This is the central question that we must deal with. This campaign develops by means of collusion and struggle, but predominantly the collusion among the three enemies which in unison attack and try to wipe Marxism off the face of the earth. Once again, we state that this campaign will be defeated. It is destined to failure. It is no more than the prologue to a new development of Marxism. Sooner or later Marxism will triumph.

## **2. FROM THE GENERAL DECAY TO THE COLLAPSE OF REVISIONISM: SOVIET UNION, CHINA, ALBANIA.**

This is our perspective: in the Soviet Union, quickly and without restraint, a market economy, privatizations, the free market, and finally a complete, uncontrolled capitalist system develop. The law that first the political power is usurped in order to change the social relations for exploitation, is being fulfilled. Then steps are taken toward a system of parliamentary representation, multiple parties, and other bourgeois principles, and consequently capitalist economic modes of production are adopted, such as the approval of a plan for developing a market economy. A period of stabilization is planned, to face the very difficult crisis through which they are undergoing. Non-government property is increased, of the monopolies, especially the imperialist monopolies, and of the non-State industries within the Soviet Union. Private ownership of land is granted. Non-State ownership of housing is extended. Lastly, the convertibility of the ruble is instituted. All of this is to the benefit of the grand bourgeois class of the Soviet Union. The measures to wipe out the balance that remains of traditions and traditional forms are evident. The revisionist party, for example, is each day more limited, and has to contend with bourgeois and openly nationalist parties. The revisionist armed forces have eliminated the political control of the Party. The Constitution has suffered numerous changes, and of the old socialist Constitution of Comrade Stalin, now not even a shadow remains. Education has entered the slide of privatization. The church is used shamelessly to restore capitalism, and to spread its ultra-reactionary ideology.

Attacks against the glorious tradition of the Bolshevik Party are witnessed, attacks on Lenin himself, which take a hypocritical form, and present themselves with false values, now that his own party -now revisionist-- in his congress, has opened the door to attack him with the statement that Lenin was no more than one of the many thinkers in the socialist process. Also there exists a serious national problem: understandably, if socialism is abandoned, if the party is abandoned, if the dictatorship of the proletariat is abandoned, all those measures have results, and the slide toward nationalism continues.

All this happens during an extreme economic crisis, and a bitter struggle among factions within revisionism itself, in which splinter groups contend to defend their positions, old and new, fascistic and bourgeois-democratic factions. Thus, everything moves from the general decomposition of revisionism to its collapse, promoted by imperialism, and directed by Gorbachev, from the time he began the reactionary policy of perestroika in 1985. The path of revisionism is clearly one of total decay, and it takes little time to arrive at its collapse.

If we turn to revisionism in China, again we find intense struggles, as for example the events in Tiananmin Square. In this situation, one faction, which wished to control the centralized government apparatus, and use it to manage a return to capitalism, defeated the more reactionary bourgeois-democratic faction. We see here that the fascistic revisionists had learned a lesson by observing the Soviet Union; they managed to prevent their own displacement from power.

Thus, such a faction (led by Teng) struggled against the movement called liberal-bourgeois, Zhao Ziyang and Hu Yaobang having been the leaders of the latter faction. We have analyzed above how revisionism first passes through a stage essentially fascistic, but this tend to dissolve as the restoration of capitalism continues to move toward bourgeois-democratic modes -- which are those which historically created the conditions for the development of capitalism -- as in the Soviet Union, which now has arrived at bourgeois-democratic modes, which puts it more in accordance with the capitalist and imperialist process as it is understood in the West. By contrast, China has developed in the fascistic mode for about 15 years, but this continues to be undermined. As the capitalist and imperialist system develops, the pressure to conform to bourgeois-democratic modes continues. It is clear that both factions are revisionist, each with its own agenda.

Thus, the second path of revisionism also leads to the decay of revisionism itself, but at a slower rate than in the Soviet Union.

Albania is a third example of revisionism. At the 9th Session of the Party in 1979, we heard the statements by Hoxha against Chairman Mao, then deceased, and Ramis Alia. And we can follow the development of the revisionist path, though here it is restrained by the lessons gained in

observing what was taking place in the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern Europe. We see relations with the United Nations developed, and concessions made to guarantee "human rights." Defectors are permitted to flee the country by first taking refuge in foreign embassies, as had been taking place in Hungary and East Germany. Foreign investment is accepted, and profits flow to foreign countries.

We also see political changes and elections, and schools named for Mother Theresa, from which campaigns against atheism are launched. It is another revisionist path. We keep in mind the good reputation it has had, but it also is in decay. The rate obviously is not the same, but the direction is the same. Here the decay is just beginning to accelerate.

Thus, we have various degrees of the rush toward the restoration of capitalism and bourgeois-democratic modes. Vietnam, for example, with a mainly agricultural economy, today is applying the principle of private ownership of land, developing products for export, developing relations with the U.S., after the dominance of the Soviet Union there. Today, they bow before the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The process of the restoration of capitalism [in Vietnam] is faster than in Albania, but the path is basically the same.

In short, contemporary revisionism moves from general decay toward collapse, though the process takes different forms on the three different Paths.

**3. SUPPORT, DEFEND, AND APPLY MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, ESPECIALLY MAOISM! INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT (ICM). INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT: MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION, AND RELENTLESSLY COMBATING REVISIONISM, AS THE BASIS OF UNITY; THE NEW DECLARATION. THE ROLE OF THE PCP AND THE CONQUEST OF POWER.**

The combined campaign, and revisionism which moves toward collapse, demand that we reaffirm our commitment to this ideology. Support, defend, and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on all levels. Especially apply it, because that is the best way to support and defend it. Then the problem

is principally Maoism, because it is the new, third, and superior stage of Marxism. Do not follow, therefore, any other ideology. All the communists of the Earth must support it, or they are not true communists. It is of great historical importance.

It is within this context that we must consider the ICM. The regrouping of communists is an ever greater necessity. Coordinating all the disparate communists, who may now be speaking as communists individually, as organizations, or as communist parties, should be our goal, in order to defend Marxism and the ideology of the proletariat, and to fight for the world proletarian revolution, holding high the flag of communism. The coordination and development of communist parties is an urgent task. There is no reason why all cannot be united in the Party.

There is no necessary quality which the Party lacks. Remember the glorious example of Marx and Engels, who began as just two. The Bolsheviks began with just a few members; the Chinese Communist Party also. Too much time is wasted discussing the obstacles which stand in the way of the formation of parties. This is meaningless to those who know what it means to belong to the Party. The problem is to understand the correct ideology, and for the party to discipline itself and spread the correct ideology. Then the movement will develop naturally through time. Also communist parties must give attention to their militarization, based on correct principles, in order to develop the People's War, because through arms the world can be transformed, as was done in the Soviet Union and China.

Beside the need to regroup in the International Communist Movement, we must look at the situation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). It moves forward on its path (1990), through difficulties, but so it is with anything new. The PCP is part of the RIM, as it must be. Our Party supports the RIM, using our influence on it, and struggling steadily to transform the country by means of the People's War. It is necessary to do more. The revolution requires it. We have not done all we can for the development of the RIM. We must take a more active role, participate more directly, and support it ideologically. We must unite and coordinate ourselves better for three things: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, service to the world proletarian revolution, and relentless struggle against revisionism. This can be a good basis of unity for a better and more developed structure

for the RIM. We must communicate with other communist groups, and try to unite with them on the basis of correct ideology. We must strive to persuade them of the correctness of our ideology: Marxism-Leninism Maoism, especially Maoism.

Also, there should be a New Declaration. The committee should establish fundamentals, perhaps only in outline. The important thing is to present a Declaration of basic principles, which would give maximum flexibility to parties.

The roll of the PCP is to take control of the entire country. The PCP has increasing influence, and must develop the People's War. It is by developing our own power in Perú that we do our most essential part in the RIM. The World Proletarian Revolution means to develop the People's War in each country. Success in Perú will alter the balance of the class struggle throughout the world. A successful campaign here will greatly strengthen communism, the ICM, RIM, and the World Proletarian Revolution (WPR). In short, we must support parties and revolutions throughout the world, but our primary responsibility, and the way we can help international communism most of all, is to succeed in Perú.

## **CHAPTER II. REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION ON THE PLANETARY LEVEL. REVOLUTION AS THE PRINCIPAL PROCESS OF HISTORY.**

### **1. CONTRADICTIONS AND THE PRIMARY CONTRADICTION.**

Facts confirm that the primary contradiction in the world is oppressed nations against superpowers and imperialist powers. In the document of May ["Elections No! People's War Yes!"] we again insisted on this. This contradiction is and will be the perspective, whatever may be the circumstances. Other less essential conflicts may arise and temporarily suspend the basic conflict, but these less essential conflicts pass, and the struggle of the oppressed against imperialism continues.

Our understanding of this problem has developed through time. Lenin placed Marxism-Leninism at the service of the World Proletarian Revolution. Comrade Stalin stressed that the Soviet Union was a link between advanced and developing countries. Chairman Mao demonstrated the increasing importance of the people's revolution in oppressed nations, in revolutionary movements directed by communist parties conducting the People's War. In the 60's, 70's, and 80's, revolution spread throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These places are hotbeds of revolution. Since the end of World War II, the process has not ceased for a single moment. The phenomenon of Eastern Europe does not contradict the importance of oppressed nations. Although these countries are in Europe, they have been semi-colonies of the Soviet Union, against which they were unable to develop revolutions without falling under the influence of Western imperialism, and into revisionist decay, which created opportunities for the unscrupulous bourgeois and uncontrolled capitalism. Thus they passed from the hands of one oppressor to another.

While the Chinese Communist Party insisted that Asia, Africa, and Latin America were the important battlefields of revolution, the Soviet Communist Party did not agree, because the Soviets saw the primary struggle as between socialism and capitalism, while the Chinese saw the primary struggle as between oppressed nations and imperialism. So the



primary struggle was not yet defined, and the two communist superpowers argued over how it should be defined.

In 1967, Lin Biao presented the proclamation: May the People's War Triumph! with the knowledge of the Central Committee, stating that the primary contradiction in the world is oppressed nations versus imperialism. At that moment, the struggle against revisionism had already begun, and successfully. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) continued to develop its positions. This was the great cultural revolution.

Later, the communists began to regroup over the problem, and there were different opinions. But for some, the primary struggle remained that against imperialism, so that for them, the People's War throughout the world remained the goal.

The Communist Party of Perú (PCP) accepted the position that the primary struggle in the world today is of oppressed nations against imperialism.

The parties in oppressed nations agreed that this is the primary struggle. But parties in developed capitalist countries did not agree, and argued against the idea.

We believe that we have made progress, because the trend has been toward most parties agreeing with the idea we hold. They see the importance of the oppressed nations, and better understand the role these nations play. They see that the problem is not that which was earlier expressed, i.e., that there are democratic revolutions, which are less advanced, and socialist revolutions, which are more advanced. The reality is that in the oppressed nations there have been developed democratic revolutions of a new type. They are revolutions directed by the proletariat through their parties. We see successful revolution in the example of China, which was first democratic, then socialist, and then developed the great proletarian cultural revolution.

## **2. SUPERPOWERS AND IMPERIALIST POWERS: COLLUSION AND STRUGGLE.**

Each day the collusion and collision among imperialist powers and superpowers develop further, as recent events as in the Persian Gulf demonstrate. There is collusion between the two superpowers the US and

the Soviet Union (1990), and also among the superpowers and the great powers Germany and France, and we see support by Third World countries such as Egypt, Syria, Argentina, and Honduras. This is part of the world counter-revolutionary offensive. Does this resemble the Holy Alliance? We think so, because their defeat of Napoleon was followed by the crushing of revolutions and the oppression of nations.

Today, there are great collusions on the planetary level, but they take place amidst a quiet, growing, bitter struggle in a commercial world, of contention among superpowers and great powers, because Germany and Japan would like to gain strength to create world hegemony of their own. There is collusion among the great powers, but there is also competition. This competition is not confined to the economic sphere, but spills over into other areas in conflict. There is contention over the specific and diverse interests of each of the superpowers, the great powers, and the oppressed nations. Obviously these struggles are not to the benefit of the peoples of these countries, but of the classes of exploiters. This collusion and struggle stimulates the international class struggle, resembling winds that can result in a great conflagration.

#### **AREAS OF DOMINATION, AND THE NEW REPARTITION OF THE WORLD.**

Maps. All of Europe and Asia contain great concentrations of masses of people and traditional-historical centers of humanity. The Middle East. America and Oceania developed later. America is an isolated continent. Oceania is much smaller than the others. The Asian continent includes such countries as the Soviet Union, with an area of 8.7 million square miles. China is another country of great importance. It is an enclave which reaches the heart of Asia and has peripheral parts. Another continent is Europe, extending to the Urals, and the axis here is Germany. The African continent is immense, and includes many countries. The poverty is great, and the plunder by the superpowers and great powers is also great.

Japan, with 130 million inhabitants (1990) and little land, is a great economic center, which interacts with all the Orient, establishing a region of Asiatic trade and prosperity. In World War II, Japan invaded China, Korea, Thailand, Laos, Burma, the Philippines, etc.

Today, it is said that their sphere of influence reaches as far as the Middle East. But they are not able to take control of all of Asia and the Pacific rim, because this is seen by the U.S. as one of the US's regions of hegemony. Nonetheless, Japan's base is Asia, its great region the Pacific, and its dream even greater: world domination. Japan's leaders face problems: in order to maintain low production costs, in order to flood the world with Japanese products, they come into conflict with the proletariat, by trying to shorten vacation time, for example. They have decided that they must have more global political influence, and that they must control banking in Asia. Now they are unable to guarantee the protection of their economic power without a powerful military, and so they are developing their armed forces in preparation for major conflicts. They face problems with the so-called Asian tigers, some of which want to become leaders, such as South Korea, which is struggling against Japanese economic control. They exploit their own people, and they also face their historical atrocities against the nations they have oppressed: they have expressed their apologies to Korea, China, etc. The necessity to strengthen their armed forces meets with the resistance of their people, but their militarization is of course a key element of power.

Extending their domination conflicts with U.S. interests in Latin America, and each day the commercial war with the U.S. grows in force. Ninety percent (90%) of the petroleum they consume is from the Middle East, and now there is the Gulf war. And so there are conflicts with the interests of the superpowers, of the great powers, with those of the countries which dispute in the region of Asia, with the interests of their own people, and with the interests of the nations they oppressed during World War II. Therefore, the struggle for world hegemony, and even to secure domination of the Orient, will be very difficult.

#### **GERMANY AND THE SO-CALLED EUROPEAN UNION.**

Today the Germans are united -- 80 million inhabitants, located in the heart of Europe. Their area of influence is all of Europe. In World War II, they invaded and threatened all the countries of Europe, reaching the vital points of the Soviet Union, and also North Africa. Their territories encompassed Europe, and much of the Soviet Union, Africa, and the Middle East. They created a geopolitics; their theory was that if one controlled Europe, the so-called "world island," one controlled the world.

The so-called European Union is but the expansionism of German imperialism, which through 45 years struggled to establish the dreamed of "Reich." The "Reich" whose modern impulse came from the 18th Century, was concretized in the 19th Century, and took a leading part in the two world wars. German imperialism developed from a fusion of grand bourgeois with landholders and the Junkers -- the old military aristocracy of Prussia. In peculiar conditions, they sought the domination of the world -- they had arrived late at the repartition of the world. Defeated in World War II, today they began their "unification," and East Germany is becoming a poor, oppressed society. German imperialism is beginning to develop its expansion, its famous "march to the East," which is only its expansionism. Now the old dream of annexation of all of Europe for the Aryan race, for Germany, finds expression. Fascist ideas emerge, the dream to unite with Austria, to recover territories from Poland, to expand to the Soviet Union, to dominate over France and all of Europe. These expansionist fervors are raised through the so-called "European Union" -- "Europe of all the nations."

Lenin dreamed that European unity included socialism as an indispensable condition. Any other unity today is simply imperialist unity under German hegemony to dominate the world. For this reason we cannot applaud it; rather, we must unmask and denounce it. This talk of "European unity" has repercussions in the thought of Peruvian reaction, the celebrated "El Comercio" (main bourgeois paper in Perú), for example. Internationally it is said that the superior culture of the earth, the European, is catching up with the U.S., etc.

But we should see that also in German imperialism this unification is not going to be easy. They have a series of serious problems to face, and their fervor for world hegemony conflicts with reality. The expansion to East Germany involves a disruption of the economic process of socialist Germany, the undermining of its agriculture, high unemployment, a reserve army to lower salaries throughout Europe, especially in Germany. They must invest \$700 million in the next 10 years. Therefore, they are going to reduce their foreign investments. But they think this will increase their basic strength. This includes the need to strengthen their armed forces, and to promote militarism, patriotism, and racism. Also it has been arisen rivalries, and historical grudges against France, Poland, etc, etc. These problems

which we see today in Europe redrawing borders as they were before World War II, and they are stimulating nationalism. So their transition to superpower is not going to go as easily as they dream. Thus these things create a situation which destroys the equilibrium derived from World War II.

### **THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE.**

This region extends from Finland to the Pacific. The immense land mass is a world power whose dreams go out to all seas. Apart from the problems already seen, there is developing a nationalist movement which aims at the disintegration of the Union (1990). This immense empire has begun to tear itself apart. Also in Eastern Europe, the same process controls Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, East Germany. There, uncontrolled capitalism and bourgeois-democratic tendencies have developed under the influence of imperialist pressure and revisionist decay. But there ought to be seen the participation of Gorbachev especially, colluding with US imperialism, with Bush. We see the participation of the Soviet Union and the US. Gorbachev has found that these processes succeed more easily in Eastern Europe, and this serves as an example for his own Soviet Union, and strengthen his positions, which were weakened by the attacks of the "conservative" faction, a faction with fascistic ideas and values.

So all this imperialist domination of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe has begun to break apart. The Warsaw Pact has fallen to pieces. Thus the problem is of a new equilibrium, a new confrontation, and a new distribution of forces. This is the situation, brought about by imperialist pressure and revisionist decay. Sadly there is no working class or people's movement. It is a change from one imperialist hand into another.

### **CHINA AND ITS DREAMS OF POWER.**

In 4.48 million square miles there are 1.1 billion inhabitants (1990). The chinese people have long borders. They are on the Pacific. Their old rival is Japan. They dream of being a great power. They also have problems. The fascistic faction is in power. They have begun to restore a senile capitalist system, which requires the destruction of a very productive socialist system, leading to various harms to the people -- their exploitation and oppression. Also there is inflation, unemployment. What we do not find is national

division. Also, the rulers dream that they may use the people to serve imperialism, as cannon fodder, and as a market to enrich the rulers and help China become a great power in the 21st Century. The problems resulting from the events in Tiananmin Square have led to certain restrictions; nonetheless, Japan continues to invest in China, and has great economic plans there. Again an agreement exists for the sake of imperialism, and its objective is that the two countries work together in order to maximize the potentials of both.

### **THE US AND LATIN AMERICA, THEIR GREAT AREA.**

The initiative of Bush for Latin America was to unite Mexico with the US and Canada, and from this axis to dominate the Caribbean, extend into South America, gain more and more complete control of Central America, and so prepare for the future in the Pacific rim. Great changes are being attempted. Latin America presents serious problems, as the 80's were a dark period, and the 90's may be worse. The U.S. needs to strengthen its economy in order to maintain competition with Germany and Japan, and so less money is invested in the people; education and health care deteriorate, as well as scientific work. There are serious problems with the Latino and black minorities. Nonetheless, contention is much less than in the Soviet Union.

And so the contention between the superpowers is again very clear, and if the U.S. benefits from the problems of the Soviet Union, this is limited; today the more important struggle is commercial competition with Japan, Germany, and France. In the summit of the Seven we see rancorous struggle. Germany and Japan are gaining strength, and Japan invests according to its own agenda in China, while Germany does likewise in the Soviet Union. The U.S. military presence in Europe and Japan consumes billions. The dollar is in a process of devaluation in relation to the yen and the German mark (1990). The U.S. deficit creates problems in the world economy. Bush has proposed a program to reduce the deficit, but it would involve great social cost, cut benefits to workers, and reduce capital for investment. But the U.S. Congress has opposed it (1990), refusing to approve such a budget.

All these questions demonstrate that collusions and struggles are developing, which have to do with areas of domination, and a new repartition of the world. Again the powers involved are the same as those of World War II. Germany and Japan have arisen as great economic powers,

and demand the new repartition. So that we can foresee a new repartition of the world, and this can only come by means of war.

We have seen areas of domination and spheres of influence, as the superpowers and great powers struggle for world domination. The great powers want to displace the superpowers, but in order to do so they must themselves become superpowers, and this they are striving to do.

### **3. THE THIRD WORLD. ASIA, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA: OPPRESSED NATIONS. REGIONS OF CONFLICT AND REPARTITION. THE PROBLEM OF THE PERSIAN GULF. THE PRIMARY CONTRADICTION AND LOCAL, REGIONAL, AND WORLD WARS. RECOGNIZING REVOLUTION AS THE PRINCIPAL TENDENCY.**

Eighty five percent (85%) of the world's population will be in the oppressed nations by the year 2000. The numbers of the oppressed, the percentage, the injustice this implies, the great weight of the burden on the many for the sake of the few -- all this creates tremendous potential for revolution. These regions, with the exception of the so-called tigers of Asia (1990), are underdeveloped regions. Also they are regions of conflict. The superpowers and great powers invest in them, and want to control them, because they are economies in subjection. They are regions of conflict and repartition. Again plunder is under dispute.

There is no peace nor tranquility. In the world today, collusion and struggle arise over areas of domination and the new repartition of the world. The offensive by the exploiter develops, and conditions become more explosive throughout the world. Especially the Third World is plundered. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are becoming like pots boiling over, like erupting volcanoes. The counter-revolutionary offensive develops with the help of opportunists and revisionists, who aim at dialogue, elections, agreements under the control of the United Nations; and so, long processes of revolutionary struggle are seen like that, as in Angola, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, South Africa, etc.

And so, we see that, against the great masses who struggle incessantly, comes a revisionist counter-revolutionary offensive based in collusion and struggle, and serves those who struggle to dominate the various regions in the repartition of the world. And the sinister collusion benefits the opportunists and revisionists, who in one way or another are allies with the imperialist Powers.

### **THE PERSIAN GULF.**

Located in Asia, traditionally the land of the five seas, it is an area of contradictions, of conflicts. We expect this to continue through the year 2000.

Involved here are Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Kuwait, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Syria, Turkey, the Soviet Union, etc. Also the U.S. and Europe, which cooperate here for the sake of its petroleum riches, and Japan, ninety percent (90%) of its petroleum energy capacity being dependent on this region.

As a historical background, we must note that the most bitter conflict in this region is that between Israel and Palestine, a great struggle, with the Arab world supporting the Palestinian people. But in the late 70's, another important conflict developed between Iran and Iraq. Iran under the subjugation of the Shah had been a bastion of the U.S. This was smashed, and a Medieval theocratic system came to power, managed by the Muslim priesthood, Islam thus coming into conflict with the superpowers the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and with the so-called third Satan, Hussein of Iraq. The U.S. had lost its bastion in the Middle East. Israel is very small in comparison to its influence. Therefore, the U.S. supported Iraq in its war against Iran. The war lasted 10 years, cost millions of lives, and included the use of chemical weapons. It involved religious ideology. The role of the fundamentalists, of the ayatollahs, was central. Khomeini had arisen as the leader able to unite them. And so the center of struggle in the region shifted to Iran-Iraq. Combined with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, where the Soviets desired to gain access to the Indian Ocean, this was a dangerous situation for the U.S. The play was for control of the Middle East.

When the war ended, the problem of who would lead the Arab world arose -- who would control the region? In this context we see the invasion of



Kuwait by Iraq, claiming that historically Kuwait belongs to Iraq. Nonetheless, it is a war of Iraqi expansionism, and has to do with who will lead the Arab world.

How has imperialism responded? Using troops, using the U.N., in collusion with the Soviet Union -- which has many convergent interests with the imperialists, whatever the differences -- the U.S. began an invasion of the Middle East. They speak of Iraq, but the basic problem is the whole Middle East, the question of petroleum, the strategic situation, and the struggles of the superpowers and imperialist powers. It is a problem of how to guarantee the control of the whole region. Petroleum involves the energy interests of Japan and Europe, and the economic interests of the U.S. And so, we see the confluence of great powers and superpowers, because the Soviet Union also has interests in the region, and a war near its frontiers can have repercussions in its own Muslim regions (1990), more so in these times when it is experiencing its own disintegration.

But in addition, we see that there are regimes of old feudal systems, of old aristocracies, royal families such as in Jordan. We see that all of these oil-producing countries and others see their positions threatened, their interests at risk. Egypt, for example, helps the U.S., and is part of the forces of occupation (1991), so that the U.S. will cancel some of its debt. Syria helps the U.S. because it has its own disputes with Iraq, and because it hopes to recover the Golan Heights with the help of U.S. influence on Israel, and because it hopes to gain influence in Lebanon in alliance with the U.S. Israel sees itself as gaining strength, and thinks that these struggles could resolve its problems. Palestine also plays for a resolution of the situation in its own favor. Arafat seeks to recover territories and cooperates with the U.S. Lebanon wishes that the resolution of the conflict will somehow help it to end the occupation of its land, and strengthen its government.

And so we see the very complex interests of superpowers, world powers, oppressed nations, rotten regimes that may fall, all coming together, and the interests of the Arab people exploited by imperialism and by their own native regimes. The superpowers, the great powers, and their lackeys raise their voices in self-righteousness, but the Arab people are disregarded, including in Iraq.

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, the different participants have their own interests. The U.S. has stationed 200 thousand men (1991), and waits. The US does not want to waste time. It is agreed to strangle Iraq economically. The superpowers and great powers realize that war will be dangerous for them. It may cost billions of dollars, and perhaps 20 or 30 thousand lives. Most seriously, the Arab people might rise up against imperialism in a major struggle. The U.S. wants to make a rapid strike. They want quick and decisive action. They don't want a long war.

France would like to maintain its influence in the Middle East, especially in Lebanon. The French have proposed a comprehensive diplomatic solution for major problems of the Middle East, which involves Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, agreement on a redrawing of the border between Iraq and Kuwait, and a solution of the Palestinian problem. In the Lebanese civil war, France supported the Christian faction led by Gen. Michel Aoun, and when Aoun's compound was attacked by the Muslims, the Christians sought refuge in the French embassy.

Japan supports the U.S., and at times attempts direct involvement. The Japanese also have interests other than those of the U.S. Similarly Germany, concentrated on its expansionism, has, like Japan, given millions of dollars in aid in the region, but has not openly disagreed with the U.S.

What way out is there for Saddam Hussein? He could appeal to Islam, and support Palestine, to encourage the nationalist spirit of Arabs. The fundamentalists are few, but are a force capable of taking up arms and fighting. They can carry out terrorist acts in Europe and the U.S. They can sabotage oil wells, including in Saudi Arabia. These things have their limits. A war with the U.S. may happen. The imperialists may want to reduce Saddam's power as much as possible. Or they may try to institute "democratic change," i.e., a puppet government.

Or they may try to resolve all the problems of the Middle East. Anything less will be only steps toward an ultimate solution.

What might the Arab people do? Struggle for liberation from imperialism, especially that of the U.S. This will be a long struggle. They are lacking in political direction, but the Arabs are experienced in major struggles. They can develop leadership and direction.

The interests of the superpowers and great powers are at risk. The alliance offers the Soviet Union guarantees and dollars. Germany, France, and Japan seek guarantees of control of oil, and await the opportune moment, and hope for the future, as they act in the shadow of the U.S., which leads the alliance.

What can the Arab countries do? Use conflicts among the superpowers and great powers to improve their own positions, when opportunities arise.

These situations lead one to conclude that wars which occur are not confined to hot-spots, but are wars of superpowers and great powers in collusion and struggle, against oppressed nations, to subjugate them by blood and fire, and perhaps genocide; this is the scheme. This shows that the primary struggle is one of oppressed nations against superpowers and imperialist powers. There may be wars of imperialist plunder, including the primary struggle. And these could pass momentarily to become secondary, if the imperialists begin to fight among themselves. But this can only be transitory, because as the plunder and repartition of the world continues, and the population of oppressed nations grows, and poverty increases, the revolutionary potential of the masses will increase to the point where people will prefer to die fighting, rather than starve. This will be the basis for anticolonialist struggles, wars of national liberation, and of resistance to aggression, and revolutions in general. In such circumstances, how will the imperialists respond? With cruel wars to repartition the world and define hegemony. These then are the basic questions which can be seen in the Gulf war.

We uphold the slogan: "Yankees out of the Middle East!" We support the Arab people! We think this is in accordance with the objective situation. Saddam has invaded Kuwait in order to benefit the classes and groups that rule in his country, Iraq. Nonetheless, given the circumstances, especially the aggression of the alliance in which the U.S. leads other imperialist countries and the reactionary Arab regimes, Saddam presents the possibility that the situation could lead to a war of resistance. In that case he could bring about an important change, and become the leader of a just war, defending his country from imperialist aggression, especially Yankee aggression. These circumstances could develop to the point where the people themselves could develop a viable resistance. In that case only, the people could act openly.

We know that today there is Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. But it is not productive to condemn either it or Saddam. This would serve imperialism. We think also that in the Arab world it could reinforce the domination of imperialism. If the people do not take today the role assigned to them -- to be the victims of a great massacre -- if they reject this, they will become a great caldron boiling over. They will rise up, now that this historical process has demonstrated the capacity to fight. Saddam? His position is difficult. If he were removed by the imperialists, he would be replaced by lackeys of the imperialists. In which case these lackeys would become targets for revolution. But meanwhile they would strengthen imperialism. So, "Yankees out of the Middle East!" expresses our position, and explains why we openly support Saddam and Iraq.

Therefore, the Gulf situation has many implications, allowing one to see the primary struggle today in perspective, and its relation with local and regional wars, and even the danger of world war. And so we see the characteristics of the anti-imperialist wars, wars of resistance, wars of national liberation, and revolutions in the oppressed nations. All this magnifies the primary struggle, and leads us to reaffirm that the oppressed nations are the basis of revolution as the primary movement in the world. We insist that this movement must be seen as a historical movement, as a political movement, and understanding it will help communists to recognize more clearly those actions which are necessary to transform society. We reaffirm, in summary, in agreement with the pronouncements of the Chinese Communist Party, that the oppressed nations are the basis of revolution as the primary movement of history.

### **CHAPTER III. THE THREE TASKS OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION, AND ITS PERSPECTIVE.**

#### **MESSAGE, PROGRAM, AND STABILIZATION PLAN. CHARACTER OF THE GOVERNMENT (MESSAGE BY ALBERTO FUJIMORI ON JULY 28, 1990).**

We raise substantive questions, without forgetting that much of what is said is generalizations and demagogic declarations, as with every program of a reactionary government. But if we want to understand their positions, we will listen to their false declarations, as each new beginning will be, which we are accustomed to, and listen to each new change of the reactionary authorities.

#### **THEME AND APPLICATION.**

Notice that he begins by giving thanks to God, and ends with: "May God enlighten the people, and enlighten me." On the one hand, he expresses his ideology and adhesion to Catholicism, an ancient and profoundly reactionary ideology. But on the other, politically it is but demagoguery, playing upon the religiosity of the people, and charging God with responsibility for his errors. Beside which he seeks the support of the Catholic church, with which now he has conflicts.

"A president who is like yourselves." This is deceit and hypocrisy, because he is not representative of the people. He is opposed to the people, and is going to exploit them more.

Theme: honesty as a norm of life, and emblem of the ancient Peruvian civilization. He also invokes liberal former President Fernando Belaunde Terry, and identifies himself with the values of that gray head, in order to wrap himself in nationalism. The first part of his theme is to combat immorality, and begin a "crusade for morality." This is not new; Morales Bermudez promoted a campaign against immorality. The struggle against immorality is an ancient system. This is simply its politicization, in order to traffic in the good faith of the masses, by disturbing their consciences. He proposes a committee against corruption, made up of people selected by him, and answerable only to him.

Respect freedom of information. In essence, it is for the exploiters and their lackeys, intended to create counter-revolutionary, pro-imperialist public opinion.

Technology. It is imperialism which presents technology as a new revolution. Revisionism supports this idea. They try to replace the class struggle with a supposed technological revolution. Science has developed high technology. These scientific and technological developments are products of the transformative action of the proletariat and the people. But the financial oligarchy, the grand bourgeois, imperialism appropriate them. They are their private property, of the monopolies and instruments of exploitation. In the shadow of this has developed a layer of scum of technocrats, who craftily try, making noises aimed at the working class, and especially at petit bourgeois intellectuals, to substitute a false revolution, with a different path, without the class struggle. However, only with real revolution can science and technology fulfill their potential. Because only with revolution will their full productivity be realized, and their benefits reach the workers and the poor.

Work. He expresses a bourgeois conceptualization. The economists of the 18th Century stated that work is the source of wealth. Marx made this more clear. Work, he explained, generates surplus value, and the accumulation of surplus value generates capitalism, and consequently, relations of capitalist exploitation. Fujimori uses the term "work" to deceive the petit bourgeoisie, who try to protect their work, and he tries to extend the deception to the working class. But he goes further, and upholds a "culture based upon work." This erases the character of class. It seeks to make acceptable the idea that, based upon work, a new society can be created, without exploitation -- something else, generated from imperialism and reaction. He says: "Work is a creative force." Simply to work will create a prosperous society? Who will direct this society? Prosperity will be only for the class that rules. Behind this concept of work are hidden the relations of exploitation. The song of a "new culture of work" turns out to be a strictly bourgeois-reactionary conception, intended to preserve, enrich, and strengthen imperialism. For example, he says: "We invoke international solidarity." To accept this at face value is to believe that imperialism and oppressed nations such as Perú can be in solidarity, when the relationship is one of subjugation. And for many years

we have seen that the participation of imperialism in the country has been to act against the People's War. Imperialism acts to exploit us, and to try to annihilate the People's War. He continues: "Through decades...to lift ourselves out of underdevelopment." This is the orientation of imperialism, which, in recent years, has demanded that, because of insufficient amounts of capital, the subjugated state should institute internal austerity, so that capital may be accumulated, by squeezing it from the people, by squeezing the working class and the people even more than before. This path has its roots in semi-feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism, and imperialism. But for Fujimori, a faithful lackey, there is no imperialism. The problem of unequal and unjust distribution of wealth is simply a matter of imperialism plundering the people, and of Fujimori plundering his own people. His "solutions" are ways of increasing the blood-sucking.

The bourgeois roots of this new culture of work are also exposed when he says that it will create conditions for an orderly market. Through this shallow concept, he seeks to launch a market economy. As the government said in its proposal of May, before the elections, the problem is to create markets of diverse types, to develop markets especially in agriculture (revealing the semi-feudal foundation). Fujimori says that his culture of work will permit better distribution of wealth, and avoid concentrations, and perhaps monopolies. But we have already seen that the ruling class targets only the state monopolies: Enci, Ecasa, Petro-Peru.

He does not discuss the social economics of the market, when he talks about the market economy. Well, we must deal with this very basic theory, in the country and in the world. In the Economic and Financial Dictionary, by Bernard and Colli, the market is defined as the place where goods, services, and capital are bought, sold, or liquidated, a place of confrontation of supply, and demand. The theory which is used to justify the necessity of the market is economic liberalism, a position supported openly by Vargas Llosa, by the bourgeois merchants and imperialism. It is defined thus: the economic doctrine which affirms that the best economic system is that which guarantees the free play of the individual initiatives of economic agents. But not of governments. They should permit individual interests and the interests of society in general to come together through self-regulation and self-determined norms. In the market, then, free individual

initiatives come together, each seeking the highest benefit with the least effort. And here the interests of each comes to coincide with the interests of all, through the action of natural laws. It is free play that operates in the market, and the government should not interfere. It is the free coming together of interests, each seeking his own interest, and as the interest of each and the interest of all come together in the market, they develop the interest of all with the interest of each. When disequilibrium occurs, there are natural laws which will operate to restore equilibrium.

Well, the bourgeois-reactionary theory of work is a superficial illusion, a fetishism which sees the surface relations of goods and their exchange, but does not see their source, how these goods and this wealth are created. The source is not the merchants. It is the work force which generates all that develops in the economy -- that doesn't interest the market economists. We must remember what Marx said: work, the exchange of goods and services, the liquidation of goods and services -- these things do not come together for the good of all. Because it is the relations of exploitation which have their own laws. This is the position of Marxist economics. The bourgeois position, the theory of the market points to buying, selling, and liquidation of goods and services, in order to draw attention away from the relations of exploitation which exist prior to the exchange.

All this shows that, that which today is said about market economy, free trade, freedom of association, human rights, is the liberalism of the 18th Century revived.

What does the Peruvian Constitution say about this problem? Article 115 says: "Private enterprise is free. It is exercised in a social market economy. The State stimulates and regulates its activity to harmonize it with the interests of society." This is the economic system of Peruvian society; it is in the Constitution.

A representative of the mercantile bourgeois, Chirinos Soto comments on this article, and quotes García Pérez as saying that enterprise is not free if it is restricted; and that if private free enterprise is not exercised in a market economy, it is neither private nor free. Here is the great promoter of nationalist, democratic, and popular revolution, demanding a market economy!



The major theorist of the market economy, W. Ropke, says that the essence of the system of market economy is that it can only operate in a competitive system opposed to all collectivist systems, more clearly, opposed to all socialist systems. It is, then, its antithesis. He says also that it is the best system to defend private property, because in the market economy, competence can be demonstrated, and so it offers better conditions to guarantee property, as he says, to defend it from attack.

From all this we can derive that these are forms which permit the development of capitalism, giving it every advantage, leading to monopolies. Reagan, who in his times beat the drum proclaiming this theory, said that all the anti-monopoly laws should be repealed, because the existence of these laws in the U.S. limits the competitiveness of U.S. businesses in relation to the Japanese and Germans, who don't have these restrictions.

Therefore, we can conclude that the system of market economy permits the development of capitalism. It also permits the development of the imperialist form of capitalism. Imperialism on the one hand restricts competition; on the other it opens the market at the world level. This is its contradiction. Monopoly fixes prices. When markets first develop, they compete with one another. That is to say, competition exists in pre-monopoly capitalism. Imperialism is not against monopolies; it is only against government monopolies. Chirinos Soto himself says that the modern State intervenes to guarantee the market economy. The government does not leave the market economy to its own devices. It intervenes to protect it. Laws of the State function for this purpose. So the market economists are against government monopolies, but they accept government actions which serve the market economy. In reality, we see that monopolies are often unrestricted in the U.S. as well as in Germany and Japan.

Chirinos Soto claims that the enemies of private enterprise say that it produces for the sake of wealth, not to satisfy needs, and that to say this is nonsense. But his claim is nonsense, because the production generated by capitalism is not to satisfy needs. It seeks to produce what is most demanded. It seeks to produce what will sell better. This permits more production, and the employment of more workers, to produce more surplus value. This is not for love of the consumer; it is a means of obtaining more surplus value.

And so, to say that this system permits better prices and higher quality is pure lies.

Chirinos Soto is a liberal, and has been since the 50's, and his ideas are the same ones that are followed by Fujimori, who is also basically a liberal. The problem is that the current conditions in Perú do not allow him to express these ideas openly. Therefore, he instead advocates using the State to stimulate the market, as was stated in the government document of May. But this is just rhetoric. Because we can see that the ideas expressed in this Message, and in the Program presented in May, are not what actually guide Fujimori's actions today. In reality, he follows the thought of Roca and the Cambio 90 group. He has said, for example, that the market is a plebiscite of consumers -- a perfectly bourgeois idea!

Erhardt, author of the "German miracle" of 1948, a Christian democrat patron of Bedoya, says that there are three questions which make up the theory of the market economy:

1. keep inflation in check,
2. stimulate production on all levels, and
3. maintain the laws of the market economy.

But what do we see happening in Perú today? There is no inflation. Instead, there is recession; there is no consumption, because most people can't afford to buy anything; there is deflation.

A representative of the bourgeois bureaucracy, Alberto Ruiz Eldredge, in his book, "The Constitution Explained," says that it was the United Left (IU), which proposed the social market economy, and he defends the principles that guided what happened in Germany in 1948. Today also much is said about imitating the German example of those times, the "German miracle." But we do not see its specific conditions. Germany was defeated in World War II. The military powers of occupation applied a system of organized distribution of consumer goods, which the State itself guaranteed. And the Marshall Plan contributed a tremendous amount of capital, to counter and arrest the action of socialism in Europe. Having left a fascist regime, the "Principles of the New Order" were applied: personal liberty, social justice, and economic efficiency. The German theories of the market economy state that it is necessary to see all the components of social production as a unity,

for example, the cultural, ethical, judicial, and economic spheres. From this comes what today is called ethics. It is said that in Europe before the so-called fall of socialism, what socialist society had lacked was ethics. But this is nothing new. It was seen in the old revisionism of the 2nd International, of Kautsky, who stated that Marxism has no ethical philosophy, nothing corresponding to Kant, who said that man in his actions is guided by ethics, and seeks the common good. The judicial component is the idea that through the laws one can change class relations and the situation of the people. This resembles the practices of Hernando de Soto: the law of the rural register, administrative simplification, the proceedings for the recognition of micro and small businesses, the informal hearings, the dispositions for the producers of coca, etc. As for the economic component, obviously what is sought is to impose the imperialist system. The cultural component is not what one usually thinks of as culture; instead it resembles Fujimori's culture of work. Of the four components, ethics is stressed. "Ethics" is used to disguise the relations of exploitation.

The social market economy system of German imperialism includes some basic ideas: Do not impede competition among monopolies, but regulate the monopolies. The objective? To diminish the conflicts among them, and with the countries they exploit. Create a system of social security, including a series of social benefits, as a complement to economic plans, in order to pacify the struggle of the working class, which at this time is a magnificent economic resource. A policy of price stabilization, to fight inflation, seeking to diminish the possibility of a crisis. A basic idea is the combination of a policy of competition with a policy of compensation. They are all means to pacifying the class struggle.

Therefore, the social market economy is the system of German imperialism, socially oriented to diminish the class struggle, and promote reconciliation among classes. So the United Left, by including Article 115 in the constitution, was encouraging the most forceful capitalist development possible. Forgetting that Perú is not Germany, they sought to develop bureaucratic capitalism.

In Perú, what is discussed today? Though the theory is the social market economy, what they defend and want to apply today is the pure market economy, without the social component, because this is what U.S.

imperialism is most interested in establishing, by means of the CEPAL, which speaks of "economic transformation with equality." The term "social" is sometimes used, but without content. And "equality" is equivalent to "justice," and is oriented toward "ethics" and "morality." This is the path that is being followed in Perú; it is the way of Fujimori, grand bourgeois lackey of imperialism, especially Yankee imperialism.

The petit bourgeois intellectuals, who serve imperialism, respond to these ideas, and elucidate and elaborate upon them with many words. They criticize verbally, but they actually help imperialism, and are always proposing ways to lessen the class struggle. An example is the English historian Toynbee, who suggested that the proletariat be raised to the level of "middle income," an amalgamation of classes, the creation of a social safety net, the application of social justice, and economic productivity, in order to exercise the revolution. As we have seen, the new culture of work serves to enrich imperialist exploitation, to propel the market economy, and targets state monopolies. This last is made clear in a paragraph of the Message in which he proposes a projected anti-monopoly law.

Linked to this new culture of work is also the so-called "full participation." It comes from fascist government practice, in essence, using the organizations of the masses, controlling them through the worker aristocracy -- the union bosses, as guilds which serve to sustain the old State. He has proposed a law of popular participation, for the channelization of public opinion, which is nothing but the "guild socialism," which Lenin denounced. It is a false socialism; it is revisionism. It calls for the formation of a social machine to apply the system -- the same we saw with Velasco, with Garcia, and now with Fujimori.

In accordance with this new culture of work is administrative simplification, which is not new; it comes from Garcia Pérez. In his time, tariff laws were adjusted, supposedly to stimulate the exportation of the products of medium and small landholders, but instead, the exports of large businesses were stimulated. Since part of Fujimori's plan (1990) is for Perú to reinsert itself into the international financial community, the new culture of work cannot but help fetter the country to the world imperialist system. This is to seek the development of Peru under the subjugation of imperialism, especially Yankee, and of its instruments the IMF, the World Bank, and

GATT. He wants to resolve old problems, and resolve the debt, primarily to encourage foreign investment.

In summary, all this shows that, as a consequence of this new culture of work -- and the work may be very exhausting, we will be able to develop exports, and we may be more prosperous, but if so, it will be under the wing of imperialism, through the international financial community, which demands that the debt be resolved, and gives the best possible conditions for foreign investment. This is the basis of his propagandistic theme. Everything that it contains, through demagogic words, promotes subjugation to imperialism, to reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism under imperialism.

II PLENUM  
OF THE CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE BUILDING  
THE CONQUEST OF  
POWER IN THE MIDST  
OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

## Greetings

Chairman Gonzalo, the Permanent Committee and the Politburo extend their greetings to the members of the Central Committee, leaders, cadres and militants of the Communist Party of Peru (CPP), as well as to the combatants of the People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) and the masses who work with us, and to the people in general for the victorious success of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Campaign: "To Drive Forward the Development of Support Bases", an important part of the great plan to conquer Power throughout the country, the inevitable goal in which we all contribute with our effort and our blood which we gladly give for such a brilliant prospect.

## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

### PREPARATION AND CONDITIONS

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum has been prepared with a lot of time and arduous work by the Politburo, justly and correctly led by Chairman Gonzalo, a guarantee of its realization and success. We have had two months of preparatory work on the Politburo's part and later a preview session with the Permanent Committee, expressing the great unity and profound conviction of our goals and methods. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum is ripe.

A product of this preparation is the 413-page document distributed to all members of the Central Committee in advance and with enough time to study and comment on it with the goal that the event reaches clear and concrete conclusions to further develop the People's War and prepare the conquest of Power in the entire country.

It is very important to highlight the document because, for the first time, we have a document as thorough as this, given the specific concrete situation that we are in at the present time. It is Gonzalo Thought and it is guided by the just and correct slogan of "Construct the Conquest of Power in the midst of the People's War."

**ON THE PARTICULAR CONDITIONS**

We know the facts; the problem consists in analyzing them correctly and learning from them. Once again, it is demonstrated that the party, its leaders and Chairman Gonzalo specifically and mainly, know how to navigate and lead the ship through the storm in turbulent waters.

Chairman Mao teaches us that all development generates unbalance, and this, as well as struggle, is absolute. As a result, we must learn to manage the lack of balance; but how do we manage this? By understanding the laws that rule the process, no matter if they are simple or complex. These laws are applied to transform reality to benefit the proletariat and the people at the service of the revolution. Our glorious perspective of conquering power will be the finishing stroke for the democratic revolution and we will immediately begin the socialist revolution. That interval of blood and victory will be one of profound unbalance; even when we conquer power we will face difficulties and tempestuous winds. Thus, these types of situations are strengthening us; the forge of communism is like that, in the turbulence and difficulty. It is said that whoever lasts a minute more wins, and we know how to last longer because we have the true ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought which arms our souls and hands with the incontrovertible truth. This unbalance, whether slight or deep, forges, and tempers us. Chairman Mao said: "In difficult times, we should bear in mind our successes, see our brilliant future and increase our courage." Today, Communism is being attacked around the world and also here in our country by the lackeys of imperialism and the followers of foreign revisionist masters. What do we apply? Maoism, unleash the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought counter-campaigns to crush the joint sinister counter-revolutionary offensive of both imperialism and revisionism. Our Party is at a new moment in the war, in a higher complex stage, and more victorious. This Plenum's particular circumstance speaks for itself. What we confront is nothing more than part of the unbalance and it is forging us for the truly complex moments that all revolutions must face. Communism teaches us to be prepared even for defeat. Chairman Mao says that whoever doesn't know victories and defeat doesn't know about war. He also says that after two victories and two defeats they understood the laws of the Chinese



Revolution, and therefore we have not yet had a single big defeat. Therefore, this new moment of the war and the convergent attack are part of the most complex circumstances that we must go through before Communism shines on Earth. They are part of the unbalance and are testing our responsibility as Communists. The Party has shown that it knows how to generate the leadership which corresponds to our reality and needs. We are sufficiently forged. We are not frightened by risk; danger does not stop us; this moment is nothing more than one more, welcome test. It is part of the revolutionary process and we are managing it well as one more test. The life of Communists is one of struggle not comfort. Marx once told his daughter: "What is happiness? It is the struggle." Years later, Chairman Mao taught: "Work is the struggle". We adhere to all this; our difficulties can be overcome because we are a new force with a brilliant future.

Another derivation. We are collectively confronting the circumstances and have shown the highest cohesion, as well as great fortitude. This is the product of the cohesiveness of an ideology distinct and opposed to that of the bourgeoisie and all other classes. We Communists are and will always be, the most advanced of the classes, the proletarian's vanguard and, as such, we feel the responsibility to meet our goals and objectives giving everything that the revolution demands, immolating our lives for Communism and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. This ideology is what allows us to not only manage, but to use to the greatest extent every situation, and to transform a bad situation into a good one. What have we shown? That we are cohesive. That we reaffirm ourselves in our leadership, in our center of Party unity that is Gonzalo Thought, in our ideology, in our principles and in our tasks to accomplish. These are circumstances which have given us better conditions: Part of our forge, more tempering, and a good document. We have collectively confronted it maintaining high cohesion; we learn, and we are stronger acting collectively, united we are invincible, and the tempering is not only gained on the big battlefields, but also in daily life.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum of the Central Committee was necessary and we are accomplishing whatever the Party demands and requires. The reactionaries aim to destroy the leadership, the Party, and crush the revolution, beyond

separating the Party from the masses; to annihilate the Party is to crush a revolution, but not to finish it, because as long as there are Communists and masses it can never be finished. There are very important things which must be taken into account to preserve the Party's leadership. Once again, we have shown that the Party is united and that we confront dangers with firmness and determination, sure of managing them to accomplish our tasks and always come out ahead. Any of us can fall, but the Party will continue, our immolated lives will encourage those who remain, and the path will continue until Communism is imposed on Earth. This is our conviction. Good. But seeing the derivations and specific circumstances does not silence the errors committed. The issue is not to curse or lament but to see reality objectively, and the causes, find the roots of the problems, propose solutions and take on responsibilities, a decision to transform things. Corrective measures must be taken with those responsible for the problem; they are necessary and serve to correct errors and strengthen the Party.

To conclude one more derivation: Time is for reflection. On the one hand, for the Party's struggles, we refer to the People's War that it leads, which has not stopped for a single minute. The Party is never paralyzed because the road it must take is clear, because it has unity in the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, in the base of the Party unity, in the People's War, in the Strategic Plan of Development. Once again, the Party expresses the strategic centralization and tactical decentralization; we have plans which are part of campaigns and those continue. A Party united by these elements is strong. We emphasize the strategic centralization and tactical decentralization because it is Communist practice, and it is our concrete experience. With the glorious trajectory of 11 years of People's War; the People's War cannot be stopped. We look at it this way. The leadership could be wiped out, in part, not all, but the leaders who remain must and will follow the plans, the struggle, the People's War. We are forged in the struggle and resolutely believe that the revolution can't be stopped, can't be paralyzed. Chairman Mao taught: "We pick up our dead, tend to our wounded and continue fighting."

Thus, to see the derivations together, take the positive out of the negative. It will always be like that because there are contradictions and rules in

everything. In conclusion, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum is successfully prepared to take place and create a new triumph for the Party. In the midst of difficulties, for the first time a preparatory document of this kind has been prepared and given enough time to study it. This also shows that we have continued working and the task is being done.

## **AGENDA**

The Permanent Committee and the Politburo propose:

1. ON CONSTRUCTING THE CONQUEST OF POWER IN THE MIDST OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

2. STRATEGIC PLAN OF CONSTRUCTION

3. 3<sup>rd</sup> CAMPAIGN TO IMPULSE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUPPORT BASES.

4<sup>th</sup>. ON CONSTRUCTION AND THE PROBLEMS OF SECRET WORK

5<sup>th</sup>. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCORDS

Of the five points, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign is the main one. Special attention must be given to strategies, objectives and our position. This campaign is the last task of the Plan to Develop the Support Pases and the basis for a new plan.

## **HOW TO DEVELOP THE SESSION**

Since the Central Committee's 1<sup>st</sup> Plenum, we agreed to apply new forms in our work, as well as in carrying out meetings, elevating the Five Necessities as part of the conquest of Power in the midst of the People's War. Having unwrapped the Preparatory Session, having received the corresponding documents with enough time to study and highlighted the points over which to debate, it is up to us to specify some questions for the agenda, mainly with respect to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign. Then, each leader will give his/her opinion and with the contributions of the debate, we shall reach accords and tasks which should be re transmitted. The reports and data have been received and shall be studied in the meetings with each Committee.

## **CHAPTER II. MAIN REPORT FROM THE LEADERSHIP CONSTRUCT THE CONQUEST OF POWER IN THE MIDST OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR!**

### **1. ON THE REPORT: "CONSTRUCT THE CONQUEST OF POWER IN THE MIDST OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR"**

The Permanent Committee and the Politburo decided that the opinions would be addressed using a holistic approach on all issues of the report but focusing on its political and ideological basis, which is the guide of all Party work. The objective is to approve our political and ideological positions, which is our base, and address the new fundamental decisions of the document. In synthesis, to approve the final document which will be our guidance and define the specific policies. The key of this issue is to apply and to combat deviations that may appear.

### **2. TO APPROVE THE PILOT STRATEGIC PLAN OF CONSTRUCTION (THE COMMISSION)**

Items on construction cover three parts of the report, and from this report, the central issue is item two: Develop the Construction. The "three basis and three guides", moreover, we must pay attention to the application of the two moments of the Strategic Plan of Construction and, particularly, the need to organize a Commission to finalize the document based on what we agree in this Plenum.

Here the objective is to approve the Strategic Plan Construction as a pilot plan and the formation of the Commission. Within this, we propose to prepare a document which allows debate over the central questions of organizational construction.

### 3. ON THE CAMPAIGN TO DEVELOP THE PEOPLE'S WAR

#### ON THE III CAMPAIGN

Obviously, this question is the most important and deserves very special attention with reference to strategies, objectives and our position which serves to set forth the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign and the perspective of the People's War. Here the objective is to approve the new campaign that will complete the Plan to Impulse and lay the bases for a new plan which still is not the Plan for the Conquest of Power as that will come later. On this point we should broaden the discussion and specify more questions that we did not deal with at length in the Preparatory Sessions. Let's look at these:

To conceive the campaign as the end of the Plan to Impulse and also lay the basis for the new plan, which will serve the future great Plan of the Conquest of Power. The later plan must be the greatest expression of the People's War. We must bear in mind that it will unfold the Strategic Plan of Construction, implementing the construction under the slogan of "Conquer Power throughout the country!" It should develop apparatuses superior than those of reaction. The commission will develop the Party's Strategic Plan, the Strategic Plan of Construction, and the building of better apparatuses for the conquest and defense of Power.

For the first time there is a broad, deep and extraordinary perspective like never before, which reveals the advance in our work.

In part V of the document, general outline of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign, we have given an introduction with nine points:

1. On campaigns of encirclement and annihilation and counter-campaigns
2. War of interpenetrating
3. Initiative, flexibility and planning within the strategy and tactics of People's War
4. Defensive and offensive strategies in the guerrilla war
5. Transforming the guerrilla war into mobile war.

6. On the so-called low-intensity war

7. On war. Proverbs

8. Strategies

9. Objectives. In this part we can add “some considerations”, “our position” and the chronology.

On page 411 of the document, “Eight Strategies” we should highlight that also for the first time we include a third strategy, the strategy of construction: “Constructing the conquest of Power in the midst of the People’s War”. We also have political strategy: “Seize Power” and military strategy.

“People’s War. Unfold the mobile war and impulse the preparations for the insurrection. In the first part of the distributed document we explain the reason for the three strategies. In synthesis, they are inseparably united and come from the great slogan which is the title of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum “Construct the conquest of Power in the midst of the People’s War”. Between developing, constructing and conquering, the main one is developing, construction is a necessity and conquering Power is the objective. Then, in the military strategy, between “unfold” and “drive” the main one is “unfold” and it highlights the differences in the process of transformation from the guerrilla war to a mobile war.

With respect to “Considerations: On the People’s War and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign.”

## **PEOPLE’S WAR**

It is a war of the masses led by the Party. The countryside is the center of the People’s War and its displacement to the city to conquer Power throughout the country. This is a great leap in the incorporation of the masses to the People’s War. The objective is to incorporate the masses, the people, in an organized manner to the People’s War. This is key to the conquest of Power throughout the country, especially for the insurrection and for the defense of the People’s Republic. The future plan of conquest.

Here note the considerations of importance for the conquest of power throughout the country, and the insurrection and the defense of the People's Republic. This is for the conquest and defense of the New Power. This thesis comes from Marx: "general arming of the masses", and we apply it to become a sea of armed masses, because without the guarantee of that armed sea, there can be neither a conquest nor a defense of Power. Let's think that we have more than 10 years of People's War and the prestige of the Party has grown and greatly developed. The masses have expectations in the Party, and the lit torch of that hope should reflect the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, so that the minds of the masses will be illuminated with this ideology. Once their minds are armed it will arm their hands as well. Thus, we will achieve a leap in the organized power of the masses. Engels said that there are two organized powers on Earth, the organized power of reaction and the disorganized power of the masses. We think that the organized masses are the only true power on Earth as long as they are led by the Communist Party.

This is a material fact, not our imagination or wishful thinking, and so what was the Great Cultural Revolution or the Communist Party of China (CPCCh)? What do we gain with a million loose sprouts? They are weak, but a 100.000 united by the Party cannot be broken. It is crucial for the conquest of Power, if not, how will we make the final insurrection? It is a must for the forthcoming revolutionary crisis. It is for the defense of Power, because upon conquering it, the problem will be defending and not allowing it to be taken away. This is done by mobilizing the armed masses that are always led by the Communist Party. That broad and organized incorporation of the masses is the base for the sea of armed masses. The countryside is the center, but the displacement to the cities must take place because if it doesn't, the enemy will entrench itself there, disseminate its rotten ideas and will undermine our triumph. This means that we must take measures for the future change of the theater of the People's War; we still haven't gotten to the stage of putting the center in the cities yet. This objective that we will achieve will also expose the lies of the "Senderologists".

This point is linked to educating the masses in revolutionary violence, in the ideology of the proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought,

so that they will understand the laws that rule the universe, and will apply them and transform the world so that they can take destiny into their own hands. Educating them, is the only Marxist tactics of forging us in revolutionary violence and implacably combating both revisionism and imperialism and keep us in the revolutionary road.

We should also note what the plan says specifically about insurrection, which means to pay attention to the organized incorporation of the masses into the People's War in the cities.

Therefore, this incorporation is crucial in order to fracture the old State. The organization of the masses in the city is done for two reasons: one to carry out the insurrection and the defense of the revolution in the cities. The other is that the center of the People's War continues to be the countryside and we should highlight the mass character of the People's War and sustain the New Power in the masses that make up the Front organized into the PGA, generated organizations and masses led by the CPP.

### **QUESTIONS OF MILITARY STRATEGY**

"The protracted war and its three stages. The three specified stages of the protracted People's War in Peru. The Strategic Stalemate and the preparation of the counter-offensive: the enemy, to recuperate positions to maintain its system. The development of the Strategic Offensive via the construction of the conquest of Power. Because of that, reaction sees the need to annihilate the People's War and the Party while the people must construct the conquest of Power."

Note well the stages of the protracted war. Chairman Mao teaches that the People's War goes through three stages: a Strategic Defensive, Strategic Stalemate, and Strategic Offensive. This theory is not exclusive to the anti-Japanese War but rather a constituent part of the theory of People's War. Also, we must see how these stages specify themselves in our People's War, and see what specific characteristics each one of these stages adopts.

It is of great transcendence to have these stages defined, and proven in reality and here officially affirm that we find ourselves in the second stage of the



People's War. It is a new stage: Strategic Stalemate. Chairman Mao defines it as the stage where the enemy as well as the revolutionary forces take positions and prepare them for the decisive battles which will take place in the Strategic Offensive. "On Protracted War", point 37 states referring to the enemy "they will try to consolidate the occupied territories" as the revolutionary forces do "our guerrilla war will experience a broad development in the first stage, and many Support Bases will be created which will constitute a serious threat to the enemy in its attempt to consolidate the occupied territories. Then, during the second stage, vast military operations will continue taking place". He later continues, "the duration of this stage will depend on the degree to which the correlation of forces between the enemy and us changes, and the international situation [...] This second stage will be the stage of transition of the entire war and also the hardest period, but it will mark, at the same time, the turning point of the entire war".

We have specified: "The Strategic Stalemate and preparation of the counter-offensive: the enemy recuperates positions to maintain its system; we prepare the Strategic Offensive through constructing the conquest of Power, because of that, reaction feels the necessity of annihilating the People's War; and the Party and the people feel the necessity of constructing the conquest of Power." We think that given the development of our People's War and the counter-revolutionary situation, these are the points that characterize both belligerent parties. On one side, Peruvian reaction is presented with "regaining positions" on all levels, mainly in the political arena where we have generated a Power vacuum and we have built New Power. We count on People's Committees and Support Bases. We exercise Power, even in the cities. We decree an armed strike and the masses obey the voice of the Party. The reactionaries themselves see that the old State doesn't reach many sectors in the countryside and in others, doesn't exercise Power. Even worse, the deep and profound masses, the people as a whole, each time believe that the old State doesn't satisfy its basic needs of food, health, education and so we must take this into account.

The old State is worm-eaten to its foundations. It fails to accomplish its specific functions and a state which doesn't fulfill its role loses credibility

before the masses. It suffocates itself. The latest regime, the new government which leads the old State represents the big, mainly comprador, bourgeoisie, the landlords and is the most unabashedly pro-Yankee imperialist. It has taken power in worse conditions than the prior government. It is much more discredited. It lacks a majority in the parliament. It doesn't have a Party and the so-called Cambio 90 lacks cohesion. For example, the powers of the old State see themselves subjected to the growing fortifications of the executive branch, the main laws are dictated by decree and since Belaúnde's first government they have been ruling like this, abusing article 211, section 20 of the Peruvian constitution. The parliament is stripped of its role of passing laws and appropriating the budget. Fujimori has attacked the judicial power since he took office and the violation of their norms, laws and constitution are flagrant and occur daily. The contradictions between the factions and groups of the big bourgeoisie deepen in the midst of crisis and struggle. They cannot, and will not, be able to resolve the economic crisis. Moreover, it is going to worsen. The counter-subversive war takes place within their law of war without prisoners, genocide venting their fury on the masses. The armed forces murder and do not respect even the most basic rules of the so-called human rights. And, as far as the country's national territory, two-thirds of it is under a state of emergency, aside from which the CPP in the People's War maintains wide areas under its control and influence mainly in the countryside. In addition, the Party's work abroad and the international repercussions of the People's War in Peru is increasing. In synthesis, their State is in serious danger.

Hence, the enemy's task is to regain political and military positions to save its State and seek to annihilate us. Also if we take any serious study on the People's War in Peru and even in the most simplistic commentaries, for example the opinions of the Congressman J. Valencia of Acacia, we read that they refer to either the absence or the weakness of their old State, to which the continuous resignations of their old authorities must be added.

We are, since the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress, planning to construct the conquest of Power and we are constructing that conquest. The Strategic Stalemate is a political fact, not a mere slogan. We are constructing the conquest of Power. Why has this demand arisen with more urgency? We have already passed four

tasks in the leap from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare and these show how the process develops. The problem is that if they don't annihilate us we annihilate them. What the reactionaries need is to annihilate the People's War, our need is to construct the conquest of Power. The fact that reaction says through its mouth pieces such as Raul Gonzalez that, "there is still time" proves that even they are aware of this. Their declarations are in their magazine "Gestion" of the first days of this month. Reaction plans to annihilate us but doubt corrodes them. From there, the Institute of Legal Defense considers that the possibility exists before the end of Fujimori's government. Also Army Generals like Arciniegas, Renjifo and Jarama publicly declare that the Party is preparing to take Power, and that they recognize it as an objective fact is extremely telling.

Pay attention, we are not saying that it will only be the Party's task but also the people's to construct that conquest. If we see the Party's situation and the growing explosiveness of the masses, justly, correctly analyzed and specified in our program, they are intimately linked. There is no separation at any point. If we see "three bases and three guides" we have another example: "Empower the People's Guerrilla Army, especially propel the main forces", "develop the New Power and build Open People's Committees" and heading the three references to the Party "strengthen the construction and forge cadres". We also note "prepare the Strategic Offensive through constructing the conquest of Power", as it is in the Strategic Stalemate that the base is laid for the coming stage: Our Strategic Offensive.

All of these elements allow us to apply the correct political demonstration in deeds. We insist that the Strategic Stalemate is a material fact, real, existing in practice, in society, in the country's class struggle, and in the People's War and we reflect our ideas upon it. We must make it known to the people and uphold it: We have entered the stage of Strategic Stalemate.

"The three stages of revolutionary civil War have different characteristics than those of anti-imperialist wars of resistance. In the former, the Strategic Defensive is more prolonged and goes from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare, which is the main."

Here the problem is that the three stages of the People's War don't occur solely in the wars of anti-imperialist resistance but, rather, in all of the

specific forms of the People's War, like for example in our revolutionary civil war and in each period of the People's War. It is part of the general theory of the People's War. It doesn't apply exclusively to the anti-Japanese war in China. Then, these characteristics differ in the three stages. They are one way in the civil war period and another way in the period of the anti-imperialist resistance. In the civil war, the Strategic Defensive of revolution is more prolonged and also goes on to develop from a guerrilla warfare into mobile warfare, this being the main one. Third, taking into account what Chairman Mao teaches in "Defensive and Offensive Strategies in the Guerrilla War" and which we have dealt with in the document of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum Preparatory Session, the defensive and the offensive occur in all battles or campaigns.

The three stages of the protracted war have different characteristics in each period. For example, the defensive is different when it deals with anti-imperialist war. There the defensive is brief. It is not the same as in civil war. During the civil war the defensive is longer; ours today is a civil war and we have passed from the Strategic Defensive to Strategic Stalemate. Thus, if direct imperialist aggression were to occur, it would signify a change of the main contradiction and the nature of the war would change from that of civil war to anti-imperialist war. It would become a national war which is when more masses enter the revolution. They unite with the majority, for example, if 5.000 or 20.000 men invade us with all the means they have available it would be a strong, bloody, imperialist offensive and this would imply our retreat. We would go to the defensive, but this defensive would be shorter than that which occurred in the civil war, when we began with the People's War. Besides, it would not be the same. We would have the circumstance of the conquest of Power which is a higher level than the initiation of armed struggle. Once being in Strategic Stalemate, we would go on a distinct Strategic Defensive, already within the anti-imperialist resistance war, and, by means of successive and more developed defensives and offensives, we would reach the Strategic Offensive and the conquest of Power. It could happen that imperialism will enter once we are already on the Strategic Offensive, then a moment of Strategic Defensive would be expressed on our part, but a brief one. And necessarily, we would return to the offensive and we would conquer Power. The defensive in a civil war is not the same as an anti-imperialist war. In the anti-imperialist war, the

imperialist offensive is demolishing, strong, and bloody and generates a Strategic Defensive within the Strategic Stalemate or the Strategic Offensive. They are not the same. Each has its own specific strategy, but the Strategic Defensive is brief in the anti-imperialist war because in changing the main contradiction and the character of the war, it unites a broader majority of the people more deeply, and at the same time international support grows and becomes more powerful.

Another characteristic of the change from guerrilla warfare into mobile warfare is that the latter will become main, but not exclusive, as the guerrilla war will continue developing as fundamental for the immediate future.

“The protracted character derives from the correlation of three situations:

1. Our own situation;
2. The enemy’s situation; and
3. The international situation.

The last one is the one which now and in the immediate future presents problems, but aside from the fact that the revolution will more concretely express its condition of main tendency spurred on by the counter-revolution itself, the main thing is to rely on our own forces and in seizing Power, serve the development of the World Revolution. Toward this end, continue developing our own socialist revolution building socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.”

Of the three situations the problem is in the international one, but the main thing is in us. In our hands is the conquest of Power in the entire country and this conquest will be part of the service of the Party to the Proletarian World Revolution. Part of it is also to proceed immediately with the socialist revolution, develop it, as well as install and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat until we arrive at Communism through the cultural revolutions.

The international factor, even though it is not the main one, is fundamental and we should note that if it presents problems today, in immediate

perspective, the revolution will express its condition as the main tendency fueled by the counter-revolution itself. We can triumph without the revolution being on the world offensive. Some say: "How can we triumph alone in the world?" But they don't see that Chairman Mao says the main is to rely on our own forces and that is an advance and will be decisive. Necessarily, it will give an incentive to the international situation.

If we look at the Gulf War, Yankee imperialism is aiming to be a hegemonic superpower. Soviet social-imperialism has problems but continues to be a superpower, and it uses war to regain positions nationally and internationally. The situation is similar to that of the '60s. The USA aims at being the only hegemonic superpower, and the world's policeman. We must fight it as our main enemy without forgetting the other main enemy: the USSR, which would be the skinny dog; the other, the United States, the fat, rabid dog and as such hit it hard. It should not be discounted that the USSR tries to take advantage of the conflict to put things in order internally and gain positions externally. Collusion and strife continues occurring between the superpowers and powers, the collusion expresses itself as principal, but it submerges and collision is expressed. For example, the USSR proposed a "peace plan" for the Gulf War in which Iraq would withdraw from Kuwait with no conditions. It supports maintaining State structures and borders. It opposes "all sanctions" against Iraq and punitive action against Hussein. The White House announced that it would review the proposal meticulously and send its response to Moscow, but the war continued. The next day Bush rejected the proposal as "clearly deficient", he said, "there will be no negotiations nor concessions". The action by the imperialist powers can also be seen through: England expected the USSR to continue supporting the multinational forces and accords of the UN but it also rejected the USSR's proposal. For Canada, the Soviet proposal was in alignment with the UN accords, while Kohl said he would look at the proposal again and that war could still be avoided by negotiations. Israel saw a double danger: maintaining the war machinery and keeping Hussein in power.

The slogan in support of the Arab people that we have spread is good. At no moment do we support Hussein. He changed from being an aggressor to a

victim of aggression, and the action of imperialism, mainly US imperialism is that of arrogant invasion using as the United Nations as an umbrella. Iraq is an oppressed nation. We must distinguish between the hegemonic ambitions of Hussein and the imperialist aggression. What the United States has done is an occupation of the Arab people. It tears down people and acts like a gendarme. We must call Yankee imperialism a big gendarme because it is. Thus, we go about sowing conditions for the time our revolution changes the contradiction. It is very good to support the Arab people against Yankee imperialism. We do it with the masses. In the country's capital, 56 red flags with Hammer and Sickle were conspicuously posted at the University of San Marcos. In a shanty town there is a huge flag, waving from 05:00 to 16:00. and no one has put it out. The slums are the deep people. That is where we plant anti-imperialism. (The MRTA makes a clatter, greater than when a keg is empty. They try to take credit for our actions, one more example of the kind of parasites they are.) Our rule is that the actions echo back in the minds of the deep masses to politicize them and so they will consciously grasp their destiny in their own hands. We, the Party, do not make the revolution. The Party leads it; the masses are the makers of history. We are carrying out armed actions linked to the masses throughout the country. In the countryside, we are mainly sowing and winning the minds of the peasants, mainly the poor. We are in a cloud of dust, where the dust invades the lungs of the masses, with the ones below, educating them politically, riveting with actions the ideas we plant. Comrades give their lives. They immolate themselves heroically fighting the Yankee imperialist gendarme which destroys nations and they do it supporting the Arab people. They sign the slogans with their lives: "Yankees out of the Middle East" and "Support the Arab People". These are beautiful words of the proletariat and of the people. We don't blow up dead chickens. That's being done by the MRTA, which has begun to carry out solely terrorist actions.

What have they done since their reappearance? Nothing. And they keep hanging on like parasites in the People's War led by the Communist Party. Cassinello says that armed groups develop following a process of first being "terrorists" then going on to become guerrillas and finally into soldiers. Fine. This is the path we follow, but the MRTA doesn't. They don't apply

selective annihilation but rather a narrow and fatigued terrorism. After having disguised themselves as soldiers in their zeal to compete and self-promotion, what is main? Politicize the masses or launch rockets? Obviously the masses. The fact of going to the masses and acting with them is decisive. We are not an imposed war but rather one incarnated in the deep and profound masses. Julio C. Guerrero says: "A soldier is a soldier because he has a uniform. The guerrilla is soldier because he has an ideology." Our strength is our ideology. The PGA is an army led absolutely by the Party of the proletariat. We do not consent to any other class leading it. It fulfills the political tasks that the Party demands and carries them out armed. We do not need pompous commandants. We are combatants and commanders and you can stop counting. We are not based on arms but on men and on the men on the ideology that moves us to act. This war is also confirming it. That is why we say that it is proving the validity of Maoism. Its viability. With such powerful and highly sophisticated war material, Yankee imperialism dreamed that in two or three days it would destroy Iraq. It is now February and the war continues. Moreover, it trembles before a ground offensive. There, we repeat, it proves once more the viability of Marxism. Weapons are not the main. The question is what idea arms the hand. The ideology is the weapon of victory. That was also taught to us by Lenin and comes from Marx; we then have a strict Marxist-Leninist-Maoist position. To the revisionists of the MRTA, the disguise is worth everything; the weapon is main. It also proves the main contradiction in the world, oppressed nations versus imperialist superpowers and powers. That imperialists are fighting against an oppressed people is very clear and that they want to plunder and share among themselves the Arab oil and overthrow Hussein to install a reactionary, more loyal to their interests is also clear, but up until now they have not achieved it.

#### **CAMPAIGNS OF ENCIRCLEMENT, ANNIHILATION AND COUNTER CAMPAIGNS.**

Main form. Through them, expanding and developing them, principally maintaining the initiative, we have reached the Strategic Stalemate. We have not had any great defeat. We prepare so that this does not occur. But if it does happen (which would require major direct or indirect action by US imperialism) would only be a partial defeat and relative within a perspective



of development of the People's War aimed against Yankee imperialism and its puppets within the national polarization and toward the conquest of Power. Besides the international situation and above all, proletarian internationalism, the support of the peoples of the world will be expressed broadly and decisively.

In 10 years of People's War we have evolved within this campaigns of encirclement and annihilation and counter-campaigns, what we have to see here is the specification of our case. This process has brought us to a new level. We have passed through the campaigns of encirclement and annihilation and the counter-campaigns of encirclement and annihilation from the Strategic Defensive to the stage of Strategic Stalemate.

Militarily speaking, the key is to have maintained the initiative. Since the beginning of the armed struggle we have set political and military objectives for ourselves and we have met them. No one can show that we have not met our objectives and that the new power didn't exist in its diverse forms of People's Committees from Organizing Committees to the Open People's Committees. It is so evident that they themselves — the enemy — aim to annihilate the commissars hoping to destroy the New Power. The fact that exists a PGA with platoons, companies and battalions is so real that the newspapers report it. If not, why do they write, "300 storm this or attack that barrack?" That there are main, local and base forces that are rooted in the masses is also a reality, if not, who are they fighting and why do the reactionary armed forces destroy villages and slums accusing them of being "senderistas"? And who directs all this? The Party. And who sustains these apparatuses? The masses. Or are they phantoms? That one or another mouthpieces for Yankee imperialism and Peruvian reaction receive money to deny the truth is so common in the old and rotten bourgeois systems that it should not surprise us. Well, today that we enter the Strategic Stalemate, they would say, "it cannot be!", "it's impossible!". But the process will continue unfolding, and by no means will stop because some shills dejectedly cry and wire their brains to deny it.

Let's keep in mind that "we have not had any big defeats. Let's prepare ourselves so this does not happen". Until today our process has developed with successes and setbacks. We have lived through hard moments, like the

years 1983-84, but not a single big defeat. Nonetheless, we think that in the same way the revolution develops and grows powerful. The counterrevolution also learns as it applies plans, tactics, etc. We well know that the entre of Yankee imperialism is now cooking. The greatest quantity of coca is planted in Peru (along with Bolivia we have 90% of the coca harvest) the biggest consumer of the cocaine base paste is Yankee imperialism and drug trafficking is a problem that it manipulates for its military action, as part of its global interest. If we add that in Peru a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought People's War is unfolding which has Communism as its final objective, then the problem is greater and the danger greater yet for imperialism. The bottom line question is that here there is a confrontation between revolution and counterrevolution that here Marxism is being applied as part of the World Revolution. That the Peruvian People's War is the torch of hope for the Communists, proletarians and people of the world. Because of all this, it is extremely important that we fortify ourselves to the utmost ideologically and politically the best that we possibly can and that we be prepared on all levels, especially the military, for a direct or indirect entry by Yankee imperialism. If imperialism directly invades us, it will be Yankee imperialism. Then, we will have as our main enemy the superpower that wants to be hegemonic, the great gendarme, we know this and we are not afraid. But this doesn't mean that we forget the other imperialist superpower, the USSR. It is the skinny dog which we should also aim against, not because it has problems today, but because it has stopped being the main enemy. Without forgetting, it is clear, then that the other imperialist powers are always considering the contradictions in the imperialist camp and are using them specifically in a national anti-imperialist war. On one occasion we solemnly promised to never lay down our weapons until we have reached Communism. We must persist in the struggle for Communism whether the superpowers or power come armed to the teeth with their powerful weapons. We communists know what we want and what we are struggling for. Nothing should or can detain us in fulfilling the Party's objective to serve the people, the proletariat and the World Revolution.

Teach the masses that Yankee imperialism and the reactionaries are paper tigers, not fear imperialism, and be prepared from the ideological to the

military. We know how to build tunnels. In China they were a great experience which was later also successfully applied in Vietnam. It is possible to even develop a “war of tunnels” and, moreover, Chairman Mao taught that their construction is a strategic guide and we have been making them since 1983. Today we should develop them. It is key.

Imperialism, upon entering, will do so with enormous propaganda, justifying its occupation and destruction of the people. Behind a tale of ending drug trafficking or crushing Communism and defending “democracy”, but in deeds it will be an imperialist aggression, an unjust war, a great massacre and a cruel and sinister destruction. We should denounce this from now on, but it will not frighten us, rather it will make us stronger. What they are doing in the Persian Gulf, the arrogance with which they act invading and murdering to the point of genocide and with great cynicism (they have bombed an oppressed people like never before) is an example of the monstrous barbarism that are the innards of imperialism, Yankee imperialism in particular.

If while being on the strategic offensive, Yankee imperialism would directly intervene with all of its bloody ferocity which its monopolist, parasitic and dying condition allows it, a situation of going to the defensive would take place. But that would not change the stage of Strategic Offensive. Our defensive would imply a strategic retreat to counterattack. Obviously they would hit us and the masses hard but we will retreat. We would again regroup. We would circle and concentrate ourselves on its weak points and will annihilate them, bit by bit until we defeat and expunge them. It will be an arduous and bloody task but of magnificent conditions to fuse together the immense popular masses and lead a war of national liberation against imperialism, a prelude to the conquest of power throughout the country which would imply also overthrowing the puppet regime it will have imposed. The polarization will be expressed in all of its magnitude. On one side, there will be the imperialists and the pro-imperialists, all of the big bourgeoisie and its partners, the feudal landlords and their lackeys. On the other, there will be all of the classes which make up the people, the patriots and all the anti-imperialists. We would continue to develop ourselves with superior offensives after successive ones and higher campaigns and counter

campaigns, and we would finally pass on to insurrection and the conquest of power in the entire country.

We should equally consider the different forms of intervention, directly or indirectly, through other countries or by applying its “low-intensity conflict”. They would accumulate forces, they would enter as “advisors” giving “help”, responding to “the terrorists’ aggression”, or even act after we take Power with suffocating action with pro-imperialist elements and armed apparatuses.

This would be done until waiting for the opportune moment to reverse the situation and apply a counter-revolutionary attack. Because of this, we should prepare ourselves to seize and defend Power with the People’s War. It is not in the Yankees’ interest to get bogged down in a Vietnam type war. They are not convenient for them. They prefer quick, decisive action to “restore order” and to “help” their lackeys in pacification. We should concern ourselves then with the modalities and variations of imperialist aggression, mainly Yankee. They could dislodge us from zones and even regions fundamental to our struggle, but they will not crush the People’s War. It will appear to be a great defeat but it will be nothing more than the logical course of imperialist aggression. We would learn great lessons and would continue applying the principles of the People’s War. We would deploy to other regions and zones and we would again recuperate what we lost but we would be much better forged than before. We would be more experienced and closer to the conquest and defense of Power throughout the country. This defeat then will be partial and relative within the perspective of the development of the People’s War, aimed mainly against Yankee imperialism and its puppets within the national polarization and toward the conquest of Power throughout the country. That is how we could unfold in the Strategic Offensive. As to the cost, we are, as always, prepared to pay the highest cost but we shall struggle to ensure it is as low as possible, applying the principles of the People’s War. Facing imperialism, as in everything, we maintain a strategic firmness and apply it with flexibility in our tactics according to the specific conditions that present themselves.

Also, in these conditions, the proletarian internationalism and the support of the people of the world shall be broader and committed. The very

counterrevolutionary action by imperialism will generate the anti-imperialist action by the proletariat and the peoples of the world.

“The war of interpenetrating is developing and it is developing in our favor. By maintaining and developing politically and ideologically correct and just lines we shall fulfill “Develop, Construct and Conquer.” What we should do here is to reaffirm this slogan.

People’s War. Two hills. Mobile warfare. “Low-Intensity Warfare”. Strategic general plan and each Committee and organization.”

This was also dealt with in the document and will be the subject of meetings with the committees. “Two Hills” is part of applying the contradiction of war. Consider that we have specified four stages in the mobile war. We understand better what the so-called “low-intensity conflict” is. Very important: the global plans of each Committee, is part of the war of movements and the Party’s Military Line. The strategic plan of developing the war is good but we must implement it. It is a necessity besides developing each Committee or organization. Without a future plan to conquer Power, we won’t conquer it. But that isn’t the immediate plan. Needless to say we must prepare for it. Everything should be working for the plan to conquer Power. It’s like building a stairway to reach the next floor.

#### **4. THIRD CAMPAIGN TO DEVELOP THE PEOPLE’S WAR AND COMBAT THE PROGRAMS, PLANS AND POLITICS OF THE NEW REGIME**

“Three tasks”: To aim for selective annihilation against the genocidalists at the highest possible levels, national or foreign, at all levels of their activities, delivering hard blows to those involved in reinvigorating and restructuring the old state and carry on annihilation (which is the main thing), aiming against those who are reinvigorating it, particularly high level foreign representatives in order to seriously set back their plans.

Sabotage, as has been demonstrated, also serves the same. The question is good political selection of the objective and the sure and certain execution of the action, aiming against its greatest plans, and especially seeking the greatest harm possible and its paralyzation until its destruction.

Obviously, the agitation and propaganda and the guerrilla combats also, as in any political content of the campaign, meet their functions. The first is to unmask the “three tasks” of its program, plan and concrete policies, especially impelling the expression for demands of basin needs. As for the second, the guerrilla combats (main of the four forms of struggle) firmly and resolutely battle all the counter subversive actions that the enemy unfolds to take ahead its “three tasks” aiming each time against the armed forces in particular.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign must be carry out firmly and resolutely developing the construction and the heightening of the bellicosity of the People’s Guerrilla Army and the masses to implacably combat the enemy with the goal of completely destroying him. Undermine, obstruct, hit and destroy its programs, plans and reactionary politics is fundamental for the failure of the its three tasks and the advance of our plan “Develop, Construct and Conquer”.

We have also added “OUR POSITION”:

Our center is to combat.

Our base is the proletariat and the people.

Our road is the People’s War.

Our objective is the People’s Republic of Peru.

Our ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought.

Our final goal is the Proletarian World Revolution and Communism.

The axis of everything is the CPP, its leadership, and Chairman Gonzalo.

In the point “Nine Objectives”, they are very clear and concrete and serve as specific slogans. Here we base ourselves in the political objectives of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign, from the “three tasks” and the forms of struggle within this course against the program, plans and policy of the new reactionary government already unmasked in the document of May 1990 (look at his character and whose interests he serves) and to impulse the development of

the bases of support. That this 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign completes the plan of impulsion and lays the bases for a new plan within the Great Plan to Develop Bases serving conquering Power, a grand shaking and complete victory, with superior actions.

We say that to undermine until destruction is fundamental for the failure of its “three tasks” and the advance of “Develop, Construct and Conquer.” Thus, we are seeing the two aspects of demolishing the old and building the new, the counter-revolution and the revolution.

Finally, we propose a timetable of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign to Impulse: Unfold this campaign against imperialism and against this most unabashedly pro-imperialist government to develop the war of movements.

As to the offensives, in each committee plans should be made in accord with its specific conditions against the armed forces, annihilation and disintegration. For the 11<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the People’s War, against imperialism, the superpowers, and powers, principally against Yankee imperialism and the pro-imperialist regime of Fujimori, for the class struggle of the masses and their specific demands regarding the conquest of power, against the genocide of yesterday and today and of the day of Heroism: 5th anniversary. Special series: anti-imperialist and against the most pro-imperialist government until now. Use symbols of the three instruments.

### **ON RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN**

Retransmission and ideas which are being combated.

Efforts should be made to accomplish it well, not stop on the surface, to go deep and excel in carrying out all the basics of our policy. Don’t lower Marxism. The little pills don’t educate the masses. We must elevate the political level of the party and all the apparatuses it leads and the masses as well. If we don’t generate public opinion for the conquest of power, they won’t see it as consciously necessary. The masses want politics, more than that. They want to learn the party’s politics and our party has always been characterized as being strong in politics.

Apply the elevation of political conscientiousness and its popularization which is expressed in a rich Party experience, “as well as in three in one”.

Party documents.

Strive to ensure that all militants have them. There are many ways to reproduce them without changing anything. They can be photocopied as well as hand copied. The printing should be delivered to friends or people who can comment on them. We don't lose anything by sending them to all the news agencies.

The document "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!" is a key and principal document in the rectification campaign of the Party, the PGA and masses. It should be studied in depth. It is the great balance of 10 years of the People's War.

Cadre schools.

They are very necessary as we are in the forging of cadres but never forget that a cadre is forged in the midst of the class struggle, in the People's War, never on its margins. Distinguish between what is a campaign of rectification of retransmission and the political formation of new, intermediate and advanced ones. A campaign of rectification (a form of developing the struggle of two lines) is not the same as regular schools of new activists who are just recently beginning to learn the Party's politics. Both are important, but different, tasks and should be done in a disciplined manner.

For the people's schools to elaborate, with their own participants, study plans, expositions and debates on the Basis of Party Unity.

For the retransmission apply the norm: First, general retransmission which involves:

1. How the event has unfolded and what contradictions present themselves. That is, what are the parts? What law presented itself and how the struggle developed?
2. Analyze the summaries and contents of reports.
3. Accords.



#### 4. Taking of positions.

And, then, retransmit the reports part by part. They should be clear and solidly based, giving priority to the main part and debate each one of the parts so that the bases give their opinions, ask questions and discuss them. If not, the waters stagnate and the group does not become cohesive. We insist on the Maoist principle that the political-ideological decides everything and we apply it firmly as we are constructing the conquest of Power and should always think in perspective. The problem is to conquer and to defend the conquered and if we are not always careful in putting politics in command, we won't be able to manage the complex problems which will be present. It merits our special attention on how to immerse ourselves in the all-powerful ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought as it is the only way to uproot the selfish fountain of revisionism. That this ideology be shaped into politics in the class struggle as the conducting thread, and we don't separate ourselves from it. It also concretes itself in organizational construction if not, we won't undertake new forms.

As to the rectification campaign, we believe it is a form of carrying out the struggle and will seek to apply it. We remember that its objective is to unite, differentiate and lead, adjusting itself more to the Bases of Party Unity, upholding that the slightest deviation from Gonzalo Thought will cause us to slip into revisionism. To prevent the party from allowing the creation of a right opportunist line, which would be revisionist, would entail to fight against four changes:

Change of Party;

Change of Line;

Change of leadership; and

Change of the People's War.

Manage the Party documents as agreed upon, stop free interpretations and study what is relevant.

Here too, we apply, as in all our work, strategic centralization and tactical decentralization. We shall take the experience of how to take the rectification campaign forward from the program of the 1<sup>st</sup> Plenum of the Central Committee. Today, the May documents, its four parts and the main one, the fourth, which is transcendental for our work regarding the conquest and defense of power and what it means to the world revolution, and being part of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought counter-campaign which the party is developing are fundamental. We must be careful not to replace study with armed action, this is rightism which fertilizes revisionism. We know how to manage and develop our ideology in different stages.

### **CELEBRATIONS**

In the document we have said: The proletariat, the People's War and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought as a theme for the celebration of the international day of the proletariat, Constructing the Conquest of Power in the Midst of the People's War. Today we are adding that the Party's day should be celebrated with the slogan: "The Party guarantees the road of the revolution!"

### CHAPTER III. SOME POLITICAL QUESTIONS

In the new government plan they are managing three counterrevolutionary tasks, in order of their priorities, for the revitalization of bureaucratic capitalism aiming at lowering inflation and for its “reinsertion” into the international financial system, which is nothing but submitting to the conditions imposed by imperialism. In the second place, to annihilate the People’s War by persisting on genocide, the preventative actions, reprisals, war without prisoners and disappearances. The talk of a different “new strategy” is nothing but demagoguery by the crafty Fujimori which will quickly fall apart. The fact remains that up until today he has not defined a “new strategy”, and in the third place they are aiming at managing the restructuring of the state and beginning to set out fascist policies and base positions such as “popular participation”, “integral democracy”, etc. Behind Fujimori, just as yesterday it served Garcia, is the Institute for Liberty and Democracy, directed by Hernando de Soto, an international bureaucrat and agent of Yankee imperialism and principal advisor to Fujimori. This Institute for Liberty and Democracy is occupying more State, economic and diplomatic positions every day. They have elaborated the so called “Fujimori Doctrine” and the decree on autonomous authority for alternative development as well. In that manner the Institute for Liberty and Democracy is a legislative fountain against its own bourgeois democracy. They plan to “jump over integral democracy with citizen participation.” Their objective is to incorporate the masses into their plans.

They are preparing important new decrees. They start with the premise that they are making a “revolution”, the propagandized modernization and liberalization of the Peruvian economy, and for this they need to restructure their state even though they are advancing at a slower pace. They also need to make points so that mainly Yankee imperialism will support them in their so-called “reinsertion”. Among these decrees they are preparing one against labor stability, others on the agrarian question, administrative simplification, etc.

We see more ideas and positions with a fascist base. We are not saying that the government is fascist. Furthermore, we think that the big bourgeoisie is

aiming at a substitute replanning of the old bourgeois democracy to a new fascism which would not have the characteristics of the old fascism. Its essence would be the same but the forms would be different. They have to adjust to new conditions of class struggle. We reiterate. Let us think about new fascism and be attentive to its plans.

## 1. ON THE “THREE-EIGHT” STYLE

To popularize it in the PGA. It was the norm which ruled in the Chinese Army and which can now be of great usefulness to us. We have already used it.

“Three phrases and eight characters”

Three Phases:

Firm and correct political orientation.

Hard work and a simple lifestyle.

Flexibility in strategy and tactics.

Eight Characters:

Unity.

Strength.

Dynamism.

Seriousness.

Vivacity.

5-8 [...]

## 2. ON THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE PARTY AND THE USE OF VIDEOS BY THE REACTIONARIES

The so-called triumph. In an interview of the paper "Gestion" Raul Gonzales says, "political use of the cassette will aggravate internal struggle in the Shining Path". This individual emphasizes the political use of the cassette. This is the new part of their strategy, aiming at division all the time proclaims the same. But Gonzales affirms that Fujimori didn't say it was a new strategy. It is a lie. There we can see the lowliness of this person. The entire society is a witness. He says it is a distinct style and implies that "we go on the offensive intending to create problems within Sendero". They condemn us to failure. This Plenum is an unmasking of that stupidity. He is always in this trafficking and he makes an effort to be hired as an advisor. That "offensive", on the contrary, has failed since it was first planned. All of these adulteration and infamies by Fujimori and his acolytes shatter against the Party. It serves for the Party to unite itself more and repudiate the enemy. Proof of this is how the armed actions are intensifying and how Chairman Gonzalo is praised. The so-called "Senderologist" is a cynical breadwinner (ganapan), accustomed to picking the crumbs that are thrown to him on the floor.

He adds: "This offensive should be complemented with the assistance of the population", and he seeks to "legitimize the State". Another element of the so-called low-intensity war is the cheap proclamation of the counter-subversive war to which, he points out, should be applied for plans for health, education, transportation, etc. But the reactionaries and the government will never really attend to the needs of the people. It goes against their class interests and profits, and not even the civic action which is indispensable for their counter-subversive war can be attended to without "help" from imperialism. The cholera epidemic which affects hundreds of thousands of Peruvians and threatens millions of the poorest masses in the country is the most obvious and painful current demonstration of the hunger, the misery and the abandonment in which the rotten and nefarious Peruvian society sinks the people. And the decrepitude of the old State, whose incapacity to confront basic problems like cholera shows the

increasing need each day to demolish it. Thus, the so-called “legitimization” has no chance of success.

He also advises: “A solution should be obtained with respect to police problems.” For example, the salary problem. We should stir their consciences with the starvation wages they are paid, as they are used as guard dogs and treated like dirt and crushed. In the same manner, he advises the government to return “the leadership to civilians”, “that they reassume control in the emergency zone” which has been demanded for some time by revisionism and opportunism. Then, he makes a good confession: “If the armed forces left Ayacucho today, with all certainty, Sendero would take it.” That is: the Shining Path is bad, but it is good. He says: “I think they aren’t advancing at all.” But, “the territory they control is increasing”. “I think Sendero will be around for a while.” That is to say, it will be difficult to eradicate the 11 years of violence and he adds, “thus if Guzmán were killed tomorrow, we are going to have political violence in the country for a while”. He recognizes, even though he doesn’t want to, that the People’s War advances. He has drawn the conclusion that the People’s War, (as if it isn’t a success) is a success to maintain itself. But if it draws the masses and advances it is a complete success. From his own words flow that we are in a Strategic Stalemate, but in this “Senderologist”, like the rest, there is no coherence, all that guides him is to earn some beans by any means, even by licking. He says, “the country is still in time to destroy it and great possibilities exist for that”, because, according to him, even though he says always it doesn’t prove it, the Shining Path is not meeting its strategic objectives, but he also says that we are extending the territory we dominate.

In conclusion, today, this individual serves the campaign of the regime in order to achieve economic “aid” from mainly Yankee imperialism, to combat the People’s War.

To better understand the current political questions, let us look at the following commentaries by Chairman Gonzalo:

### **3. COMMENTS ON PRESS REPORTS BY CHAIRMAN GONZALO**

We refer up to the ones of April because of their usefulness.

## ON THE ECONOMY

“Collision continues and will continue.” With regard to the criticism of “The Express” to the opinions of the economist Gonzales del Valle, who is opposed to the big reduction of tariffs and is a promoter of the increase of the exchange rate of the dollar, on January 30, 1991. “Fight worsens between nontraditional and traditional exporters within the big bourgeoisie in its entirety and the comprador bourgeoisie in specific.” Due to the statements by S. Majluf, president of the National Society of Industries (SNI) to “The Commercial” of February 1, 1991, as well as those of J.F. Raffo, president of the National Society of Exporters (SNE), published in “Expreso.”

“The problem is ADEX — Association of Exporters with the National Society of Exporters led by Raffo, on the big beneficiaries of the current government.” When the vice president of CONFEIP, M. Sotomayor, ex-president of the National Fishing Society, rejected the affirmation of ADEX that a “sector of exporters sought the extinction of the industrial sector through a monstrous demand for funds.” Feb. 23, 1991.

## ON POLITICS

“They promote the MRTA and the government proclaims its successes and the ‘reverses’ of Sendero.” When “The Express” publishes on its front-page “Abimael Guzmán’s hideout found” on Jan. 3, 1991.

“Denounce: Cholera is the expression of the nation’s profound poverty and the poor sanitary conditions which the old state and its consecutive governments have generated. Today, Fujimori’s government first did not want to be known and then minimized the problem. What did it do to solve the problem? Nothing.” March 5, 1991.

“One more round in the fight within the big bourgeoisie and its factions and groups.” Due to the resignation of the Minister Pennano which Fujimori did not accept. March 6, 1991.

“Rounding off the number, the Catholic Church can count on 0.01% of the world population as directly organized forces to lead Catholics. The Shining Path, taking 20.000 as directly organized forces, count on 0.1% to actually

lead the revolutionary process. Aside from the minimal number of forces calculated for the Shining Path, the church is 2.000 years old. How can Fujimori and others talk about the Shining Path's insignificant forces?" On Catholics and religious types and proportion between Party, army and masses mentioned by Fujimori in presenting the video. March 8, 1991.

"Part of the State's restructuring as it seeks to advance in this task, questions the parliamentary demo-bourgeois order. ILD is the source of legislation (neighborhood and rural registration, street vendors, autonomous authority — the Fujimori Doctrine — administrative simplification, etc.), 'direct democracy' (participation, integral democracy). This process is and will continue to be directly linked to Yankee imperialism through the ILD (De Soto) which is carrying out the state functions such as the economic and political, for example. As well as fascist base positions, new fascism, substitute plans for the old bourgeois democracy." Referring to the implementation of Fujimori's decrees. March 10, 1991.

"To see PUM (and IU and others) plans within the tactic of frontism and right opportunism putting themselves at the tail of a faction of the big bourgeoisie and calling the national bourgeoisie part 'progressive', 'favorable to the nation's industrialization'. This old opportunist tactic renews and brandishes itself." Based on "The Pennano Proposal and the Amaru proposal" an article by J. Diez Canseco on the editorial page of "Gestion". Remember his adherence to the "Amaru" Plan and his disagreement with the Pennano Plan because the latter included "benefits" and "establishes a minimum wage of 45 dollars". "The national priority is to stop inflation increase workers' incomes, redistribute wealth in a more equitable manner and regain a sovereign management of the country's economy. Because of that [...] the type of exchange and salaries should be simultaneously indexed to the previous month's inflation rate and at the same time freeze, in Intis, the current prices of public services." "It is indispensable to correct this distortion, as an incentive to consumer capacity thanks to the increase of incomes." "Regulate tariffs and prioritize imports [...]" "The program should be accompanied by a limitation on debt payment as has been proposed by the very president of the National Society of Industry. It will do no good to continue insisting on 'reinserting' ourselves in exchange for



nothing.” “These proposals are not new [...] It is time to change course and for once President Fujimori should be conscious of his ‘no shock’ electoral promise. We expect that this time he won’t waste another opportunity [...]” According to the prime minister himself, yesterday “Gestión” published an article by S. Majluf and another by J. Diez Canseco planning to change the economic program. March 15, 1991.

“Questioning the parliament is a basic fascist position which aims against traditional democratic-bourgeois State structure sustained by the negation of the principals, liberties and rights established in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century which stands for corporate organization and empowers reactionary violence to the maximum, all in function of the most unrestrained bourgeois class dictatorship (the big bourgeoisie in our case) and in the service of imperialism. Historically, fascism has developed itself the most in critical moments of the old State, principally when the revolution threatens to overthrow the decrepit dominant order but the post 2<sup>nd</sup> World War fascism cannot, until now, openly develop itself as such, much less carry out corporativization, despite its multiple attempts and ‘theories’: ‘democratic corporativism’, ‘full participatory democracy’, ‘social democracy’, etc. In the ‘70s in this country, Velasco’s corporatization failed and in the ‘80s Garcia Perez could even advance to the ‘economic congress’. Today the reactionarization of the Peruvian State is its natural tendency and the need to newly restructure the old State which is its current task (one of the three, inseparably united: reanimate, restructure and annihilate) Once again, they propose the question of fascism and its confrontation with the rotten ‘bourgeois democracy’. It is within these processes and the situation within which we should place Fujimori and his government to unmask his each obvious fascist positions, but without forgetting the following:

1. The crisis of bourgeois democracy which runs through this century has not yet ended. They even attempt to show it as rejuvenated and victorious and more so, as the only viable option.

2. To end bourgeois democracy, with the bourgeois class dictatorship that needs to be demolished completely through revolutionary violence whose concentrated and proletarian expression is the People’s War. And build a new State, a new society, in our case a new democracy which once the

democratic revolution is culminated will develop as a dictatorship of the proletariat.

3. The so-called failure of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not such. The problem which arose was the usurpation of Power by revisionism which has led to the restoration of capitalism. On the contrary, the dictatorship of the proletariat in a few decades of practice has led the greatest and most profound transformations ever seen in history. As a consequence, the question is the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its indestructible continuation as it is essential for the triumph of Communism.

4. The old society generates fascism as an expression of its reactionarization (not the only one, as the other is the actual reactionary evolution of the demo-bourgeois parliamentary system: the United States, England, France, etc.) mainly as a weapon when the revolution threatens to destroy it.

5. Fascism has a prior history in Peru, especially in the 1930s, but without being able to advance. Its biggest failure was with Velasco, which was nevertheless fascism's biggest advance in Peru until now.

6. Fascism renews its road. It is driven as a necessity of imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, and of Peruvian reaction facing the conquest of power throughout the country. Obviously it learns lessons from its experience in the country aiming at presenting a 'new popular democratic and revolutionary face', but its essence is, and will remain, the same: 'old wine, new bottles'. This process will take place (it is already being shown) in sharp struggle and collusion in the heart of the big bourgeoisie, between its comprador and bureaucratic factions and between groups of the same. It is a complex struggle within the heart of reaction whose contradictions should be utilized as a function of the triumph of the democratic revolution.

7. We should have this situation and perspective in mind to develop the People's War, construct the conquest of Power and conquer Power throughout the country." Based on the denunciation made by "Oiga" on the fascist roots of "participation" in its issue No. 523, Feb. 25, 1991.

“This allows the establishment of a difference between the reactionarization of the State which proposes the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (corporativism based on organized union and institutional participation), and that of the comprador bourgeoisie. The latter doesn’t propose corporativism but rather a greater strengthening of presidential power as the axis of the executive which will permit the monopolist economic power in the service of imperialism to directly exercise legislative and State administrative functions. It obviously aims at restricting the growing legislative power and seeks to direct command of the executive power en route to the absolute concentration of functions; questions which undermine the state structure and balance of powers within the traditional demo-bourgeois State.” With regard to the opinion of “The Commercial” on “Original proposal of the ILD”, which was published in “The Peruvian” and later commented on in the column “Without Confirmation” (“The Commercial”). March 6, 1991.

“Position of the big, mainly comprador, bourgeoisie: ‘We already have a policeman. We can sleep at ease.’ But aside from expressing obsequiousness and absolute submission, we note:

1. Being ‘Policeman of the world’ opens the prospect of the United States confronting everyone, mainly the oppressed nations. This means drawing lessons from the ‘60s, a vibrant decade of the Proletarian World Revolution.
2. The United States was never more powerful or prestigious than at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War. We must remember that all this faded in the struggle against national liberation movements.
3. The so-called total victory of the United States creates far more problems for imperialism, Yankee imperialism in particular, and for its lackeys than they can resolve. This is not a strategic perspective but current reality. For example, in the Middle East.
4. To ‘crush into dust’ the revolution when it seizes Power is the dream of every reactionary. It is the dream of restoration they have never renounced. Today they are more sure and confident. They rest on the supposed failure of socialism and weakness of Marxism in the so-called ‘low-intensity conflict’ (in its revised form in this case) and on the ‘total victory over Iraq’ and of the blind faith on the renewed slogan on the ‘invincibility of Yankee

imperialism'. None of this is new except for the triumphant drunkenness of the government headed by Bush and his gang (whose novelty is in the great lack of reality which sustains it).

We, based firmly in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, sure and convinced of the triumph of the Proletarian World Revolution and of the unstoppable march of humanity toward Communism and the transcendence of the victory of the Peruvian Revolution. We should always assume greater decisiveness for the conquest of Power throughout the country and dauntlessly and unyieldingly struggle for the complete and total triumph of the new social order, 'socialism until Communism'. We should take very much into account all the World Revolution's experience and mainly our own as well as. The Party accords on the 'eight possibilities' and the intervention of Yankee imperialism, be it direct or indirect, alone or allied, and we must prepare ourselves on all levels to confront it at anytime and in conditions brandishing our always victorious proletarian ideology and developing the invincible People's War, always everything under the Party's leadership, always determined to put reaction and imperialism in a sea of armed masses for the conquest of Power, for the People's Republic of Peru and its defense and for the future goal of Communism. On the other hand, we should gut and crush ideas like those of hack writer D'Ornellas and all similar attacks, as they are nothing but part of the enemy's psychological war which seeks to undermine the revolutionary ranks and make the people think that triumph is impossible or useless. Of course, their own words show that the People's War threatens the total demolition of the old State. As Chairman Mao said: "The path is winding but the future is brilliant." Therefore, we should dare to conquer Power and dare to defend it. We shall take our destiny with our own hands!" As a result of "Requiem for Abimael" (title of a column by D'Ornellas in "The Express"). March 7, 1991.

"This, like other recent measures by Boloña, are part of the effort to reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism. The following was done by the Fujimori government until now:

1. The outlines of July.

2. The readjustment measures of August and Hurtado's propaganda complemented by the December readjustment.

3. Boloña's measures which should be listed in the prime minister's program, recent measures express transactions between factions of the big bourgeoisie, which, as it has to be, benefit primarily the comprador and especially the financial and big exporter group. The exporter group itself and industry in general suffer the consequences. It obviously strikes the national bourgeoisie and then lands hardest on the popular masses, and the attack against the class is direct. The March measures are the concentrated expression of the most obsequious submission to Yankee imperialism aside from the resistance and rejection they create among the masses. Also find difficulties in the so-called 'reinsertion' which is the apple of their eyes as well as signing onto the newly proposed drug trafficking accord. The whole plan of the big, mainly comprador, bourgeoisie that drives this is extremely late (they should have applied it since Belaunde) and on the other hand they have to implement it in the worst internal and international conditions of a prolonged generally critical situation which is worsening. This, besides the situation of the masses misery which continues worsening, and the class struggle which is heading toward a revolutionary crisis and, mainly, the development of the People's War and the New Power. Thus, the new plans and measures have a difficult and arduous perspective and have begun by aggravating the recession and as orphans of the program which give birth to it (at least they haven't agreed until now), this is within the ranks of the big bourgeoisie itself. In the people's camp it can only plan winds and harvest tempests. Until now the comprador bourgeoisie has been unable to formulate a program and plans like those of the Velasco bureaucracy. It also lacks a political apparatus or support to apply it. In these circumstances it is reaction and imperialism which seek to revive themselves via the Bolona measures and without even getting a respite on their financial situation, especially the states, which had been previously done by the fascist military government to apply its program. As to the agrarian question, bear in mind what was seen at the October meeting." As a result of Decree DS-009-91-A9, on lands. April 1, 1991.

“They want to maximize and generalize the sale and rent of the lands and obviously the eviction of the poor peasantry.” Based on the ILD’s observations to DS 009-91-A. April 9, 1991.

### **INTERNATIONAL**

“The field clears. The ‘100 Marxist-Leninist Parties’ are totally unmasked and declare themselves bourgeois and shamelessly renounce.” As a result of the name change of the Communist Party of Italy. February 6, 1991.

“It is what the United States thinks, said by this spokesman but obviously in favor of its sole hegemony.” Based on a statement by Israel about the US denunciation of the massive oil well destruction in Kuwait. Feb. 23, 1991.

“Evidently the United States and its allies seek to overthrow Hussein and reduce Iraq’s military power and political weight by the greatest possible amount.” When the diplomatic negotiations become complicated, two proposals, an eight-point one from the United States and a six-point one from the USSR (which Iraq accepted). Feb. 23, 1991.

“Accomplishments by the United States and NATO. It opens major splits within NATO and leads to general rethinking by both parties, especially on the Soviet side.” When the foreign and defense ministers of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR agree to dissolve the Warsaw Pact. Feb. 26, 1991.

“If such has happened and everything indicates that it has, then it has been a notable military retreat operation. This type of operation is not simple nor easy, more so under the conditions, in which it was accomplished.” On the withdrawal by Iraq from Kuwait. Feb. 28, 1991.

“To analyze the Gulf War take into account what was dealt with in the October Session and consider:

1. Conditions in which the war began, especially the build up and preparations of the united forces headed by Yankee imperialism, main policeman of today’s swaggering world counter-revolution.

## 2. Development of the war, summarizing:

- a. the initial and devastating imperialist air bombardment shows the great Iraqi resistance capacity, mainly of its people, and the difficulties the imperialists faced in crushing a nation they expected to surrender in a few days.
- b. ponder the diplomatic efforts which placed Iraq upon growing pressure of imperialists, mainly Yankee, pressure and the hypocritical and self-serving Soviet advice of capitulation which undermined the anti-imperialist resistance.
- c. the broad ground offensive of mainly armor and airborne troops of the allies including their Arab lackey states and on Iraq's part, not persisting in a firm, shrewd resistance (aiming at generating political changes mainly in the Arab people and in sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions), neither in Iraq, nor in Kuwait, ending the acceptance of the UN Security Council's resolutions.

The current situation and perspective resulting from the Gulf War:

- a. Hussein and-Iraq,
- b. the Middle East,
- c. the imperialist powers,
- d. the imperialist superpowers, especially the United States which advances to being the sole hegemonic power,
- e. the oppressed nations,
- f. toward a new global strategic system of correlation of forces and contradictions (the main one is the same and its importance will grow given the perspective of sharpening struggle and collusion of the superpowers and powers.

Special lessons for the oppressed nations and mainly for the Proletarian World Revolution.”

As a result of the official Iraqi radio broadcast that “Baghdad Won’t Surrender”. Feb. 28, 1991.”First, he expressed confidence in the UN. Second, it would have been erroneous to listen to them as he proved having listened to the USSR. Third, the question is in not having compelled the Iraqi armed forces in a firm and tenacious resistance. On this last point, they praise to the clouds the ‘invincible American military power’, ‘based on the highest and most modern technology’. This is a repetition of ‘weapons are the most important thing’, ‘power resides in the most powerful weapon’ and ‘weapons can do it all’. When, to be exact, the first big lesson we should get from the Gulf War is that man is the main thing in war. The ideology which drives him, the class he leads, the interests he defends and the cause he serves.” On S. Hussein the commentators said: ”first, he thought the UN wouldn’t support the United States. Second he didn’t listen to Arab advice. Third, he thought his army, the fourth largest in the world, would cause great damage in a ground war.” March 1, 1991.

“Gaining time to reach an agreement on the Kurdish enclave.” When the U.N. postponed declaring the cease-fire to be in effect. April 10, 1991.

“Khrushchev said the same thing: In the end old arguments of bourgeois pacifism.” On commenting on article “chemical holocaust” by Martha Meir on war and weapons, “The Commercial”, March 12, 1991.

## **IDEOLOGY**

“Here is the ideological bottom, especially philosophically, of a fascist in Peru. Of course, he is ignorant, crude and fatuous as well as arrogant, as a cadre and reactionary intellectualoid. That such a person is printed on the editorial page of ‘The Commercial’ as the self-proclaimed national conscience and tribunal of intellectualism is very expressive even if it isn’t strange.” Based on an article by Luis Leon Herrera on the editorial page of “The Commercial” entitled “Hegel”. March 8, 1991.



“The so-called ‘failure of socialism’ is part of the so-called ‘defeat of Marxism’ and ‘uselessness of the totalitarian dictatorship of the proletariat’. This cause is also proclaimed in ‘The Country’ which is concretely linked to Fujimori’s government (‘which said he is assuming responsibility for the past’). It is indispensable to deeply combat this rotten reactionary peddling. None of what has happened negates Marxism nor the necessity and transcendency of socialism nor the unstoppable march to Communism: an irreversible goal. The question is, we reiterate, an insufficient knowledge of the laws of socialism due to the short time of its development, the inevitable struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, and the sinister actions of revisionism nurtured and in collusion with imperialism. In synthesis, the question is the continuation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Facing the campaign of revisionism and imperialism against socialism, we should do the following:

1. Firmly reaffirm ourselves in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought (‘Elections, No! People’s War, Yes!’ serves this objective);
2. to point out and publicize the great conquest of socialism and its glorious construction. In no epoch of history has a mode of production done so much, in such a short period of time and for so many, extensively and profoundly exploited masses as socialism has! Contemporary history and the people of the world are incontrovertible witnesses.
3. Unceasingly unmask the monstrous exploitation and oppression of imperialism, mainly Yankee, and of revisionism, showing how they navigate in a sea of blood of the international proletariat and the peoples of the world.
4. Who has brought us here? Who sinks the Peruvian people in the deepest crisis of their history? Who is responsible? The three mountains that exploit and oppress the people are imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism. Mountains which through the organized reactionary violence that the Peruvian State is, a State resting on its armed forces as its spinal column and its bureaucracy, they maintain the dominant order of oppression and exploitation, which still subsists. A State and order headed and led by the big bourgeoisie, mainly comprador, with the support of

revisionism and opportunism of all stripes and the protection of its imperialist master.

5. 'Sacrifice yourself today for a better tomorrow' is an old story being told again. It was told by Leguia, Velasco, Belaúnde and García Pérez among others. It must be denounced and unmasked as Fujimori's 'new' dressings.

6. Propagandize how the People's War is building a new society truly for the people and that the only perspective is conquering Power throughout the entire country." Comment on an article by Luis Garcia Miro on the editorial page of "The Commercial" entitled "Capital and Labor". April 10, 1991.

### **MILITARY**

"Learn from the People's War. 'Learn from Huayhuaco.' Help the repressive forces? No." Based on an editorial in "Express": "Changing the Strategy." W Jan. 25, 1991.

"Link this 'finding' of the weapons sent to Huallaga with the situation and criticism of the minister of the interior." Based on the news: "Car full of weapons abandoned in midtown Lima". Feb. 1, 1991.

"Within the same police plan, 'Express' as always serving Yankee interests to combat drug trafficking and aiming against the People's War to bring economic interests forward. That is its concrete goal now." Based on "Another arsenal found in a car." Feb. 5, 1991.

"It sounds like Fujimori." As a result of the opinion of C. Barrera Bazan on Fujimori's message ("presidential message on the terrorist problem"). "The Commercial". Feb. 9, 1991.

"They raise the MRTA and they proclaim the government's 'successes' and 'Sendero's defeats.'" Commenting on article "Abimael Guzman's hideout found" appeared in "Express". Feb. 3, 1991."As always, 'Express' is mudslinging." After the "Express" headline "Persiles' Murder was a mafia vendetta" after they had blamed it on the Party. Feb. 23, 1991.

“Another opportune ‘escape’. Part of slowing down investigations into the scape of Polay and his followers. It is part of their dispute. It is on the mat.” When the MRTA “rescues” M. L. Cumpa. March 12, 1991. “Couldn’t it have been a mine? That is the most likely.” Based on the news in “The Commercial” that “three soldiers die in accident.” March 12, 1991.

“Important action. Example:

1. Stunning blow against the civil patrol policy.
2. The face of the so-called ‘pacification of Ayacucho’.
3. That the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign (which this and other actions which are racking the country are a part of) has commenced highly and victoriously aiming with firmness, decisiveness and persistence in obtaining its objectives.” Based on the news in “The Peruvian” that “Subversives kill 20 peasants in Urpay”. March 10, 1991.  
 “Part of the counter-revolutionary war’s psychological operations, on the one hand to disparage us before the people and on the other hand to raise and promote the MRTA. ‘The Peruvian’ just like ‘Express’ is part of the campaign by reaction in general and its means of communication.” Based on the news in “The Peruvian”: “Senderista arsenal discovered in Huaraz”. March 10, 1991.

“Very good. Here is a clear and sharp example of the church’s role: The biggest leader of the Catholic church in Peru viciously attacks the People’s War and at the same time pins his hopes on imperialism. An expressive negative example which, like others, should be explained to the masses.” When Archbishop Vargas Alzamora denounced that 12 had died the day of the blackout. March 12, 1991.

“This is what the prefect of the region of Chavin announced days before and which ‘The Peruvian’ published implicating the MRTA in actions in this zone. This confirms the previous note: that raising the MRTA is part of its campaign; and lies, obviously, like inventions, are tools of reaction against

the Party and the People's War." When "The Commercial" published "Shining Path attacks the town of Ancash." March 12, 1991.

"Very good. We have nothing in common with Soviet, Chinese or any other revisionism. Fujimori's anxiety let this great truth shine and in doing so, repudiates all attempts to try to link us to Soviet revisionism and they try to defame us by implying that we received aid from East Germany through its secret police (the Stasi). This is nothing more than a Yankee invention, which also serves Peruvian reaction. The 'declaration' of that country's former minister of interior is simply an invention of putrid revisionism and Yankee agents which seek to serve its new master." When Fujimori, on ending his visit to China, announced "Shining Path is different from Chinese Communism". March 13, 1991.

### **3. ON CONSTRUCTING THE CONQUEST OF POWER AND PROBLEMS OF SECRET WORK**

We ask for opinions on the necessity of developing new forms of carrying out meetings raising the Five Necessities, as the construction of the conquest of Power. We must always remember that just as we struggle for the complete and total destruction of the old State, the old State seeks to destroy the Party, brake and crush the revolution, and finish off the People's War. Thus, in this manner we consider the question of cost as a solid example of the basic principle of war, not only in war but on all fronts of Party work. Here we should comment on some issues.

On construction. Departing from the principles and norms of building our work in this field is developed under the great construction principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought: "Developing the political-ideological construction as a base and simultaneously the organizational as a base, in the midst of the two line struggle and the People's War." We apply the rule that the organizational follows and serves the political, that all political leaps requires an organizational leap and we know what it means to "adjust the organizational to the level of political leadership". Finally, we are under the current political orientation of "Develop, Construct and Conquer!" We understand that to conquer Power we need to develop the

People's War and for this we should construct apparatuses superior to those of the enemies.

Thus, we can see then that in 10 years of People's War we have entered into a new stage: Strategic Stalemate, which will prepare for the Strategic Offensive to conquer Power in the entire country, that we are in the midst of constructing that conquest and that many things that were good yesterday no longer are, others need to develop themselves more and there are also new questions which should be generated. Our political leap is "conquer Power throughout the country" and this solidifies in construction. That is why we are constructing the conquest of Power. From that point, we need organizations superior to the enemy's and a highly political organization with a hardened contingent, and that each militant act like the bastion of the fortress which the Party is. This must be done so that we will adjust ourselves better for the political leap and adjust the organizational construction to the political leap. We count on the rectification campaign for all of this.

In the Party's experience on construction, the task of construction unfolds, applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought which guide the construction, but this is concretized according to the revolution's development. For example, the construction plan for ILA-80 was readjusted for construction in '85 and now we have the Strategic Plan of Constructing the Conquest of Power in '90. It is like a child growing. Its clothes get smaller. The organizational follows the political. It requires elevating the organizational to the level of political direction. Not developing the construction expresses the limitations in the apparatus and that is what leaves openings for reaction to strike. We must not forget that reaction has as part of its three tasks that of annihilating the People's War and because of that, it aims at the Party and its leadership from the masses. We should develop our construction work. That is why it is highly decisive to approve the Strategic Plan of Construction and to immediately apply it as a Pilot Plan. Our problem now is precisely that: constructing the conquest of Power.

The commission's document should see problems in building and in open and secret work. Apply new forms and evaluate clandestinity.

The Strategic Plan of Construction should be applied as a Pilot Plan in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign.

## CHAPTER V. IMPLEMENTATION (RESERVED)

Report “Overview of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Campaign to Impulse”.

Reaffirm that set forth in the document of the Preparatory Session of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum, points a, b, c, d, also those seen on page three of the preparatory session scheme. Apply a new plan of balances and each time better manage the “two hills”.

Highlight:

1. Agitation and propaganda have basic importance and serve to form public opinion to conquer Power in the entire country. Aim at expression of offenses and at forming propagandists. Sabotage undermines the old State’s critical economy. It must be elevated and increased. Guerrilla combats, ambushes and assaults are the two main forms of combat. They develop in all parts of war. They must be developed, increased and more importantly intensified. Selective annihilation should be escalated and aim at the heads of the “three tasks” of reaction and use great care in selecting targets to develop the revolutionary front.

2. Our mass work is developing the incorporation of the masses into the People’s War in two senses: increasing the actions in support of the struggles for daily demands and the other the main one, that the masses use higher forms of struggle, strikes are an example of this. We should persist and empower our actions more as there are conditions of growing explosiveness to expand our mass work. We count on specific policies for everything and the goal is to advance to the revolutionary crisis, using all forms of struggle that we can, above all the main one, the People’s War. Lead the masses and they themselves will do the rest. But aside from the contingents advance, highlight the advances, as to create national and international public opinion and multiply them.

3. To explain how mobile warfare is unfolding with four stages and what stage we are at now: develop mobile warfare and drive preparations for the insurrection.

4. The main thing: The People's War and this 2<sup>nd</sup> Campaign that has been completed has brought us to Strategic Stalemate, the second stage of the protracted war.

Aside from the aforementioned there are four things to be highlighted. It also encompasses the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign to impulse the development of the Support Bases which will finish the plan to impulse and will set the bases for the new plan which will not yet be the plan for conquest of Power, a campaign in which the Strategic Plan of Construction will be unfolded as a Pilot Plan to enter the next plan with its definite approval. It serves this plan and in that manner unfolds this new campaign against imperialism and against this most unabashedly pro-imperialist government to develop mobile warfare and impulse preparations for insurrection! We are in a very important moment of the People's War of the unfolding of the Strategic Stalemate as part of the conquest of Power in the entire country.

Highlight the following:

1. The big wave of September and a yet higher new wave in December and in January 1991.

2. The construction simultaneously, with the development of the war in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Campaign construction was also developed. There are great leaps, and the masses fifth leap allowed us the notable advance in "three bases and three guides". The organizations led by the Party continue growing and strengthening themselves, especially the PGA and the New Power on disproportion between the Party and PGA, Party and New Power. We should manage unbalance and disproportion better, taking into account that they are a sign of development.

3. The rectification campaign continues unfolding and it is necessary to better adjust ourselves to Party politics. We must take care to structure the PGA better, carry out functions in the New Power and forge new Party cadres.

4. Study the main actions and those with the greatest problems to draw lessons from them, strive to study, learn and apply the Party's Military Line.



5. In the problem of war, be it actions, battles or campaigns, the question consists of setting political guides that we must follow in military actions. Today everything must serve the purpose of conquering Power nationwide.

## CONCLUSION

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Campaign to impulse and its broadening is a great victory for the Party and the people and a stage of the People's War in having solidified the strategic equilibrium. Greet the masses, the PGA and the militancy for such a brilliant and transcendental success.

## ACCORDS

1. Approve the document "Construct the Conquest of Power in the Midst of the People's War".
2. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Campaign to drive impulse and its generalization is a great victory of the Party and the people and stage of the People's War for having solidified the Strategic Stalemate. Let us greet the masses, the PGA and the militants for having achieved such a brilliant and transcendental success.
3. Sanction the Strategic Plan of Construction and immediately apply it as a Pilot Plan for its later, definitive approval.
4. Develop the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign to complete the plan to impulse, aiming against imperialism, mainly Yankee, and the Fujimori government which is the most unabashedly pro-imperialist until now.
5. Celebrate with revolutionary fervor the 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Day of Heroism as an untouchable victory.

*Peru, 1991*

*Central Committee  
Communist Party of Peru*

# **MAY DIRECTIVES FOR METROPOLITAN LIMA**

## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

The Third Campaign of the Plan to Impulse the Development of Base Areas (“impulse”) is taking place at a high level, and with a great impact. It is providing solid bases toward its completion, and laying down a solid basis for a great future plan for the People’s War. In Lima the major sabotage against the Institute of Liberty and Democracy (ILD) was very good, of great political content and took place at a very opportune moment, just hours before the signing of the U.S.-Peru treaty against the People’s War. This treaty, which is disguised as a “war on drugs,” targets and uses the People’s War so they implement their so-called “reinsertion.” This action clearly expressed how the PCP condemns the aggression perpetrated by imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism. It also shows our complete opposition to revisionist positions of those elected or armed like the MRTA, who at no time condemned it, much less denounced, the treaty as an imperialist aggression against the People’s War. This is evident in their official communiques published by the Daily “Cambio” and the interviews of their leaders in official reactionary magazines such as “Caretas.”

The attack against ILD has a great impact in the country and abroad, because it promotes anti-imperialist feelings in the Peruvian people and the need to defend our nation that is being developed now. It even has an impact in part, on the big Peruvian bourgeoisie, which has strong contradictions with the mercenary of Yankee imperialism, Fujimori. After highlighting the above actions, we extend our greetings to the Party in Lima, for a good start of the Third Campaign of the Plan to Impulse the Development of Base Areas.

## **CHAPTER II. AGENDA**

1. REPORT ON THE TASKS ASSIGNED BY THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND THE APPLICATION OF THE THIRD CAMPAIGN.

2. ABOUT THE FIVE PROBLEMS:

a. The XI Anniversary; Documents of the Second Plenum and other documents.

b. Initiate the celebration of the V Anniversary of the Day of Heroism, yearly Campaign throughout the country; objectives agreed upon (in the Second Plenum of the Central Committee); possibilities of a central publication and statements of other organisms; poster; denouncing the demagogue and genocidal Garcia Perez; mass actions in diverse small sectors; what is reaction up to in the Shining Trenches of Combat. And above all, what is reaction doing during the months prior to the first year in Government of the most shameless lackey of Yankee imperialism (Fujimori)? (THIS IS THE MAIN POINT.)

### **1. REPORT ON THE TASKS ASSIGNED BY THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND APPLICATION OF THE THIRD CAMPAIGN**

#### **ON JUSTICE BY THE MASSES**

Promote and ensure that the masses arm themselves, get organized and administer justice by themselves, as they are the Base Force of the revolution. The Party must lead and teach them how to do it. In addition, since they are fighting tirelessly, the masses create many forms of organization and struggle. We must lead and elevate their potential to struggle for the revolution to higher levels.

#### **ON "CIVIC ACTIONS" IN THE CITIES BY THE REACTIONARY ARMED FORCES**

Oppose the army's "distribution" or "civic actions." The masses must get organized to handle the food and medical attention that they are rightfully entitled to get. Therefore, they should manage and distribute it themselves.

The rule to apply this policy is simple: the first served should be the poorest of the poor, then the poor in general, the little ones, the middle ones, and least of all, the rich. Thus, the people understand that they must appropriate these products, since the handouts given to them are not gifts by the government, nor by imperialism, but are some by-products of the Revolution, and part of the rights benefitting them. The masses rightfully demand for more and better services, and must refuse to do any counterrevolutionary work in return, such as cleaning the walls from PCP writings, or snitching in exchange for these handouts. The walls are the pages whereon the people express their ideas, since they have nowhere else to write on, neither radio, nor TV, nor newspapers. This is because the entire media is in the hands of their exploiters.

When have they allowed the poor to express themselves? The only ones they allow to speak in the media are the opportunists, the revisionists, the pastiches, the lackeys, the workers' aristocracy, and the bogus leaders of the masses. Educate the masses about the political objective of these actions by the State: they are part of its low intensity warfare, aimed against the People's War, and at containing the explosiveness of the masses. Teach the people that these crumbs, which they have wrested away with their ceaseless struggle, are not going to solve their problems, and that only the Revolution can truly address the rights of the people, and the Revolution is made with the People's War.

Educate them on the State's economic objectives, and teach them that the essence of these hand outs is to minimally compensate the monstrous cut in wages, and how and why this is done by the reactionaries in times of crisis. This has been already taught to us by Marx (reproduce his quotations or those of the party documents.) Denounce and unmask how imperialism and reaction use that compensation of salary to buy consciences and try to tie the people to their ideological, political and economic plans. The oppressors and the exploiters want to use the masses to support fly-by-night ideologies and reactionary idealism. To this end, they traffic with the people's religious fervor. This is done in order to sell them the ideology of an old backward, hypocritical and false Catholic religion, which historically has always been against progress, and science.

Didn't the Church organize and support armies, crusades, thousands of intrigues leading to mass slaughters, conquests and oppression of people? The Inquisition was used here in these lands and its tortures were savage. Did Pope Pius XII ever condemn Hitler's Fascism and his genocides in World War II? With regard to Protestantism and its proliferating sects, aren't they developing plans of penetration of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism? The Catholic Church not only does the same but also uses these compensatory crumbs to help revisionists and opportunists continue manipulating and galloping over the shoulders of the masses.

Politically, they want to convince the masses of the need to preserve the Old State, which gives them "freedom" and "democracy," when in reality the masses experience repression and death on a daily basis, add their hunger and misery. The "freedom" they talk about is freedom for the powerful now ruling, and not for the downtrodden. The "democracy" they preach is simply the dictatorship of the rich ruling classes of the Old State: the big bourgeoisie and the landlords, and both of these classes are accountable to Yankee imperialism. This is the "democracy" that the cynical and mercenary Fujimori steps daily on, undermining the State's supposedly democratic order, and expressing fascist ideas and positions.

Again, reaction is launching the old treacherous slogan of "sacrifice today for a better tomorrow," and as usual, "in defense of freedom and democracy," covering up new capitalist accumulation based on the largest feasible surplus value. The result is the increase of exploitation and oppression in which they are sinking us. Furthermore, for example during the Drug Agreement, what poor coca growing peasants express their ideas? Oh, of course! Some of them might have been called in to "express their views" but no one would pay attention to them. This is because here only those in power listen to each other, all decisions are made among reactionaries. But above all, they obey anything that their imperialist masters order them to do.

When did they have any interest in solving the problems of the people? Never, and today even less. Other examples of their "freedom and democracy" are the decrees against the working class or the marketing of lands, which is just despoiling the peasants off what little land they had.

Another example occurs when the masses get out on the streets to demand their rights. Aren't they then repressed, arrested, disappeared and murdered? This happens at the minor sign of political opposition, which is more brutal against those who profess Marxism. Aren't they trying to annihilate us? The genocide of the Shining Trench of Combat on June 19, 1986 must be remembered. The genocides committed by Fujimori too. Show facts and concrete examples of struggles to teach the masses. Allow them to express their opinions, their legitimate grievances and demands freely.

Economically, with the so-called "aid" and "survival organizations" (Glass of Milk, Kitchen Soups, etc.) they are trying to compensate for the brutal reduction in wages, so that the workers and laborers who live in situations of hunger and extreme poverty, are forced to work for meager wages that are not even enough to recover their labor power. And for what? To apply the so called "neoliberal revolution," which is an obsolete economic concept imposed by imperialism to promote its "market economy" and "sustainable growth," "A Yankee imperialist thesis applied through CEPAL (and the IMF), which are only plans for more dependency and exploitation.

For this reason, they want to lower inflation by applying deflation, generating recession and reducing the fiscal deficit. All of this is done by squeezing the working class like a lemon, cutting wages, generating more and more unemployment, increasing the cost of living, reducing the people's purchasing capacity, and imposing crippling taxes on those below. In summary, all the recipes of the IMF, the International Development Bank and the World Bank have the goal of demanding the "accumulation of wealth," which is nothing more than the imposition of more draconian measures against the people, to accumulate new capital through increased surplus value, and consequently provide better guarantees to foreign investments.

They dream that in 1992 they may get some, since the loans serve to pay the foreign debt. That is what the international finance system calls "reinsertion." Hence, their stabilization plan enslaves the people and the class even more. That's why the people must not let themselves be tied down. Their only way out is to struggle to wrest away more conquests. They must advance toward the conquest of Power by means of the People's War,

demolish this Old State, and then build the People's Republic of Peru, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru.

Summarizing, the economic plan of the reactionaries has the following characteristics:

1. It is part of the low intensity war,
2. It tries to compensate the cut of wages with philanthropy (short term handouts); and
3. It uses "bourgeois philanthropy" trying to tie the masses into their neoliberal plans, the market economy, the ideology, politics and economics of imperialism (mainly Yankee imperialism.) The above plans are implemented by the pro-imperialist mercenary Fujimori, sustained by the genocidal armed forces and police, and supported by the Church, principally the Catholic Church, and all the defenders of the Old State, revisionism and opportunism of the so-called United Left (IU), the Socialist Left (IS) or their offspring, and the collaboration of armed revisionism such as MRTA.

We must unmask the reactionary programs and plans, understand well their essence and purpose, destroy them, and organize the masses to carry on the struggle and wrest away conquests (from the oppressors). We must also empower their struggles with armed actions so that the reactionaries are unmasked, undermined, and their plans are blown up through the air. The Party leads, the masses do the rest. We must blow up the sinister plans of Peruvian reaction, imperialism and revisionism, who are tying the masses down to vile exploitation, and are trying to annihilate the People's War.

### **ON THE STRIKE AT THE CENTRAL HIGHWAY INDUSTRIES (CARRETERA CENTRAL, LIMA APRIL 29-30, 1991)**

First question, what are the facts? What happened? The report states that a female official ordered a worker to clean the sanitary latrines. The worker was a technician from another section who was not under her supervision. This comrade refused to carry out her orders. The petty official insisted on humiliating him in front of his co-workers, threatened to fire him on the spot, and apply the new anti worker decree. This provoked a cardiac arrest



from which he died. The petty official did not even allow his fellow workers to get close to the body laying on the floor. It was an unforeseen situation.

How does a Communist act in such circumstances? One thing is to be a Communist and another one is to be an activist. He, (another comrade being criticized) was a Communist, and his duty was superior. Therefore, his duty was to place himself at the head of the protest of his fellow workers, and to coordinate the planning of the struggle with the activists. If the workers decided to stop work, they were right in proposing a two-day work stoppage throughout the Central Highway. They could not let that murder of a worker by a Company official remain quiet. What was the mistake of the comrade leading the strike?

He did not communicate forthwith on this incident to his Party cell, and therefore did not empower additional means to strengthen the struggle. We can't criticize him for not counterpoising the Party to Front, because as a communist, he leads the struggle and promotes the response of the masses. Besides, the strike was successful and mobilized the masses. Another mistake he made was not to call the workers to strike in the name of the Central Highway Struggle Committee. But what gets complicated is that they (inadvertently) agitated for "free trade unions." What does that mean? Let's analyze well so as not to err. The so called "free trade unions" follow the false concept that political parties must not lead workers' unions, which is contrary, opposed to Marxism. Was that his idea? On the other hand, the regime just promulgated "Supreme Decree 016," by which 20 workers associated are enough to form a union; so that in a factory with 100 workers, five unions could be organized.

Were they against that disposition? It would be good to scratch the bottom of those criteria exposed and analyzed in the midst of the two-line struggle, in a Rectification Campaign aiming to educate the new militants. A lesson we must take out of this is: Never counterpoise Party to masses. The Party is the highest social organization of the working class and defends the interests of its class, the proletariat, and other classes that constitute the people. The Party is the Highest Command of the revolution, the Party is an indispensable tool to lead the revolution, Lenin said: "Give me a Communist Party, and I will transform Russia." Therefore, he conceived the

Party as a lever (*palanca*). President Mao taught us: “Trust the Party and trust the masses.” We reaffirm those truths.

One thing is the obligation of militants, another is that of activists, and yet another is that of the masses. As an example, the comrade erred in not notifying the Party, and applying the Party line to the slogans used in the strike. This is corrected internally and by persuasion, by education, by analyzing what those ideas entail, by looking up the experiences of the Party, the teachings of Marxism, and by distinguishing us from the criteria spread by reaction and revisionism on the subject. We must never counterpoise the Party to the masses or the Party to the Front, because they are two distinct parts of a contradiction. The Party leads the revolution and the masses make history.

A geographically limited strike is not bad, and that event was very good for agitation. The event was correct. But if he had communicated his leaders on time, the party would have made the strike more powerful with marches, and would have made that reactionary woman accountable for her action. Furthermore, the struggle would have given impetus, the class interest defended, and the Party’s position on the anti proletarian and anti popular government’s decree, spread. This is part of linking the struggle for economic demands to the struggle for Power.

Finally, we always must salute the combativity of the masses, how they struggle despite the difficult conditions in which they are subjected to. Our position is different from the PUM’s (*Partido Unificado Mariateguista*), which is opposed to stoppages and strikes ostensibly for the sake of organizing its “wave of strikes” (the wave of strikes is a set of continuous and simultaneous work stoppages and strikes in various sectors of the workers, peasants, laborers, of the people; these intensify specially during an insurrection and are prepared events; to us now it means the march toward the revolutionary crisis and preparing the insurrection.) But, what does PUM do to that end? Today, we see the public employees fighting more than industrial workers because they are being hit harder by the crisis and government measures. But industrial workers are fighting as usual. We must apply our principles (see the document of the Preparatory Session of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee.) To carry out strikes is still the main form of an economic struggle, as Lenin taught, and prepare for greater

struggles to come. Marx said that the struggle for better wages is guerrilla warfare and President Mao taught us that we must fight the workers' sellers, capitulators before reaction and traitors to the workers' movement. We must push forward strikes, prepare them well, with reason, advantage and limit. Educate the class and the masses that the strike has a limit, yet by the use of this indispensable instrument conquests are won. The strike is right and must be defended, strike days should be paid, not to allow lifting it as a condition to enter into direct negotiations.

Negotiations are reached by pressuring with persistence, and sharpening the struggle. Not like some say now, "stop struggling and let's talk." Today everything is dialogue to reaction and revisionism; we must fight against it. In every struggle the time comes to dialogue, but at the negotiating table you can only win what you have already won at the battlefield; that is a fundamental military and political criteria.

The strike, then, must be handled firmly and astutely, not only by teaching the class how it's a good and necessary tool, but also by teaching its limitations. With the strike, you do not conquer Power, nor break the vicious circle in which this old capitalist system (today in its imperialist phase) subjects the class. The proletariat and the working people have to struggle using all necessary means, especially the main form of economic struggle: the strike. If not, they will not wrest away living wages from their exploiters, nor improve working conditions, neither gain the respect for the 8-hour workday. Always keep in mind that what has been conquered can be lost as a result of capitalism's cyclical economic crises. Therefore, what corresponds is to break that vicious circle, to destroy the capitalist system, which in Peru is at its bureaucratic stage, under the control of imperialism and subjected to semifeudalism. Hence, the need to link the vindicating economic struggle with the struggle for Power can only be achieved by conquering Power, exercising and defending it. Only then we will be able to change the old system, and create and develop a new one: socialism, with the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism as the final goal. This will be achieved going through the first stage: the democratic revolution, the joint class dictatorship, the People's Republic of Peru with the People's War, will be achieved. There is no other way to accomplish this objective.

In the country, we have seen how the nurses struggle for more than fifty days. This is a stern strike, which doesn't slow down and it continues the fight without any major support. They are brutally repressed, arrested, and threatened that the strike will be declared illegal unless they return to work within 72 hours. However, the deadline expired and the threats were not carried out. Why have not they, being crushed? They were not crushed because the masses trust the strength of their struggle. They march, they mobilize, they take the streets and main squares of the city giving no room to the maneuvers of reaction. They use the tribunes of public opinion to denounce, they agitate in the neighborhoods, they organize pot lucks, and they get on the passenger buses to spread propaganda.

That's how they refrained the reactionaries' repressive action. And what has the General Central of Workers (CGTP) done? or the State's Employees Union (CITE)? They did nothing to support the masses, and most of the strikers are nurses and medical technologists. Internally, there are factions in every struggle, that's how it is in every Front. But the most steadfast sector is imposing itself, and it is made up of women who are giving an example of combat. What are the prospects of this struggle?

1. It's good because it hits the stabilization plan and protests take place on the streets.
2. If the strike persists, it will wrest away something. The main thing is not to be broken organically, to persist on mobilizing, marching, keeping on the strike, and they will gain some economic, social and political benefits (the support of the Party to this struggle is very helpful: It fortifies, stimulates and supports them, while armed actions press and weakens the exploiters further.)
3. But, the little they manage to wrest away will not be enough to cover their needs. The family basket (monthly income needed to survive) will continue to be very expensive compared to their wages. The reduction in their purchase capacity will again confront increases in the cost of living due to inflation.
4. How will that impact others? Industrial workers, laborers, and the people will be in better condition to develop their political conscience, and to understand that they are the ones transforming society, and that only by

organizing themselves will they will be able to conquer Power with the People's War, and break the vicious circle. In addition, they show how within bureaucratic capitalism, they will never be able to achieve what is called a "just" wage. This is because the essence of capitalism is exploitation, and accumulation of capital through the purchase of labor power. Thus, they can show how the strike educates the masses. To this end, read and reproduce "Wage, Price and Profit," by Marx; "Long Live the Strike!" by Lenin; and "The Workers' Seller . . ." by the Chinese comrades; and propagate them among the strikers at a solidarity price.

Later on, since Peruvian society is in a critical situation, with so much unemployment in the cities, and above all, in Lima where 70% of the proletariat is without a job. We must apply other forms of struggles as well, taking advantage for instance, of the workers' quitting times to create revolutionary awareness (agitation), and spread concrete facts like the killing of that worker at the Textile Union. We must promote debates, for example, on the need to struggle and get organized with the unemployed since nobody struggles for them, and in Lima, organize with the underemployed. These people reach 95% of the Economic Active Population according to the National Institute of Statistics -INEI- (unemployed 10%, underemployed 85%, fully employed 5%.) We must form groups of workers to air their grievances, paint graffiti, and sign denunciations in a study group.

Start with live, current, red-hot facts to promote the need for work stoppages, and propose them as a discussion theme: What difficulties can be expected and what other creative forms of struggle can be used? Disseminate the thesis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought on the proletariat, share the Party experiences. Is a strike convenient or not? Let the masses participate. Organize marches at the workplace during quitting times, and wait for the right time to post banners and posters, then do graffiti, expressing grievances and propaganda. Agitate and organize according to a plan, and promote marches. At first, organize a small and short march around the plant, then a larger one with the participation of other plants or factories. Thus, it can be expanded up to a march of an entire industrial zone, supported by the neighborhoods, which are always close by the industries, such as the Central Highway. Call the TV and newspapers

and the workers themselves will expose their situation. The implementation of this plan requires the incorporation of more activists, fighters or comrades at the plants; put into practice the role of being a “soldier-spy,” worker by day militia by night. Wherever the fulfilment of these acts at the plant generates repression or risk, they should be exempted from such tasks at their plants. Organize a Struggle Committee amidst this struggle. Fight the false leaders ideologically, unmask their revisionism, and their role as “firefighters” and aim at overthrowing them and penetrate more and more of these workers into organizations, or neighborhoods plagued with workers’ aristocracy, to fight industrial or trade union bureaucracy.

Let’s think of the following relationship: GRAFFITI AND BANNERS – EXPRESSION OF GRIEVANCES – RALLY – STOPPAGE – STRIKE – PEOPLE’S WAR. (INSURRECTION). WHAT FOR? TO PREPARE FOR THE GREATEST ACTIONS TO COME!

Let art fulfill its role as an instrument of class, let the masses take over the stage, let actors and actresses represent them, that the masses see themselves represented there. Let daily life be enacted, “the artist and his time” is not merely a phrase, sowing is done that way too. It’s part of propaganda. Let graffiti drawings and writings be generalized in the workplace, neighborhoods, schools, universities, centers of street vendors, or workers in general. Let graffiti be in big bold letters on the walls, because only there can the people really see and express their democracy. The walls are the sheets of books where the people write their prose, their poems, their poems, their literary works to air their demands, their struggles and the songs of the Revolution. This is the only way to conquer Power: the glorious People’s War.

And let’s not care if the masses make spelling mistakes. They will learn later on. Let them write on the walls how they participate in the war. Let them criticize what is wrong. Let them fight imperialism, Peruvian reaction and revisionism. For instance, what does the General Worker’s Federation (CGTP) do for the proletariat? They no longer even like to use the word “proletariat,” They have betrayed the class completely. Instead, they repeat the way fascist dictator Velasco used the term “laborers” or simply “workers” (trabajadores). A wage-earning worker can never equal an employer even if both do work; one exploits, the other is exploited; one is a bourgeois or

landowner, the other is a proletarian or part of the people. Let there be talk of classes and of class struggles, of dictatorship of the proletariat, of joint dictatorship. Let them express how the CGTP has betrayed the principles of the class, and how it is an instrument to harm their interests, which does not represent the class and must be destroyed and replaced by a truly class conscious body, and one that struggle under the ideology of the class: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. Disown those false leaders and bosses, who capitulate before imperialism, reaction and revisionism. We must struggle against revisionist CGTP and for a class-conscious worker's central led by the proletariat.

Let the youth, in graffiti, compare the phrases of the opportunist and revisionists with those of the imperialists and reactionaries. For instance, the known phrase by bourgeois philosopher Maritain, "youth is barbarism," with those of Enrique Bernal "the response of university students against President Fujimori is barbaric"; (on Fujimori's visit to San Marcos University when he was thoroughly repudiated by students and faculty), and counterpose them with those of President Mao: "The youth is the sun that dawns."

Women too must write graffiti: Under the law, women workers have the right to have cradles for their children at the factories they work. What employer abides by that law? Does the State force any enterprise to obey that law? No. The mothers stretch the wages in order to feed their children, and many times themselves remain with an empty stomach for lack of food. Reject work for free. Actually, family work is being used to promote mini enterprises in which all must labor: Children, parents or other relatives work 12 or 14 hours a day, selling their products at a miserable price, and what social and health benefits do they receive? None. Let them denounce and condemn those types of exploitative family work.

The expression of grievances must be encouraged at all manufacturing centers, neighborhoods, community centers, mothers' clubs, street vendor markets, merchants, artisans, etc. The people have the right to expose their situations of exploitation so all can hear it. Let the masses speak up with deep class conscientiousness, instead of those sell outs and treacherous false leaders. At the market, a bench or wooden box is sufficient to agitate. The elderly must also speak on how the situation becomes worse with each

successive government, and how long this deterioration will continue? The elderly have heard before from the exploiters the same empty chatter: “Sacrifice today so things will be better tomorrow.” Thus, with the graffiti, the masses express true people’s democracy in writing, and verbally with the expression of grievances.

Marches and rallies are good and make the reactionaries tremble. When workers march, they give tone to the struggle. It is a good example the way construction workers march with sticks, rocks, burning tires and agitating the people with revolutionary slogans. The same thing is done by miners, textile workers, teachers, women, youth, state employees and ambulatory workers. The people must march against the exorbitant price hikes on kerosene, water, light, gas, etc. and against the grievous taxes imposed on them. The merchants, must protest the fines, coercive penalty payments, etc. In some marches, they merely agitate with slogans; in others rocks are thrown at exploitative or repressive institutions. In other marches, groups are formed to block passages of troops with anything they can find, such as tree trunks, rocks, tires, garbage, traffic shacks, paving stones and anything else that the masses can find to support their initiative.

This type of march can be applied at the workplace exit, at quitting times, and that way wages are not affected: In times of crisis the masses see themselves economically overwhelmed and fear losing what little they earn; yet they still want to struggle and indeed are struggling. Marching during non working hours is efficient. Why aren’t marches done again from the Old House of San Marcos, from University Square, now surrounded by a steel bar fence? Let us provide Lima again with its tradition of the struggle, why should those places be like museums? Let us march in the industrial neighborhoods, in the young towns, at Lima’s main spots, in Miraflores, San Isidro, at Manco Capac Square, blocking highways, avenues, such as the “big ditch” in Lima (El Sanj’on), etc. Apply at the marches BLOCKADES, SACKING, RALLIES.

The mobilization is a more developed form of marching, in quality and quantity, and so it must be well prepared. PCP detachments and militia must teach the masses how to repel aggression. It is completely false that in Peru there is unity between the Army and the people. The opposite is true: the people reject, hate and repudiate the genocidal armed forces. We must



rescue those arrested by the police. Aiming against armored trucks (it's a political stupidity to call them "Little Pinochets," these are vehicles used to break up demonstrations, it's repressive and not a little puppet with a growing nose nor a harmless Pinochet, that's what TV announcers spread in order to defuse the wrath of the masses). Attack the vehicles transporting people who were arrested, block them with other cars or trucks, overturn them. We should be already dynamiting the armored military trucks. Will the Army then intervene? That's a given. It has already been decided, and soon we'll have them on the streets of Lima anyway. They should not be feared either, but loudly denounced as they really are: genocidal, murderers, rapists, butchers, shameless traitors to their patrons Grau, Bolognesi, Quiroga, brave when confronting unarmed masses, but scary like rabbits when facing the guerrillas. What morale do they have when fighting the People's War? None. Their desertions grow. Their officers force the soldiers to be their servants and to eat dogs. What can they do against a march of one thousand people just from one neighborhood? They just use brutal repression. Their regulations say that to break up a demonstration, they should first shoot to the air. However, it is a norm that they shoot to kill from the onset, not even to the feet. Could they kill 10, 100? It's difficult but possible. The masses would react still more explosively, since blood does not drown the revolution but irrigates it, and internationally, a good-by (adios) to "respect for human rights!" The Peruvian situation is going to get worse and the masses will have to apply even more developed forms of struggle. They do not fear to pay the price paid for a true change of system. These are not longer the 1930s, nor the 1960s, but they are the 1990s, and there is a Communist Party leading the people in a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought People's War. The Party is assuming its role of leading them, preparing them for days to come, to conquer Power. We are going from a revolutionary situation in development, to a revolutionary crisis, which is coming anyway. That is today's tendency. The slogan of today is "Fight and Resist for the People's War!" and it is a very good one.

The strike, whether localized or general, is another form that must be applied. The armed strike is a military form of struggle, which allows the masses to participate widely in the People's War, it propagandizes, agitates, mobilizes. In this strike the masses express themselves in their protest, their repudiation of the Old State, the government, the genocidal armed forces

and police. It allows the blocking of vital parts of the city, preparing the future insurrection. It manages the four forms of guerrilla action: agitation and propaganda, sabotage, selective annihilation, and guerrilla combat; and all the appropriate procedures. Local, zonal or regional strikes can be organized. With respect to the common work stoppage, it's a form of an economic struggle that is generating conditions for a superior form of economic struggle: the strike.

Strikes are, we reiterate, the main form of economic struggle. In essence, they are "guerrilla warfare" fighting for wage increases. Marx said that strikes vindicate demands of part of the class (e.g., a plant or productive sector) as such is an economic struggle. But those strikes developed by the general interests of the class (e.g., general wage hikes, in defense of unions, against the economic policy, etc.) are political struggles. Furthermore, we must not forget that nowadays every class struggle is political, and part of the struggle for power. So when revisionists and opportunists attack the strike movement calling it as merely a vindicating struggle, they (as usual) attack the class and defend the bourgeoisie. Therefore, in these times the struggle for better wages is eminently political because Fujimori's government plan is to impose the lowest possible wages ("salaries" are also "wages" that's the terminology we must use, on the hand it denounces the exploitation, and on the other the proletariat link its struggle with other nonindustrial workers). Yes, struggling for better wages is economic, but the crux of the government's economic plan is to achieve stabilization for the "reinsertion." And to do so increases the surplus value and cut wages. That's why we must smash it because it goes against the class and the people. Their phrase "Sacrifice today to have it better tomorrow" is mendacity.

Thus, the key of this struggle, the strike, or localized or general work stoppages, is the surplus value, the wages. Its political essence is to overthrow this old order because it generates hunger and exploitation. The greatest political vindication of all is the conquest of Power. This guerrilla war prepares for grand moments. It is bonded with the final struggle for the conquest of Power and the main form of a political struggle, the People's War.

In the midst of all these struggles, various kinds of apparatuses are built and organized, and obviously the clandestine Party manages them all, and

ideology unites them all. An existing Struggle Committee can be consolidated, or new ones formed in various areas to support the Revolutionary Movement in Defense of the People (MRDP), which makes possible a new and greater leap in the incorporation of the masses to the People's War. Finally, do not fear reaction's bloody response.

That is part of implementing the Party's mass line in the cities, in and for the people's War following the following directive: base, neighborhoods and young towns. The proletariat is the leader and its militarization is being developed.

### **ON THE SIXTH FORM OF POWER AND THE SEEDS OF POWER IN THE CITY**

About three years ago, at Lima's MRDP meeting, we discussed the names of organic forms, which will manage the new forms of struggle that will link the workers' struggle with the struggle in the young towns and other neighborhoods (barrial): People's Committee, People's Struggle Committee or simply Struggle Committee. We saw how the People's Committee was not convenient because it could be confused with the People's Committee we organize only in the countryside due to the character of the democratic Revolution. Later on, we discussed how to go on finding forms of Power in the city, because, if we are going to conquer Power in the whole country, we must organize the cities to control them from the underground, and manage everything until the time comes for the final insurrection. We concluded that a Struggle Committee was convenient. However, this is to undermine the Old State in the cities and have the masses follow an organized direction. It is a germinal base that allows the management of Power. The issue is to create means of united action under the leadership of the Party or joint actions united organically with the exercise of authority. We can conceive it as another form of struggle in the people's Power, along with the other five forms, as an additional form of war only in the city. Then the Struggle Committee would be a 6th form of Power and the first germinal form in the city.

The Struggle Committee would have 3 mile stones. The 88th meeting of the MRDP is to apply the Second Session of the Congress: Struggle Committee to coordinate workers and masses in the neighborhoods and young towns,

assuming functions; Preparatory Session of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee October-November 1990: Struggle Committee to provide unity, organization and authority; and today, in 1991, the Struggle Committee as we said before the sixth form and first germinal form in the city. Why so today? Because of the development of material reality, These are the facts. The growth of our mass work in and for the People's War has generated it that way.

The main thing is to apply the principles and not to lose direction. Ideas come from practice. We would not have achieved that much by only storming our brains in 1988, nor would we have accomplished it how we have today. At the time it was correct to discuss it, and that is how we delineated the general road. Now the moment has come and reality shows us how to build it. It is the sixth and first form of power in the city, a model to organize germinal forms of the New Power in the cities. We insist that it is not the form of Power we created in the countryside, but a different form. Let's keep in mind its direction and purpose:

First Struggle Committee: TO COORDINATE WORKERS AND NEIGHBORHOOD MASSES (YOUNG TOWNS).

Second Struggle Committee: UNITY – ORGANIZATION – AUTHORITY

Third Struggle Committee: SIXTH FORM AND FIRST GERMINAL FORM IN THE CITY. IT IS NOT THE NEW POWER AS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. TO PREVENT AND OPPOSE IT BE CONSIDERED IN THE SAME WAY AS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. TO CONSIDER IT AS GERMINAL FORM, A NEW AND SIXTH FORM ARISING IN THE CITY LINKED TO PREPARING THE INSURRECTION AND IN FUNCTION TO THE CONQUEST OF POWER COUNTRYWIDE. AN ACCOMPLISHMENT OF CONSTRUCTING THE CONQUEST OF POWER, IN THE CITY, IT IS NOT A COMPLEMENT OF THE ACTION THE OLD STATE TRIES TO DO. QUITE THE CONTRARY, IT AIMS AT NEGATING IT, UNDERMINING IT AND, IN RESPECTIVE, DESTROYING IT TO FORM THE NEW POWER.

With regard to the situation of takeovers of . . . the issue is how to develop it and how to defend it. The key is to spread and ingrain the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought in children, youth and adults. Forge the Party, the People's Guerrilla Army, Generated Organisms and Struggle Committees; to promote collective work; to write graffiti, people's democracy. To have a people's defense plan because the masses are going to be hit, infiltrated or undermined with reaction's "civic action" plan and repression. To use the legality, not reddening, clear slogans and support them with concrete actions.

### **ON INFILTRATION AND ENTRISM**

Always keep a high vigilance but even higher today, because we are in more developed, therefore more complex, political moment. We are at strategic equilibrium and both sides in the war. They (the enemy) and us, are preparing for a definitive situation.

Always, investigate fully any signs of infiltration or entrism, specifically from MRTA and reaction. We must develop a political-ideological unmasking campaign against MRTA's revisionism, based on what the document of the Plenary Session of the II Plenum of the Central Committee says, and what was set forth at the Political Bureau July 1990's meeting. Publish flyers, do group discussions, promote debates, emphasize the latter since they always run away from it, they can't stand a political-ideological attack. What has they answered to the publication of the document "Elections No, People's War Yes!" Nothing. They babble based on bourgeois' papers headlines and editorials, repeating the old tale of reaction: "Division exists in Sendero . . ." And do they ever prove anything? No, they remain as parasitical as ever, fulfilling their role of "dividing tasks" to annihilate us, as active and armed complements of Peruvian reaction and of social-imperialism. It is besides ironical that they are not only wrong on us, but are very likely split, it suffices to read that pamphlet "Cambio" they are allowing to distribute freely. Even Lima's TV Channel 5 is at their disposal, and it wouldn't be surprising if ever Lima's TV 4 soon is placed at their disposal too.

ON ACTIONS IN LIMA. With respect to actions of the ongoing Third Campaign in Lima, as well as in the entire country, these increase in quantity and quality. The political objectives of these actions are higher and on the rise, including the fighting capacity of the people's militias and detachments. A problem we notice is conservatism of the d.e.'s. The percentage of growth is low compared to the People's Guerrilla Army. And why is that? Because of the erroneous criterion of "lack of sophisticated weapons." They must apply the agreement of the Central Committee about "Building Three Bases and Three Guides" and worry about capturing more developed weapons. In addition, the new d.e.'s now being formed will wrest them away and that will be part of their own forging.

We ask ourselves, are something like that happening with the main forces throughout the People's Guerrilla Army? Is conservatism showing up there to?

We emphasize about the need to increase the actions by the d.e.'s, coordinated acts, and synchronization of forces. A good example is how on the day of the April blackout in Lima (which was politically very timely) there were 200 actions against imperialism, among then actions against the embassies of the countries, which will be in the economic "Support Group".

The 80 armed sabotages to the banks, precisely on the eve of the promulgation of the Law of Banks. It was expressed in the complexity of the actions, handling of double plans, fulfilling acts pending in the process of People's War in Lima such as "Arms for the Revolution! , Money for the people!" It supports mass struggles, with armed actions we provide success and political perspective to their vindicating actions, which is strategic because it advances preparations for the insurrection.

There are limitations in the annihilation of live enemy forces, police and Armed forces, high bureaucracy and financial oligarchy. We insist: we do not hit the plain street cops, but those specialized in counterinsurgency actions -those with blood in their hands. We apply the norm of selective annihilation: First to the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force); to Police Forces specialized in counterinsurgency actions; to genocidal(s), the torturers, to all who have a debt of blood; then to the (paramilitary) rondas, reaction now aims at organizing rondas also in the cities. Apply differentiation:

First target against the most recalcitrant; flyers must be spread explaining why the specific action is being carried out by leaving signs, paint walls. Differentiate between the “black heads” (leaders of rondas who willingly and willfully commit crimes against the people), and the masses who are pressured or coerced by the armed forces into the paramilitary rondas (who must be respected and educated to defend themselves.) Apply double politics, penetrate them, undermine them until they rebel. For the pressured masses, make them understand they are being used against their own interest, how reaction traffics with their unemployment, their hunger, their needs so as to use them as cannon fodder for lack of soldiers and police.

Hit the high bureaucracy and financial oligarchy; the bureaucrats and representatives of the Old State, their institutions and explain clearly why it is done. In the city of Acari, for example, we executed the Mayor because he was a despot and corrupt hated by the masses, and acted after we received 40 written petitions from them explaining the reasons for revolutionary justice. The letters described what the masses wanted, and he only got three bullets because we do not apply cruelty or humiliations. People’s justice is swift but fair. We do not seek to create suffering. But in Lima, *El Comercio*, *Expreso*, *La Republica*, what did these sewers publish on this action? That an elected representative of the people, beloved by all, had been dynamited, etc.

Specially let selective annihilation actions help two objectives: To disintegrate the enemy forces and to develop the United Front. Explaining in a clear and simple manner the causes help the Front, and not explaining undermines it. To help develop the Front, the targets must be selected very well, and in Lima the targets must be very high. We are near the celebration of the Fifth Anniversary of the Day of Heroism, select the genocidal(s) well, and wherever they are we must apply their well-deserved punishment. What to do if they know we prepare something? They cannot know where, whom, or when. We must prepare more and better actions.

### **ON THE JUNE 27 ARMED STRIKE IN LIMA**

Another issue we must address is the forthcoming armed strike. We are in agreement with it. Prepare it well. There are good conditions for its success, but take into account the following:

1. Propaganda on “the strike was a victory of the people or the reaction” is part of the process of the strike.
2. Apply what we have set forth on work with the masses (PCP mass line).
3. Link the strike to the celebration of the fifth Anniversary of the Day of Heroism. Take into account and be prepared because reaction and the Government will move everything to defeat the strike, in collusion and collision obviously. The success of the armed strike will depend on how well it is conceived, prepared and implemented! The achievement of a new victory with the armed strike is necessary, and it is up to us to develop and lead it; the rest, the masses will do!

May, June and July will bring hard battles. The Government needs successes to present them on July, LET’S DEFEAT THEM! On these months reaction gambles with the whole “stabilization” and must show some “victories” by July 28: LET’S DEFEAT THEM! In conclusion, the Third Campaign to Impulse the Development of Support Bases is ample and overwhelming. From the onset, it sets forth solid bases for the new plan.

## **2. ON FIVE PROBLEMS**

1. On the XI Anniversary of the People’s War: The document of the Second Plenum and others; apply the new form we have initiated.
2. On the Fifth Anniversary of the Day of Heroism. Yearly campaign in the entire country. Objectives (See the document Preparatory Session of II Plenum of the Central Committee, p. 260): A fighting instrument allowing us to unmask this whole farce from its roots, wholly, amply and completely, all this putrescent pieces of junk they present as a supposed ‘democracy.’ By exposing this rotten system, we also depict how the New Democracy is and what is the Democracy the New Power is building for the masses, how that is the only Democracy truly serving the people. It helps us to propagate and defend the interests of the class and of the people, fulfilled as people’s rights, as counterpart to the so-called ‘human rights,’ which is a bourgeois position. Also, it helps us to analyze the genocide, the monstrosity and barbarity it represents, and all the judicial charade that was involved. We must



completely unmask those false congressional hearing and resolutions about the genocide at Lurigancho and El Fronton. Finally, it helps us to unmask completely that genocidal demagogue Garcia Perez, the infamous officials who consented to the genocide, those who supported it and defend it, the false 'dissenters' and the political trafficking they do around the genocide, too late, after they called it a 'provocation,' then a killing, and later genocide, looking for water they can take to their reactionary mills.

Expose also, as a sample of what the reactionary justice and system are, the parliamentary maneuvers about the genocide, as it is aired nowadays. We must cause all that to come out public always paying attention the problem of the contradictions in the reactionary camp, those arising in political organizations like United Left and others; to clarify responsibilities and unmask.

This campaign will serve the masses and the people to understand that the Party led that heroic action, that the Party is the legitimate defender of the rights of the people. The Party must serve to support and strengthen the daily struggle of the comrades, fighters and friends in the Shining Combat Trenches, who never bent nor will ever bend their knees. Let the glorious Day of Heroism be celebrated as it corresponds. All that will help the conquest of Power in the country and will serve communists and revolutionaries worldwide.

## **On Genocide**

In the concrete program (of the Party), see about how to handle the rights and duties, and how to use legal situations to unmask reaction, to defend the rights of the people, to create favorable public opinion in the country and abroad. It would be also convenient to see how reaction has manipulated the matter of the genocide. Concretely, study the genocide and see there how the accusation against Garcia Perez has evolved.

GENOCIDE. Flores Polo in his juridical dictionary defines it as a crime with no name. Reputedly, it was Lemkin, a Polish criminal law attorney (penologist), the first to use the term in its present meaning: a mass slaughter with the deliberate purpose of totally or partially destroying a human group. Technically, it is some kind of continuous crime. The Convention on

Genocide, approved by the U.N.'s Third General Assembly has been in force since January 12, 1951. According to the international criminal law, it is a common offense.

The above definition is very brief, but gives us an idea. Study this problem, consult texts, books on genocide, such as texts on the process at Nuremberg, when the Nazis were charged with that crime and sentenced to death. Also how this problem has been dealt in Perú, how it has been treated as part of the accusation against Alan Garcia, it serves our purposes, it is one more element of judgement to expose how the possibility of a trial on this grievous crime is denied in Perú. Get the documents of the Parliamentary Commission. There are several testimonies by the general commanders themselves. The crime of genocide was not stipulated in the Penal Code, but the accusation against Garcia Perez was for homicide. See also the trial in the Second Judicial Zone of the police about Luriganchó, as well as about El Frontón and any others there may be.

The matter of the genocide must be studied well, pointing facts and data to formulate a denunciation. If the crime of genocide is not legislated nor litigated in Perú, do it in Costa Rica, there the problem would be if the countries making up the Inter American Court adhere to the U.N. Declaration or if, being the U.N. who approved the Genocide Convention, it automatically applies. In that case think of Geneva. See also about the need of a small group studying this problem so as to file the denunciation and follow its course thereafter. For instance, get a lawyer from abroad to handle the matter, then use it for propaganda increasing volume and sound effects, think about newspapers in the United States and Europe, taking care not to vitiate what is being proposed. All that would help to form public opinion. It is a fighting weapon we must use well. It must be part of the celebration of the V Anniversary of the Day of Heroism. Keep in mind the document, "Glory to the Day of Heroism!" it may be used now to write a pamphlet and raise awareness on the campaign of the First Anniversary.

See also the notes of the December 1990 meeting of the Political Bureau:

"GENOCIDE. FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DAY OF HEROISM. SLOGANS: GLORY TO THE HEROES OF THE PEOPLE; FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE; THE PEOPLE WILL PUNISH THE GUILTY ONES. GENOCIDE IN THE TRENCHES, including the legal

process, its current situation, analysis and conclusions. Annual Campaign for the Fifth Anniversary.”

Counterpoise their so-called “human rights” (DDHH) with the people’s rights (DDPP). Take as an example the Day of Heroism, it is a key historical fact to disembowel their “human rights” and at the same time that false bourgeois democracy, all its putrefaction. Fight for a New State, only the revolution can guarantee the rights of the people freely and permanently, the rights wrested away with their blood, and the bourgeoisie puts them on the Constitution, or Magna Carta as they call it. But since those from above continue to rule, these rights are not respected and remain mere words written on paper, they are something like burned paper, useless to the people, good only to the exploiters. For them, yes, there are constitutional protections.

To expand the analysis on the genocide, the Communist Party of Peru will develop a document, in addition to the pronouncements of several organizations: lawyers, of relatives of prisoners, of political prisoners, of the generated organizations, of struggle committees, trade unions, industrial unions, neighborhoods and young towns, students, etc. The Party’s People’s Assistance Committee (Socorro Popular) must analyze everything reaction publishes in that regard, for instance Sunday articles of *El Comercio* of Lima, from April 21, 1991. Prepare a poster and postcard, mass events, well protected open celebrations, public celebrations, art, music, dance, theater, painting, sculpture, embroidery, poetry, multiple ideas the masses create and express the people’s character of the art. The comrades should strive to advance popular art, like those famous works in stone, fish bones and extraordinary tapestries left by the heroes of El Fronton, Lurigancho and El Callao. Reproduce their music, the cassette of 1984 in El Callao, the last one from El Fronton with huaynos sung using new lyrics, the last one from Lurigancho (the one denouncing a Lima radio station, “The People Talks . . .”).

Form a Commission presided by xxx and supported by yyy, to write a well-prepared document based on facts and in law. Attend the Costa Rican Commission of Human Rights and its Tribunal, to have access to the tribunal one must go through any State or the Inter American Human Rights Committee (or Human Rights Commission), so we should appeal to

this Commission first. We should study all possible materials on this: Report of the Ames Commission, Piquera's Report on the paramilitary, etc. In a Report by the majority of a Congressional Commission, senator Biaggi said that if there was an offense, it was not by Garcia Perez but by the Attorney General (fiscal) Elejalde, that opinion is very important because it is coming even from an APRA member. The positions aired in the accusation against Garcia Perez, presented before the house of representatives on July 29, 1990 (all of them) must be objectively analyzed, so we can base our accusation on their own words, that way they will have no basis to accuse us of being subjective or showing prejudice, leave no room to any of their objections. It is fundamental that our accusations are accurate and undisputed. We have plenty of evidence. The issue is to use it from our class position.

It is very good that they provide us with documents of the constitutional accusation:

The first document, intervention by R. Letts in the House of Representatives, says:

"Therefore, we call this event as the genocide in the prisons on June 18-19 of 1986." The document proposes the case must be tried by the judiciary as a "violation of the constitutional order and the Penal Code and that the essence of the evidence is in the Order issued by former President Garcia, which violated articles first and second of the Constitution, the right to life." It continues: "There was direct relationship between the Order issued by the President of the Republic and the leading role he played to carry it out, his leadership, presiding the Council, the initiatives he took and the large number of lives lost as a result of such Order . . . Our findings reveal there was a direct relationship between the Order and the results it followed, besides, during the handling of the execution of the Order, there were important, notorious and precise violations of the constitutional order and the Penal Code." He adds, "the Sendero Luminoso prisoners, of the Communist Party of Perú, Sendero Luminoso, mutinied in the three Lima prisons: Lurigancho, El Fronton and the Women's prison at El Callao. As a result of the armed intervention ordered by the President to the Joint Command of the Armed Forces, 124 prisoners were killed in the Lurigancho Industrial Pavilion, 119 in El Fronton Blue Pavilion, and two in

Santa Barbara, a total of 244 prisoners were killed or murdered, as the case may be in the course of approximately 12 hours.”

Another paragraph says: “The Order given by the President to the Joint Military Command was summarized in four expressions: to act decisively, to act energetically, to act within the least possible time, and try to save the lives of the hostages . . . without mentioning a word on the lives of 350 mutinied persons. We believe that this Executive Order contained the essence of the matter . . . “

Another interesting situation is the reference to the unconstitutional dispositions and decrees they made when they put down the mutiny, and all was finalized to cover up their crime:”... It was necessary that on June 19, when the genocide was consummated by evening time, the official minutes of the Council of Ministers -Cabinet Members examined by the Ames Commission shows they approved and issued a totally unconstitutional Supreme Decree called 006-85-JUSTICE in order to create additional restricted military zones in the three prisons, and leave them under the control and jurisdiction of the Joint Command of the Armed Forces during the time the state of emergency lasted, which was decreed on June 2, 16 days before the genocide.” “... It is our viewpoint that the decree was issued not to put down the mutiny, which had already finished, and had concluded in a pile of human bodies, but to hide the evidence -tracks, fingerprints and other indicators about the operation that had been carried out, and the crimes committed. Therefore, in that sense the first and foremost responsibility also lies with the then President of the Republic, who presided the Council of Ministers and took the initiative to carry out the genocide, who had the leadership, and who of course signed the decree.”

“And that decree approved by the Council of Ministers on June 19, was published in the official paper after the facts, since the Order to publish it on El Peruano was delivered on June 24 at 11:45 a.m. That is, there is no doubt that said supreme decree had no legal validity at any time on June 19, and it was agreed upon after all was consummated. Therefore, the Armed Forces entrance to the prisons was absolutely unconstitutional, absolutely illegal . . . ” It goes on with a part which corroborates once more what the Party denounced right away on June 19 and a few days later about the genocide: the presence of Mantilla to withdraw the civil authorities from

the prisons, and the insistence at all times from Garcia Perez to put down the mutiny and safeguard his prestige before the Socialist International at the time meeting in Lima.

“... However, on June 18 and 19, the President of the Republic was constantly pushing, urging with that personal political Force we know he has for the military to enter. He made sure that the then Vice Minister of Interior Agustin Mantilla was present at El Fronton at 14:50 of the 18th to make sure the withdrawal of the prison authorities, and the civilian judges, who were there as part of their routine functions, because he had decided they should act along with the Armed forces. That was all, absolutely illegal, and the President headed it all.”

Later on it disagrees with the majority opinion, which stated that the President was ill informed by the military commands. It denounced also that five of the six official communiques emitted were falsified and signed only by Garcia Perez and not known by the Council of Ministers. If we compare all this with the Party's denunciation in that small but significant resolution, there we accused Garcia Perez of the execrable genocide, his Council of Ministers, his armed Forces and police forces, the political parties, who knew everything, and the sacrosanct Catholic Church, Garcia Perez being the main genocidal.

But in following lines, the document falls in the ambiguities inherent to those who sustain the Old State, to consider: “we believe that here we may have a case of a preter-intentional offense.” Unbelievable! What is that? Is it a genocide perpetrated by Garcia Perez and company, or is it a preter-intentional offense? It is genocide committed with premeditation, sadism and advantage, prepared as shown by the denunciations made by the political prisoners (and which show in the Acts of the Judicial Power) and by newspapers like *El Nuevo Diario*, which then had nothing to do with us. Also, the pattern shown by the genocides committed by Garcia Perez and his armed forces in Accomarca, Pucayacu, Umaru, Bellavista, Ayacucho and the October 4 genocide at Lurigancho, including his personal opinions stated at “social” meetings such as the following: “What would happen if we finished off all imprisoned Senderistas?”

Another interesting question, it says, “that voting in the Commission, caused that a majority headed by Romualdo Biaggi, however, to adopt the

impetus of the text and accuracy of the facts contained in the opinion of the minority, presided by Rolando Ames....That this APRA majority, in this Commission, also found enough basis for the constitutional indictment (accusation), only it did not believe the culprit was Dr. Garcia Perez, but Dr. Cesar Elejalde.” It means that even the APRA hacks thought there was room for the judicial process against Garcia, since Senator Biaggi is an Aprista, and that they would like to indict (accuse) Elejalde, the Nation’s Attorney General, All that is very good.

Second document: Constitutional Accusation for the Genocide in the prisons on June 18 and 19, 1986. It says, “we request that former President Garcia be accused of punishable violation of rights consecrated by the Constitution and for punishable acts that violates the International Agreements on Human Rights signed by Peru, concerning genocide and by the National Penal Code as preter-intentional genocide, committed with cruelty and ferocity . . . .” “Abuse of Authority, an offense against the Administration of Justice and of Violence and Resistance to authority . . . .” “This Constitutional Accusation seeks to open up the way for a later criminal action against the former President of the Republic . . . .”; “... it is a political decision . . . it is not then a jurisdictional decision. Therefore, it does not have the elements nor consequences of a Res Judicata. “ Notice two things here: it’s an accusation for genocide as recognized by International Agreements signed by the Republic of Perú.

And, two, it’s not Res Judicata, of course it is not because Parliament did not try it. It formulates the accusation and defines whether or not there is merit for the Judicial Power to try the matter. Pay attention to the signatures, those are persons not just from so-called United Left, and that helps to substantiate our accusation, signing it too, are Rojas Tafur, Letts Colmenares, Baca Luna and Quintanilla, E. Calmell del Solar, Aurelio Loret de Mola, Rafael Rey, M. Roggero, the four last ones from the Movement Libertad. Chapter II, point two, states that the President informed the Council of Ministers, Joint Command of the Armed Forces, and Peace Commission on issues that artificially magnified the facts ending up with “which will not be tolerated” and that for the Commission that is the evidence that “this line of action provides evidence of the intent to artificially magnified the facts.” In point three, “It is evident that . . . the

President executes actions during the events guided by certain invariable criteria, which are, to assume personally and strictly control of the situation and the reestablishing of order, not considering –and even knowingly exceeding– the breach in the legal and constitutional order, and the fracture of individual rights and guarantees, to achieve resolution of the problem using instruments legally and professionally inadequate such as the Armed Forces, and of means absolute out of proportion to the objectives; to guarantee a later cover of immunity for the acts of the Armed Forces and National Police . . . “; “... the message of June 21 ... greets the action of the Armed Forces and declares that a precedent has been set on how a democratic government invested of authority must act.” Very good!

This allows to defeat that “preter-intentional” escape route. They say, “... Therefore, the agreement of attempting to dissuade through the Peace Commission is not convincing, and the latter is only charged with going to El Fronton, but decides to go on its own to the other two prisons.” It’s good because it counterpoises what Garcia says about first having tried persuasion by sending the Peace commission to the prisons. Point five says that Garcia knowingly and deliverately trespassed the lawful juridical order, part of this is the presence of Mantilla at El Fronton.

Here, what interests us is to see the note attached to the document, in which the opinion of general Ismael Araujo, chief of the Second Military Region is: “There were many consultations on the precipitation with which Garcia urged general Monzon, President of the Joint Command of the Armed Forces, whom he phoned often,” “how about it? ,” “When are you going to act? ,” “At what time are you starting it? ,” “But what are you waiting for to start the thing?”

The note also says that general Monzon, questioned if militarily the mutinies were such a danger that warranted speed over dissuasion, which could have reduced the number of dead, he answered, “to us it was an order from the Supreme Chief of the Armed Forces -the President and we had to obey it.” In point 10 they state that the issuance of Supreme Decree 066-85-JUSTICE had the purpose of covering up evidence of what happened. Point 13 says Garcia condemned the so-called excesses at Lurigancho, but not the slaughter of El Fronton. It’s good because nobody says anything about El Fronton, and there the Navy of Peru acted. In Chapter III they clearly



describe how the Armed Forces “obeyed order . . . with swiftness and violence,” but they exonerate themselves by saying they obeyed an order from their Supreme chief.

Why wasn’t the order questioned? Aren’t they the ones charged with ensuring the compliance with the Constitution? Point three refers to the idea Garcia defended during the process as “having helped to show the country how the authority of the government had been imposed” and “congratulated the Joint Command for such speedy compliance.” Point four calls it the “engine of the operative,” it says the action culminated with “the demolition of El Fronton and the destruction of the Industrial Pavilion at Lurigancho.” Point five is very good, it deals with the matter of intentional infraction, and its differences with unintentional, with negligence and it’s based on article 100 of the Penal Code.

Point six refers to the denial made by the General Commander of the Navy, vice-admiral Victor Nicolini del Castillo, the General Commander of the Air Force, lieutenant general FAP Luis Abram Cavallerino and the General Commander of the Army General Guillermo Monzon Arrunategui, on the assertion that the government had just learned about the facts on June 21 from the report by the Joint Command of the Armed Forces: “... he was informed of everything since he gave the terms of the order -a bloody and atrocious operation.” “... he ordered `to reestablish order in the prisons with the maximum energy allowed by Law, preserving if possible the lives of the hostages and rescuing the principle of authority’ (Act of the Council of Ministers June 18, 1986).” It says that General Monzon specified, “this military action is a combat action inserted in the `counterinsurgency strategy,’ subtracted from the humanitarian right in war and, contrary to the Geneva Convention, it is legitimate violent reprisal with genocidal intent, extrajudicial executions and the disallowance of the human rights by the subversives and presumed subversives.”

Point seven mentions the articles violated, and indicates that conclusion 22 of the opinion of the majority of the Commission is a mask of the crime committed disallowing the sacred bounds of the human person, of the Public Ministry and the Judiciary. Point eight identifies the names of those responsible for the genocide ordered by Garcia, for instance Abel Salinas, Luis Gonzalez Posada, Jorge Flores Torres (Minister of War), Julio Daniel

Pacheco (Minister of the Navy), Jose Guerra Lorenzetti (Minister of Aeronautics). Here too, it is defined as “execrable genocide.” Chapter IV established two forms of reasoning, here we can expose that charge of “preter-intentional” offense, destroy it.

Chapter V sets legal responsibilities and that “the conduct of Garcia can be specified as of an author of a crime against human life and health”; “guilty of the crime of Violence and Resistance to Authority (article 321 of the Penal Code . . . aggravated by the second paragraph which increases the punishment because he was a public official.” But we saw before how Peru has subscribed an International Pact which mentions genocide and we must apply besides of the violations of articles 332, 337, etc., of the Peruvian Constitution. For example the Motion at the end speaks only about a massacre.

The 3rd Document: On the Special Commission Finding a Constitutional Accusation, formed on September 25, 1990 by Pedro Alvaro Calderón, P. Ceteriano, E. Calmell del Solar, from the Movement Libertad. Here it states that Garcia attended to make his defense: the wording is, “already the Ames Commission addressed it and was rejected by parliament.” He acknowledged a crime was committed but not his but of the Republican Guard. Garcia claimed that violence was not applied, but the first thing tried was persuasion when the Peace Commission and the Nation’s Attorney General before the Armed Forces acted. But this is contradicted by Cabieses himself, who presided over the Peace Commission, who said they went to two of the three prisons on their own, and the Attorney General said, “it looks like there was a battle here”; besides, Garcia had already been instigating the genocide.

The military themselves denounced that he insisted and insisted, called repeatedly to find out if it had been put down, but Garcia recognizes that he gave the order. He invokes that Lima was under a State of Emergency. About the sudden burial of the prisoners of war by the Armed Forces, before dawn, in several cemeteries in the Department of Lima, he replied that it was necessary for the public order and security, for public health reasons.

However, Luis Alberto Sanchez himself told foreign reporters the bodies would be handed over to their families and would be given “a Christian burial.” Garcia also adduces that the prisons were “restricted areas,” but

there is no such legal term. It is very interesting to see how in his speech he blames everybody trying to save himself. It is useful to learn about the character of this individual, and how he is capable of anything as long as he saves his skin.

Salinas too made his own plead of “innocence,” he must be unmasked. Zimmerman says that it was a planned and premeditated crime. Mantilla claims he knows nothing. Cabieses says Mantilla made an “exhortation” at El Fronton, and that they were not allowed in Lurigancho. Furthermore, they went to this prison and to the women’s prison and they went on their own. Clearly we see how the “Peace Commission” was used by Garcia, but the “useful fools” allowed themselves to be used. Therefore, they consented to the genocide. Did any of them condemn the premeditated plan? Did they demand that Garcia revoke that order? Or Did they move heaven and earth trying to save the lives of the prisoners? They cannot be acquitted, but they must be differentiated in degree of responsibility from Garcia Perez, the Council of Ministers, and the Armed Forces.

Document three details what Garcia used to say at Presidential breakfasts and lunches, “and what would happen if we get rid of all the Senderistas in prison? Nothing,” we would say “they were a demonic organization.” If that’s what he thought, then what “persuasion” is he talking about? A crude farce to cover himself up, we must show the intent he had. For instance, he used to say that “the prisons were free territories” and that “no one knew what Sendero Luminoso was doing there.”

The armed force commanders state that it was not in their competence to act, but that of the police. The document also says, and it is very useful, that the motive the mutineers had was to enforce compliance with the Consent Agreement they reached with the prison authorities in June, but this date is wrong: The actual Consent Agreement was by both parties (the Government and the prisoners) on 16 July 1985. The Chief Directors of the Republican Guard, Martinez Lira says that he and his troops presented themselves at Lurigancho following a request by General Monzon, “with whom he had communicated through a phone call he received from the President himself.”

He says that “his presence had the purpose of substituting the lack of a written order demanded by Colonel Narciso Azabache. But in no way, it

was his attribution to give orders because General Rabanal was present there. Therefore, due to his situation he was there merely as an administrative and not an operative officer.” “He couldn’t understand the acts of Colonel Cabezas who worked as Commander of the Organic Counterinsurgency Regiment, a Permanent Reserve Unit of the Supreme Command serving the requirements in emergency zones.” Martinez Lira says that when he learned about the execution of 124 prisoners in Lurigancho, he reported about it to general Monzon, and the latter congratulated him in his name and in the name of the President of the Republic.

Then, he said that Salinas (Minister of Interior) called him to remind him, “leave for us a few prisoners alive.” His opinion is also important, “the bloodshed could well have been avoided if other means had been tried, such as cutting off drinking water supply, electricity, etc., which was not done.” He denounces that on June 13, 1985, there was a surprise emergency meeting at the Government Palace to “brainwash them” and they were told “about subversion, how bad the problem was looking, the need to finish off terrorism and that President Garcia didn’t want any more prisoners in the jails,” that vice-minister Mantilla, the Joint Command of the Armed Forces, the Supreme Directors of the Investigative Police (PIP), and of the Civil Guard, the chiefs of the National Intelligence Service (SIN) and Army Intelligence Service (SIE), among others, were there; that it was Garcia who spoke and also a PIP Commander spoke.

We must transcribe and analyze the military texts about subversion, doctrine, guerrilla warfare, urban warfare. There is where they describe what steps, and what weapons they can use to fight disturbances, and then compare each of these elements with what happened during the genocide. Also, read the Magazine “Oiga” of that date (June 13, 1986.) Garcia attended the Commission a second time, and said he had not said what Zimmerman claimed he had said.

We can quote Zimmerman and ask him who else was at that breakfast; the Minister of Justice (Gonzales Posada) may had been one of them. There’s also the matter of “res judicata” (tried matter), and they destroyed it. Well, for us, use it and go deeper. Garcia knows, as the lawyer he is that there is no room for “res judicata.” He is a demagogue. He steps over the rights of

others, and violates blatantly the Constitution. We insist that in penal law, the qualifications of the individual (character, etc.) are very important. It is very important to define the main crime: Genocide, no need to get ourselves entangled in various offenses since that hides the main one. Prior to the events, Garcia said there was a more acute environment of violence, as the papers reported. See *Expreso*, for example. He said that the Senderista leadership was concentrated in El Fronton, and that it was liberated territory.

He twisted the facts in the Council of Ministers itself. It is important to show how in the opinion of those present, Garcia wanted to brainwash them. Later on, show that what we did was a complete success, a victory product of a plan for a specific demand, the compliance of 10 points we were demanding. We demanded that the condition of special prisoners we wrested away, as a step in the struggle to be recognized as political prisoners and then as prisoners of war, be complied with.

This document records it and was an act ratified by the APRA Government on October 31, 1985, signed by Apristas in the Government such as Aquezolo, Aurea Saenz; and on October 4, 1985, there had already been an Aprista annihilation of 30 Lurigancho political prisoners. This proves that the genocide was planned and premeditated and we so denounced it. We even filed actions of protection, and judge Paz de la Barra had just signed it on the day the events took place.

It says that prisoners were unhappy because that Act was not comply with by the prison authorities. On the other hand, see our actions from the transfers of prisoners from their points of origin to Lima; their concentration in El Fronton, in British Pavilion, the January 15 struggle (death of Comrade Mauricia), the July 13, 1985 joint struggle to wrest away the Consent Agreement (el Acta), which was finalized, their willful noncompliance, up to the denouncement of the genocide, the series of judicial petitions we filed in Court, such as the action for protection three months before the facts, signed by Judge Paz de la Barra on the same day of the events. The attitude of judicial authorities and of the Public Ministry until the genocide was consummated. Let it be clear that our denunciations were not being heard because there was prejudice. Since the times of Belaunde, we were given the label of “terrorists.” The words of Vice-admiral

G. Cafferata speak for itself: “they are ‘subhuman,’” (insert the source and date.) In addition, we must transcribe the petitions and motions filed before the judges on behalf of the prisoners.

### 3. OTHER MATTERS

In order to acquit themselves from the genocide, the military blames everything on Garcia, and has no choice to release issues that are useful to us. Nicolini says the purpose was to do us propaganda, Flores Torres says it was for publicity, but then there is no connection between these answers and the facts. Abram Cavallerino says he didn’t know that there was a civil war in the country, etc., as Garcia said: “The national order is disturbed.” We must go to a law dictionary, such as the one of Cabanillas’, to define whether it is public order or national order. The fact is that the prisoners did not compromise the national security, and therefore, there was no justification to hand the matter over to the armed forces (for their annihilation). Analyze articles 21 and 22 of Law Decree (DL) 217; article four section “J” of DL 117; article 23 of DL 330. Who can determine that the armed forces enter a prison?

That should have been handled as an ‘internal order’ problem. Show how in Peru the State of Emergency is the routine, and not an exception, use what we studied at the Second Plenum, the international documents, the meeting with Siracusa. Unmask and denounce Garcia’s petition to lift his own immunity, which was just another one of his poses, of his show offs, of his demagoguery. Let’s denounce those who did not attend the vote (in Congress) because they acted as accomplices trying to cover up the genocidal demagogue, and of the execrable and vile genocide itself, committed against communists, fighters and revolutionary masses led by and identified with the Communist Party of Perú.

There are rumors that these cowards were bribed: investigate and prove. Gerardo Lopez, of Cambio 90, did not attend. State the facts and document the evidence. Besides, let’s show the collusion between APRA with this government (Fujimori.) In general, base the denunciations with solid and incriminating evidence based on law and facts. 1. clear facts 2. publish documents and 3. political situation of yesterday and today: both seek to

annihilate the People's War. The process of the denunciation we filed (which they did not accept here,) go through the motions in Costa Rica, take into account the parliamentary accusation, it must be shown clearly that here there is no chance to litigate in Perú, and appeal to the Commission of Human Rights in Costa Rica is necessary. Spread the information in the United States and in Europe, the political situations there provide some margin to do this, but not security. We should not be certain they will admit it either, but even if they reject the denunciation, we must use it to denounce the genocide before the people in our country and abroad.

#### **4. HOW TO CARRY OUT THE CAMPAIGN IN PERU?**

Our focus is the People's War, and aim for a great celebration of the Day of Heroism! (The campaign here will last an entire year). Mention rights of the people: denounce the rotten nature of the old order, its old "democracy," its Old State and its "human rights." Support the struggles for economic demands by the masses in function of conquering Power; link it with the great process of People's War and explosiveness of the masses. Denounce how the Fujimori regime spread hunger on the proletariat and workers in general, it takes the lands of the peasants away, and all who protest are persecuted, repressed, jailed, murdered. Denounce the genocide perpetrated in the Shining Trenches of Combat on June 1986, as part of the genocide against the entire people committed by Belaunde, Garcia and now Fujimori.

That is because the People's War is a continuation of the political struggles of the masses by other means. Mobilize the masses as much as possible for the campaign, linking it to their daily struggles: use clear and concise slogans. Plan the beginning of the campaign, special political situation in May, June and July. Unmask and fight their "human rights." Raise the subject of the rights of the people; let there be ideological and political struggles;

Let our denunciation and acts be stunning ideologically and politically developed and useful to unite the people, aimed at building the United Front of the Revolution. Develop the campaign at all levels: Party, People's Army, New Power, masses. Appeal to international organizations: Jurists; Amnesty International, Red Cross, etc., provide them documentation. To

develop and implement the plan, all organisms working in that front must develop and submit documents.



### CHAPTER III. WHAT IS REACTION UP TO?

Be alert, in May, June, July their situation will be difficult, and they need to hit us and hit the people. They need to show “successes” in their first year in government. They will seek to contain the explosiveness of the masses and as usual boasting on their “final blow” on the People’s War. They will enhance their “intelligence,” but they need to hit us since in reality they have no “new strategy.” We must prevent and frustrate the blow they seek, so they cannot hit the people with impunity, and denounce them.

Denounce also the genocide this government (Fujimori) is perpetrating, the most pro-imperialist yet, mercenary of Yankee imperialism, acting in collusion with revisionism and opportunism to contain the people’s struggle, and annihilate the People’s War, which today enters the strategic equilibrium. It is a genocide managed and led by Yankee imperialism, availed by the Fujimori regime, the armed forces and police, revisionism and all of reaction, so as to apply their plan, fetter the struggle of the masses, and annihilate the People’s War.

Actions must be well prepared, bold, and develop fully “Combat and Resist,” be ready to pay whatever quota (cost of war) is necessary, and toil so losses will be the minimum possible, developing adequately the plans. Another matter, it’s almost three years since the death of Comrade Cesar and five years of Comrade Vasquez. Both of them were lawyers who tirelessly defended prisoners, and who give up their lives for a just cause. Let us remember them, and denounce the vile and sadist manner of the crime against the first one, and the disappearance of the other by police forces (DIRCOTE).

They are two heroes of the people. Denounce the rape of women; the students who were blown up; the mass slaughters of peasants; the armed forces’ policy of: “steal everything, burn everything and kill everybody.” This regime, even less than the former ones, can claim to be defending or upholding “human rights.” The Fujimori regime is more discredited than the two prior ones, and has lost credibility in less time. It is our task to show the masses how they violate blatantly the rights and demo-bourgeois freedoms, and express openly fascist positions. Especially now, that

mercenary of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, the cunning and sneaky murderer Fujimori.

*May, 1991*

*PCP  
Central Committee*

ON THE RECTIFICATION  
CAMPAIGN BASED ON  
THE STUDY OF THE  
DOCUMENT  
“ELECTIONS, No!  
PEOPLE’S WAR, YES!”

## CHAPTER I. HOW TO STUDY. PAY ATTENTION TO ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS.

Pay attention to analysis and to synthesis. They make up the two aspects of a contradiction, and of the two, synthesis is the principal aspect. Analysis allows us to separate things into their component elements in order to understand them better, but this is only one aspect, and the process of knowledge can never be reduced to analysis alone; it requires the other aspect, synthesis. Synthesis is what allows us to grasp the essence of knowledge. Without synthesis there can be no leap. Synthesis is principal; it is the aspect of a contradiction that leads to its resolution and allows us to grasp the objective law it embodies.

This is an ideological question, part and parcel of the application of dialectical materialism, the Marxist theory of knowledge. In contrast, bourgeois idealist ideology isolates analysis from synthesis. According to the proletariat's ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, these are two aspects of a single entity and synthesis is principal because it gives rise to a higher level of knowledge, a qualitative change, a leap.

There are two classic examples of this. One is the example of a clock. In order to understand how it works you have to dismantle it. That allows you to understand its components and their functions. But if you cannot put it together again all you have is a pile of parts. Even if these parts were classified into groups you still would not have a clock.

The other example is the development of natural science since the fifteenth century, which demonstrates in historical terms where the lack of synthesis leads. The tremendous development of sciences such as mathematics, astronomy, physics, etc, brought about an increased understanding of various aspects of nature, but this process also brought about the fracturing of science analytically, its division into different fields, and led to metaphysical theories. Even the eighteenth century, with its great scientific, materialist advances, produced metaphysical knowledge. Nevertheless, this process of fracturing and dividing knowledge into different fields laid the basis for a leap. It laid the foundation first for Hegel's idealist dialectics and later Marx's materialist dialectics. All this breaking apart of things meant there had to be a synthesis, a great condensation, and it prepared fertile

ground for the development of dialectical materialism by Marx and Engels, principally Marx. The achievement of this historic milestone, the proletariat's world outlook, Marxist philosophy, dialectical materialism, was the result of a powerful process of synthesis. The same is true of the achievement represented by the recognition of contradiction as the essence of the proletariat's outlook, a leap of inexhaustible historical importance.

Both examples show the need for synthesis, for a leap. So pay special attention to analysis and synthesis, principally synthesis.

A problem has manifested itself in the course of the various contributions to the discussion. Taking things apart leads to a lot of talk about "quotations", and in the discussion people talked about "quotations from the document" or "reading quotations from Marx" or "grasping the quotations from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". People fall into enumerating isolated quotations instead of applying them to current problems. Thus the failure to grasp the question of synthesis leads to another problem, a failure to grasp the proletariat's ideology as an integral whole, as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Even the way some people express themselves reveals this problem. One of the speeches only made two mentions of "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism", whereas the document refers to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism again and again, from beginning to end. Another mentions "humanity's only science", which is true, but this science has a name - Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and its creative application here, in this country, is Gonzalo Thought.

We have to get beyond merely grasping the facts. When a problem arises we have to find out what causes it. This is an ideological question. In the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as it presents itself in the ideological sphere, there is resistance, expressed as the predominance of bourgeois ideology over proletarian ideology at a particular moment in time. This phenomenon is part and parcel of the struggle between the two ideologies, a struggle which arises even more with new people who are still being trained. Hence bourgeois ideology must be destroyed in order to construct proletarian ideology. There can be no construction without destruction. The dead weight of tradition, old ideas and ideological deviations is heavy; these things do not die out peacefully.

Therefore transforming oneself requires enormous efforts. Human beings are practical, not contemplative, especially when they are striving to transform reality in the service of the proletariat and the people. This is why they can overcome that old, outworn ideology and take up the ideology of the proletariat, the only ideology that can enable them to understand and change the world in the interests of the class and the oppressed peoples.

In study, the point is that there is a contradiction between analysis and synthesis, which gives rise to a leap in terms of knowledge. If this contradiction is not handled correctly it will lead to problems in the overall handling of proletarian ideology. This is the root cause, in this sphere, of the failure to take the stand of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, as the universal truth and outlook that unites the world's communists, and Gonzalo Thought as specifically principal for communists here, for the Peruvian revolution in particular. The stand that seeks to use isolated quotations to analyse the international situation, the political situation in the country, the Party and its three magic weapons, or mass work, etc, is based on a failure to understand Marxism as an integral whole. In study, the failure to go beyond analysis and apply synthesis as the principal thing, the failure to make a leap, is a manifestation of bourgeois ideology. Our stand is that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, is the guide and centre, the axis around which everything revolves; it is what allows us to understand things, deduce the laws that govern them and thus transform nature, society and ideas.

The conclusion to be drawn is that remaining at the level of analysis leads to metaphysics. Synthesis leads to materialist dialectics; in the study of the document it brings us to Marxism, Marxism brings us to Leninism and Leninism to Maoism. Of these three one is principal: Maoism. Moreover, Maoism leads us to Gonzalo Thought which is the universal truth specifically applied to the concrete reality of Peruvian society and the concrete conditions of today's class struggle. Synthesis allows us to understand the document and its Marxist character, to understand how the Party evaluates Marxism today on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought thesis that Maoism is a new, third and higher stage.

All of us, communists, fighters and masses, must train ourselves in the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought.

## CHAPTER II. THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION. THE CELEBRATION OF ITS 25TH ANNIVERSARY.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was Chairman Mao's greatest achievement and represents an enormous contribution to the world proletarian revolution. It resolved what had been a pending question regarding socialism: the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in its unstoppable march towards communism. The question has been definitively settled and now we communists have the answer: we shall continue the revolution under the conditions of socialist society by means of proletarian cultural revolutions. The essence of the problem, seen in perspective, is to change people's souls, to transform their ideology, so that they personify Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism. Only in this way can we prevent the restoration of capitalism and march forward to communism.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a basic issue for Maoism. If we don't thoroughly grasp that Maoism is a new, third and higher stage we won't understand anything - it's that simple - because as we know very well, today to be a Marxist means being a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist. The theory of the Cultural Revolution is rooted in Marx himself, since it was he who pointed out that the transition from capitalism to communism would require permanent revolution throughout a period of proletarian dictatorship. He conceived of this indispensable and necessary revolution as a series of successive great leaps. It is also rooted in Lenin, who envisaged and encouraged a cultural revolution. But it was Chairman Mao who answered this great unresolved question of how to continue the revolution and carried it out in practice, who led it and developed it as the greatest political event humanity has ever seen. The problem was unresolved, though many great struggles took place, until 1966 when the Chinese proletariat and people found the way, under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao at the head of the glorious Communist Party of China. This was an earth-shaking event.

For us this is even more vitally important today, since the so-called "defeat of socialism" that has been so loudly proclaimed is linked to the question of

how socialism develops and how the dictatorship of the proletariat is defended. What has failed is revisionism, not socialism. Revisionism continued along the evil road of capitalist restoration until it sank so deep into the rot that it finally went under. From Khrushchev to the infamous Gorbachev in the USSR, and in China from the rise of Deng Xiao-ping in 1976 until today, the revisionists usurped the dictatorship of the proletariat, restored capitalism and destroyed socialism. Revisionism refers to the political leadership of capitalist restoration, to the negative aspect of the process of restoration and counter-restoration which the class must go through until it seizes power once and for all.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution represents the most encouraging and highest point in this world-wide process of struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, between restoration and counter-restoration, in the development of socialism. The fact that it lasted only until 1976 when Deng Xiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist coup d'etat restored capitalism in no way negates the Cultural Revolution nor its necessity. In fact, this restoration confirms what Chairman Mao himself said, that in the struggle between capitalism and socialism, in the life-and-death struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, the question of who will win out has not yet been decided, and that the class struggle will continue until final victory, until communism.

Between 1966 and 1976 the Cultural Revolution was a practical, concrete reality. That is incontestable. The whole world saw it. So now proletarian cultural revolution is a settled question. In 1848 Marx said that political power must be seized by means of violence. Though he did not live to see it happen nor did he carry it out in practice, he gave us the solution: the proletariat had to seize power through revolutionary violence and exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the same way Chairman Mao provided the solution to continuing the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat - and furthermore, he did carry it out in practice. Because we have had this experience we know what to do.

Without underestimating the importance of the Paris Commune in 1871 as the first milestone in the process of the seizure of political power by the proletariat, we should recall that Marx himself foresaw that it was doomed to failure because there was no Communist Party to lead it. Nevertheless, he



said it was impermissible to allow the morale of the proletariat to be undermined, no matter how many leaders might fall, and he supported and defended the Commune. Despite its importance as the first milestone, the Paris Commune cannot be compared to the carrying out of the Cultural Revolution, which is a milestone of a far higher quality. Furthermore, while the former lasted only about two months the latter spanned more than ten years, and under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China it brought hundreds of millions of people into motion. Between these two milestones there is the October Revolution led by Lenin, the creator of the first dictatorship of the proletariat and the world's first socialist country, and the Chinese Democratic Revolution, also led by Chairman Mao, which achieved victory in 1949. Of these four great and glorious milestones in the seizure of political power and the building of socialism, in the establishment and defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the class leadership of the international proletariat, the highest and most developed milestone to date is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The general political line of our Party, the Communist Party of Peru, holds that in its march to communism the Peruvian revolution must pass through three revolutions - the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and not one but several cultural revolutions - and that all of these, from the first, constitute one single, uninterrupted march towards communism. We must thoroughly grasp this point exactly because today, 25 years after the Cultural Revolution, we can see in it our future, and even more so because it was in the course of the Cultural Revolution that Maoism lit up the world and became a new, third and higher stage of Marxism: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Let us celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

The document *Elections, No! People's War, Yes!* examines the principles laid down by Chairman Mao for that glorious revolution, and thus places before us the central issues in celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The opinions that have been expressed here have referred to the Cultural Revolution and its essence - to transform people's souls - but we should understand it in terms of what's been laid out here. We should get in the

habit of studying in order to apply, in order to draw practical conclusions regarding current political problems. This leads us to our third subject.

## CHAPTER III. THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The political practice of the proletariat is to take documents, political line and Party directives and apply them to the current political situation. We study with an eye to applying it, to resolving burning problems. Otherwise we would fall into bookishness and parroting - a bourgeois, idealist and metaphysical method.

Thus we should analyse the current class struggle in light of the four sections of this document. We should take a look from every angle at the ideas that are before us now and that the Central Committee must settle.

In the first part, "Crucial Elections for the Reactionaries", what is the document getting at? It lays out the international and national context. Regarding the international class struggle, we hold that today we are witnessing a counter-revolutionary general offensive. Looking back at the Party's positions, in 1985, when Gorbachev initiated his Perestroika, we put forward that there was "a new counter-revolutionary offensive headed principally by Gorbachev and Deng Xiao-ping". Later, in May 1990, in the document we are presently studying, we referred to "an offensive against Marxism which has been intensifying and converging with the offensive unleashed by the imperialists who are once again trumpeting the supposed obsolescence of Marxism'. Thus there is both contention and collusion - and in this case principally collusion - in a sinister onslaught against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism." To summarize, a convergent offensive by imperialism and revisionism, in collusion and contention. Events since then have confirmed that this analysis was and continues to be correct. But wouldn't it be relevant to conclude that we are witnessing a counter-revolutionary general offensive? Why do we say this? Because everyone is attacking revolution, democratic revolution and socialist revolution, attacking revolutionary violence, people's war, attacking the Communist Party, attacking socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, attacking the goal, communism. They claim that facts have demonstrated that socialism is no longer valid, that it no longer exists, that it has failed. But we must remind them that in the 1950s there was a socialist camp, that the victory of the Chinese revolution brought about a shift in the correlation of forces in the world, and that never has any system been able to bring about such a

rapid and profound transformation of a rotten capitalist and feudal base as happened in the USSR and China.

Socialism unfolded in the USSR under Lenin and Comrade Stalin until the revisionist Khrushchev usurped political power; the situation was similar in China, where socialism lasted until 1976 when Deng unleashed a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat following the death of Chairman Mao. If we count from 1848, when the fundamentals of socialism were first laid out by Marx and Engels (just two people) in the immortal Communist Manifesto, or from 1917, when socialism was first realized in practice, we can see that socialism is still young, it has only existed for a short time. Today it continues to exist as an experience, it is alive in the world's communists and revolutionaries. It exists as an ideology, as a body of politics, as a theory and a practice, and it also lives in us, the communists and revolutionaries of Peru.

Thus we are talking about a counter-revolutionary general offensive aimed at thwarting revolution as the main historical and political trend in today's world. Who is attacking revolution? Both the imperialists and the revisionists. But of the two, Yankee imperialism is principal - they are heading up this offensive, in an attempt to establish themselves as the sole hegemonic superpower in their contention with the other superpower, Russia, and the other imperialist powers. This offensive is being unfolded principally by Yankee imperialism, the principal hegemonistic power. It is a general offensive for two reasons: because it is being unleashed everywhere by the world's imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, and because it is occurring in every sphere: the ideological, political and economic spheres, though it is centred on politics.

We must grapple with this very seriously, analyse it and grasp it well, just as we should with every question. The point is to understand reality in order to ascertain the laws that govern it, and to use these laws to transform reality in the interests of the world's proletariat and peoples.

Here we should note that this is not the final offensive. This is an important distinction. It is a counter-revolutionary general offensive. Generally speaking, a final offensive refers to the last part of the strategic offensive of a revolution. Revolution goes through three stages, in political and military terms, and of course politics guide military matters and is the principal of the two. These stages are the strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium and

the strategic offensive. We hold that we are witnessing the strategic offensive of the world revolution - we do not say that the final offensive is taking place today. Furthermore, we view the strategic offensive of the world revolution as a protracted process - not something brief - consisting of twists and turns and even setbacks. What we are referring to here is not revolution but counter-revolution, a counter-revolutionary general offensive aimed at thwarting the development of the world proletarian revolution.

Another point that must be noted is that despite all their bombast, their economic assaults, their unfounded mud-slinging and wild attacks, they are doomed to defeat. Since we know that revolution can run up against restoration and even be reversed, the fact that we are facing a counter-revolutionary general offensive should not surprise us. Instead we should analyse it so as to deal with it and defeat it. Attacks on Marxism have always heralded its further development and advance. Let us recall what we put forward in 1979: fifteen billion years of matter in motion - the part of this process we know about - have given rise to the irresistible march to communism. This is the reality, so let us grasp this law and apply it. Our goal of communism is not some idea unrelated to this material process; it is a part of it. Communism arises from this process and constitutes its future; it is part and parcel of the unfolding of this material process and is an expression of matter's irrepressible motion. No other class has a future like the proletariat. The bourgeoisie was a revolutionary class once but it became historically obsolete. It is lashing out wildly like any cornered beast, seeking to make its own inevitable destruction more costly. It knows it is finished, that it is an unburied corpse, but even at the foot of its open grave it resists burial at the hands of the proletariat. The final monster, imperialism, ill-begotten child of the bourgeoisie and oppressor of the world's peoples, must be swept off the face of the earth together with revisionism and world reaction. It falls to us, the proletariat and the people, to bury it. From the historical viewpoint, this task is necessary and it falls to us to carry it out. We must be absolutely convinced that we shall smash the bourgeoisie and bury imperialism along with all its partners and flunkies.

In the first part of the document, where it takes up the political situation in Peru, it refers to the question of "legitimization". In several meetings since the Congress we have analysed this concept put forward by Yankee

imperialism in the context of their thesis of "low-intensity warfare". This is an important question for us and we need to ask what they have achieved. The answer is they have achieved nothing. Fujimori has not gained the slightest legitimacy from the elections, not only because of the reactionary and comical character of elections in Peru but also because he didn't get many votes. Instead, these elections put his legitimacy into question, since the number of people who abstained (27%) was greater than the number who voted for him (24.6%) in the first round and far below the 50% plus one required by the Constitution. In the second round, even with the help of the APRA party, the United Left and the Socialist Left, the best he could do was a plurality. His actions have hurt this "legitimacy" even more. Everything he has done has been directed against the people, which is natural since he is a representative of the big bourgeoisie, principally the compradors, and of the landlords as a whole, and is the most obsequiously pro-Yankee imperialist president the country has ever seen and the most rabid enemy of the people's war - in short, a genocidal national traitor.

He has been de-legitimized and thoroughly unmasked at a dizzying pace. The people feel that there is no right nor reason for so much evil, for so much oppression, and the people's war strengthens this understanding. The systematic violations of the people's human rights, Fujimori's genocidal policies following in the footsteps of Belaunde and Garcia - the facts cannot be covered up because the people have experienced them personally. The reappearance of mass graves; the slaughter of the sons and daughters of the people; the cowardly murder of the fighters and their families, with absolute impunity; the take-no-prisoners policy in this war - these things cannot be hidden from the people because it is the people who have endured them. The monstrous crimes committed against the families and the masses who marched on the Fifth Anniversary of the Day of Heroism in the public plazas and the shantytowns of Lima, armed only with banners and slogans - how can they cover up the massacre at San Gabriel? Can they deny that Fujimori offered his congratulations to the soldiers who committed it? The protests that occurred when a university student and two poor youth were killed for carrying knapsacks - can they be disregarded and the murderers once again be shielded? The genocide committed against tribal communities, the genocidal Armed Forces' use of peasants as cannonfodder, the free hand given to the paramilitary ronderos to commit all sorts of

crimes - how can all this legitimize the Fujimori government? The brutal wage cuts, the total neglect of the people's education and health care by the "cholera government", the systematic denial of the people's rights and the gains won by the proletariat and people, the continuous and growing repression against the masses, the introduction of land-mortgages and usury and the current concentration of land ownership principally through expropriating the poor peasants, the starvation of millions of people cast into the starkest poverty, the profound economic recession that has reduced the income of the Peruvian masses to levels unseen for decades, the destruction of national resources and the wholesale auctioning off of the country to imperialism, etc, etc - can all this legitimize the Fujimori government? On the contrary, the Fujimori government has become utterly exposed in less than a year.

In summation, in studying the first part of this document we should consider: 1) The vicious counter-revolutionary general offensive. 2) The growing de-legitimization of the Fujimori government and the rotten Peruvian state.

In the second part, "The Political Crisis Deepens and the Contradictions Escalate", we should focus on the process of bureaucrat capitalism. Our Party's thesis of bureaucrat capitalism is that it is the mode, the form, that capitalism assumes in backward semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries such as ours. This process is linked to the country's historical development. In eighteenth-century Peru capitalism developed only in the most embryonic way. This process picked up speed in the mid-nineteenth century, when the country was subjugated by British imperialism and suffered the consequences of the war with Chile.

After 1895 bureaucrat capitalism underwent three periods: 1) From 1895 to 1945, centred in the 1920s. This is the period of the development of bureaucrat capitalism. 2) From 1945 to 1980, centred in the 1960s and 1970s (following the 1968 corporatist, fascist coup by Velasco). This is the period of the deepening of bureaucrat capitalism. The Party put forward that the fascist coup was meant to fulfill three objectives: First, deepen bureaucrat capitalism; second, restructure Peruvian society; and third, prevent a revolution in Peru. Obviously they were not able to completely succeed in any of their objectives, although they laid a certain basis. The

most devastating proof of their failure was the initiation of the armed struggle in 1980. Thus began the third period, the destruction of bureaucrat capital, which continues today.

Bureaucrat capitalism was critically ill from birth. Today it has entered a general crisis and is approaching its doom. But if one examines the development of bureaucrat capitalism one can see that within the various periods there are subperiods. For example, within the first period there was a prologue, a preparatory phase. Then in the 1920s there was another phase, which laid the foundations for bureaucrat capitalism's development, only to be followed by a collapse. When the level of development that had been sought could not be achieved, that drove the country into crisis and led to a greater decline. Historical facts show this to be the case. During the second period, the period of the deepening of bureaucrat capitalism, once again there was a preparatory phase or prologue, a phase of building up the basis for development, and finally another crisis leading to an even worse collapse.

In the third period, the destruction of bureaucrat capitalism, which began in 1980, yet again there has been a prologue, a long and muddled phase of preparing conditions, extending into the nineties. Today they are laying the foundations for carrying out neo-liberal policies, and blabber about how they are carrying out a "revolution", but just as in bureaucrat capitalism's two previous periods, this phase of building up foundations during the third period will inevitably lead to another crisis, which will in turn give rise to an even more disastrous collapse. In order to differentiate between the second and third periods, we should emphasize that the state served as the main economic lever during the second period, while today they seek to have non-state enterprises play this role. History shows that this building up of a foundation does bring some results, but that it also leads to deeper crisis. All this demonstrates that today, in its third period, bureaucrat capitalism is in the midst of a general crisis in the ideological, political and economic spheres. This situation has been becoming increasingly critical since 1974, and there is no way they can overcome it. The state is falling apart politically: the president governs by decree, abusing the powers granted by Article 211, Paragraph 20, of their Constitution. The parliament cannot fulfill its assigned function as a legislative body, and the judiciary, ridiculed even by Fujimori and cut off from all funding, is increasingly at the mercy of the



president's beck and call. Furthermore, the laws themselves, such as the recent new penal code, are becoming increasingly fascistic. Every day is witness to new signs of fascism and fascistic positions. In the ideological sphere, they - like their imperialist masters - are staggering under the burden of an increasingly rotten and future-less ideology. Their only remaining option is to raise the banner of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, liberalism. That banner was already a tattered rag by the time of the First World War and today is long outmoded. These people are stubborn, but they have no future, while socialism has already proved that it has a brilliant future. Capitalism is a corpse and like many corpses it needs burying.

Thus, ideologically, politically and economically they are sinking into a deeper and deeper general crisis and are being demolished by people's war day by day.

The government faces an increasingly difficult situation, the most complicated and difficult situation Peru has ever known. They cannot handle it. Whatever measures they may adopt will lead to only the most fleeting improvement and complete bankruptcy. The main instrument of their destruction is the people's war based on the class struggle of the masses of people.

It is important to indicate bureaucrat capitalism's three periods and the specific character of each, especially the last period. This is what permits us to understand that they can never succeed in carrying out the three tasks faced by the Peruvian reactionaries and their imperialist masters, principally Yankee imperialism: to kick-start bureaucrat capitalism, restructure the state and wipe out the people's war. These tasks are historically and politically impossible. Even the reactionaries in Peru are saying that the Fujimori government is accomplishing nothing, that it is simply stumbling from failure to failure. This is only a part of the truth, because the problems that it increasingly faces are inevitable - they are the concrete reality of the bureaucrat road of the exploiters, the big bourgeoisie and big landowners and imperialism. They are the embodiment of a law, the law that the development of bureaucrat capitalism ripens the conditions for revolution, and the revolution, with the development of people's war, accelerates and grows more powerful, bringing the country-wide seizure of political power closer.

This second part of the document also takes up the special local elections. There has already been a lot of the usual prattle about them, as the kept hens of the press start their predictable clucking, but they cannot hide reality: today the Armed Forces not only vote, they directly appoint local officials. As their Cangallo document says, they will continue to do so. The truth is coming out. They used to brag about what they called the triumph of democracy but today they have to admit that there are over 400 districts where there are no local officials whatsoever. So much for their democracy. Furthermore, even though they cannot provide protection for candidates standing for local office they refuse to allow these candidates to withdraw. This is what happened with the United Left candidates in Ayacucho. In Junin, they have put forward the ringleaders of their paramilitary forces as candidates.

Therefore, for this rotten system elections are no more than a means to continue exploiting and oppressing the people. That is why the Party's tactic of boycotting elections is good. It develops the tendency of the people to turn against elections and serves the people's war.

The third part of the document, "The Boycott Develops the People's Tendency to Turn against Elections and Serves the Development of the People's War", centres on the advances that refute the slanders hurled against us in 1989, and emphasizes the evaluation made by the Second Plenum of the Central Committee: that in 1989 the People's War won a big victory with the establishment of Open People's Committees, and in 1990 it achieved strategic equilibrium. All it took was a simple phrase - Hail the strategic equilibrium! - and the reactionaries and revisionists began to tremble and gnash their teeth. Almost all of them have shouted themselves hoarse trying to deny it. They have even unleashed bloody and pointless military operations against us, venting their fury on the masses, as always, trying to "prove" that there is no strategic equilibrium. Why are they in such a mortal panic? Because the old order is about to die and be buried. The Party has always made good on its word. We have always done what we said we would. We said we were going to initiate the armed struggle and we did in 1980. Today we are embarking on the seizure of power country-wide; we have proclaimed strategic equilibrium and defined it concretely, and given it greater emphasis than ever before: "Strategic equilibrium and the

preparation of the counter-offensive means, for the enemy, striving to recapture their lost positions in order to save their system; for us it means preparing for the strategic offensive by organizing the seizure of state power." We have to grasp this well in order to deal with it increasingly well in practice. We have to thoroughly examine the question of strategic equilibrium, not only in terms of Chairman Mao's teachings but also in terms of the specific form it will take here in our country.

Furthermore, we should see how the Third Campaign to Advance in the Development of Base Areas, a part of the overall Great Plan for Developing Base Areas to Seize Political Power, is a product of the whole process of eleven years of people's war. The importance of the Third Campaign is that it successfully concludes the Plan to Advance and is therefore the link to a new plan. In short, the completion of this Third Campaign in May, June and July has been magnificent. Never before has the People's War, principally in the countryside and complementarily in the cities, penetrated so deeply nor risen to such heights. All of us, at all levels, should feel a great joy at having served whole-heartedly in such a far-reaching task. A few bricks and then a few more bricks all joined together make a solid wall. Let traitors try and negate it; if they do so, it is because of their class interests and in order to fill their own pockets, no matter how badly the Peruvian reactionaries and the imperialists pay them. We are very well acquainted with the reality we have personally experienced and created. So we in the Party, the People's Guerrilla Army, the New Political Power and the masses understand the great achievements of this heroic People's War.

Is the people's war having an impact? There is clear evidence that it is. For example, for the first time now there is debate in the U.S. Senate about the people's war in Peru. The reverberations of the people's war are reaching into the very lair of world reaction. This is not the main sign, but it is an important one. Meanwhile, in Peru, some people are building ultra-modern castles in the air. They include the genocidal national traitor Fujimori; the butchers General Malca, Minister of the Interior, and General Torres Aciego, Minister of Defence; dyed-in-the-wool pro-Yankee elements like Minister of Economics Boloña; groveling social climbers such as Bernales, Tapia, Gonzales, etc. These people, all obsequious flunkies for imperialism and the exploiting classes, are begging for imperialist "aid" - mainly from the

U.S. - and imagine that it will lead to the defeat of the people's war. They try and use the very advances of the people's war as an argument for why the imperialists should "re-admit Peru into the world financial community" and defend the ultra-reactionary Peruvian state.

In the U.S., the opening moves for next year's elections are taking place, and Bush is going all-out to be re-elected. In the Middle East he won some raggedy success, a victory that was good enough though everyone knows that he did not fulfill his goals. We put it this way because committing a cowardly and bullying assault against a people cannot be considered much of an achievement, especially today when every struggle of the peoples of the world for their liberation is a component part of the world revolution (we are fully conscious of Saddam Hussein's class limitations). Still, this was Yankee imperialism's "victory". Moreover, they embarked on the war in the Gulf in order to give their economy a boost, but it did not turn out as they expected and they are continuing to suffer serious economic difficulties in relation to the other imperialist powers. This does not, however, mean that they are no longer an imperialist superpower. Further, Bush declared a war on drugs, and here, again, he is running up against the people, because just as his attempts to deal with their economic problems by raising taxes and reducing spending on social programmes have given rise to resistance by the people of the U.S., so also his war against drugs is bringing him up against the poorest and most exploited masses, especially the oppressed minorities, and again he has had little success. This war on drugs is closely linked to the fight against the people's war in Peru and the class struggle in the Andean region, and this has its repercussions in U.S. political affairs. Thus we must conclude that this matter will not be over in September, when in order for U.S. aid to be "unfrozen" the Peruvian government must comply with an "anti-drug" treaty stipulating, among other things, its respect for human rights - which this government systematically violates. The people's war in Peru has become an electoral issue, and we find it very interesting that its repercussions are being felt in their Congress. In addition, this is a contributing factor to the struggle being waged by our comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and unites us further, as does the carrying out of a common campaign against imperialism, principally Yankee

imperialism, under the slogan Yankee Go Home! This is another example of the achievements and impact of the Third Campaign.

The fourth part of the document, "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!" is the main one. Here we lay out our criteria for how to evaluate Marxism today. We examine the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, in four fields, and reaffirm our principles. There is even an exposition of how we understand it as an integral whole, taking up, in ascending order and proportionally, the contributions made by Marx, the greater contributions made by Lenin, and the much greater contributions made by Chairman Mao, which also shows the development of Maoism as a new, third and higher stage.

A first and most timely conclusion to be drawn: In order to develop the world proletarian revolution, demolish imperialism and international reaction, and smash revisionism, it is decisive to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This is the heart of the matter. In the 1960s Maoism was called our most powerful weapon, our atomic bomb, an unbeatable weapon. Today we should be even more aware of Maoism's historic importance, its invincibility, that Marxism is all-powerful because it is true. This is the decisive factor, on which everything else depends and from which everything else flows. If we were to stray from Maoism the revolution would suffer, but they would never be able to stop the revolution because Marxism-Leninism-Maoism would assert itself anew to take the lead. What we need principally is Maoism and we need to raise its banner very high, higher and higher; this means that we have to defend it and not just uphold it - we raise banners to defend them - but the principal thing is to apply it.

Why should we uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism? In order to advance the world proletarian revolution. Revolution is the main trend in the world today. There is no future for humanity without the complete and total victory of the revolution, in other words, communism. Therefore the question is how to advance the world revolution, and that means carrying it out, making revolution. As has been pointed out, the question is not how many of us there are but how determined we are to do it. In 1848 there was just Marx and Engels. Today, 143 years later, there are millions of us around the world. Then we had

nothing; today we have two glorious and tremendously rich historical experiences, experiences that live on in the proletariat and peoples, in us, and once again we must emphasize that the restoration of capitalism does not negate the fact that revolution is the main trend. The reactionaries may dream of refuting this fact, but in vain, because the world proletarian revolution is advancing and we are part of that advance. It is true that this advance comes at a price that must be paid in blood, but what does not? Without the blood shed by communists and revolutionaries around the world we would not be here.

We need Maoism to demolish imperialism and international reaction and sweep them off the face of the earth. No matter how much rubbish they throw at us, in the end we will bury them and all their debris along with them. There is no way to stop this great historical housecleaning.

We also need Maoism to smash revisionism. Imperialism and revisionism will go down the drain together but you can't fight imperialism without fighting revisionism.

We reaffirm Maoism's decisive importance. We are absolutely convinced, untroubled by the slightest doubt, much less paralyzed. We - the communists, the class, the revolutionaries - are optimists, and nothing can stop us.

All this brings us to the slogan Beat Back the Counter-revolutionary General Offensive!. This must be our watchword.

We should also draw a second conclusion: We must concretize a task we have already agreed upon: Create public opinion and unleash deep-going ideological work among the masses. Let's carry out this task resolutely and immediately. Marxism teaches the importance of agitation and propaganda. Marx's words have flowered all over the world, in almost every language. Lenin taught that no matter how much time may pass between the sowing and reaping, propaganda always bears magnificent fruit. Chairman Mao said that both sides, the reaction and the revolution, need to create public opinion: they need to create public opinion against revolution in order to perpetuate exploitation, while we need to create public opinion in order to use revolutionary violence to seize and defend political power. Without winning public opinion for the revolution we cannot seize power.

We have a glorious ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, the most powerful weapon in the world today. We have its creative application, Gonzalo Thought. So let's arm minds - arm more and more minds and do it more and more thoroughly. Win over people's minds and their hands will be armed. It is not for nothing that our Party has always had a reputation for being strong on politics, because politics is nothing but the concrete application of ideology in the struggle to seize political power. Today our ideology is under attack from all sides and in every sphere, and these attacks will mount. But they are afraid to confront us directly - in a straight-on ideological debate with Marxism they could only lose. The bourgeoisie's critique does not go beyond wild assertions and baseless epithets. What do they have to counterpose to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism? The new bourgeois ideologues are ephemeral. For example, Fukuyama, whose star seemed to shine so brightly for a little while and then flickered and went out like a match. He denied that there is any development in history and proclaimed the death of ideology. Actually, he especially proclaimed the death of the ideology of the proletariat and excluded the ideology of the bourgeoisie from this fate because imperialism had supposedly prevailed as an economic and political system. But history and ideology continue to do battle, driven by the class struggle; his ravings have smashed up against history and the battles have continued between the ideologies of different classes, whether it be Arab fundamentalists, with their religion; neo-liberals, neo-positivists and fascists, with their various forms of bourgeois ideology; or us, the communists, including in the people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru, with our scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Thus once again the bourgeoisie's ranting and pseudo-theories blow away like smoke in the wind.

Lately they have been going back to Joseph de Maistre, which is truly ludicrous. Even Uslar Pietri, whose work was awarded a prize by the King of Spain, says de Maistre was the enemy of everything progressive, which of course he was since he was a die-hard Papist fanatic. By wrapping itself in the cloak of its most backward "theoreticians" all the bourgeoisie is doing is reinfecting itself with its own pustulance. Lacking any fresh blood with which to reinvigorate their rotten corpse, the bourgeoisie and reaction in general can only fill their veins with more and more poisonous pus.

How should we respond to their ideological attacks? We must thoroughly expose them, rip off their fraudulent and stinking cover, and confront them with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, applied to concrete reality. Marxism is the only scientifically true ideology. It can move mountains, change the world and set it right-side up. Idealism can only stand reality on its head. Marx said that philosophy had been enchained, snatched away from the masses, entangled in words and cobwebs to hide it from the masses. We should liberate philosophy and give it back to the masses. We have to wield our philosophy by mobilizing the masses. Creating public opinion is a matter of mobilizing the masses - let them be agitators and propagandists. Let's launch a mass movement to educate the masses in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and in Gonzalo Thought. The necessity for this has been a basic Marxist teaching since the beginning, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a living and glorious example of mobilizing the masses with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology in order to continue building socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to persist in revolution and not allow its fruits to be snatched away, to defend the revolution. Mobilize the masses in an immense and profound theoretical, ideological movement, with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. Liberate them from this feudal, bourgeois, pro-imperialist muck that makes them see the world upside-down. Let philosophy out of the desk drawer, liberate it from the hands of book worshippers and phoney academic institutions and take it to the masses, to the day-to-day class struggle, to the people. They have been robbed of their soul - reclaim it and give it back to them so that they no longer let themselves be fooled. Philosophy and science do not belong to the erudite but to the masses. Today the masses are becoming increasingly dialectical but this must be made conscious, so that they consciously employ the laws of dialectics and apply the law of contradiction with a full understanding of what it means and apply it to nature, society and ideas. The masses are capable of this achievement because they are the makers of history and the creators of everything. Furthermore, all knowledge arises from practice - above all, human beings change things, in their daily social practice, and it is through this process of changing things that they learn and understand. This understanding acquired in practice is again returned to practice, giving rise to further changes, to development, advance and



transformations, but since everything bears the stamp of one class or another, this practice, this knowledge, these transformations will also have a class character - for or against the proletariat and the people. The source of all knowledge is practice, the transforming historical action of the masses, of humanity. At any given time in history it is through social practice that the masses arm their minds with the ideas corresponding to that time and therefore arm their hands to realize the tasks assigned by history. Study is an indispensable complement to this process. People enter into action within a particular class context and in the interests of a particular class, and this gives rise to ideas, to ideology. Their organized action leads to social transformation, an advance for the majority of people. Engels teaches us to hammer home ideas with actions. We in the Party have been applying this approach since the 1970s, and we should persist in it.

How, then, can we arm the masses with the ideology and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought? The masses become ideologically armed by dealing with the concrete problems they face in the ideological, political and economic spheres, on the basis of our work of raising their level and of popularization. As part of evaluating the experience of the rectification campaign launched by the First Plenum of the Central Committee, we should take up the question of raising standards and popularization. In this we should distinguish between leadership and cadre on the one hand and basic Party members on the other, and among different levels of Party organization, that is, the Party's membership, the People's Guerrilla Army and the mass organizations generated by the Party, as well as among the different mass organizations fighting alongside us.

Among the advantages at its disposal the reaction has many means of information. Its highly developed mass media system includes newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations, etc. We don't have all that but we can count on an unbeatable resource - the fact that the masses are the makers of history. Knowledge arises from practice and practice is what the masses do. We've said that the masses must be trained as agitators and propagandists; it is they who fight and resist, they know how to do all that because they have always done it and therefore they can do this as well. What should be our method? The spoken word. The oral method is readily at hand and it allows us to go lower and deeper among the masses. It allows a

more flexible approach since it can be adapted to the particular audience - peasants, workers, students, intellectuals, soldiers, shopkeepers, etc. It is more flexible and tactical, within, of course, the context of an overall strategy. We should also employ the printed word, using clear and simple language, and fight with the pen as well as with the sword. We should use graphics, which are especially good, for example, for illiterate peasants. We should use all the modern methods we can get our hands on, without forgetting that the spoken word is the principal method because it is the most accessible to the masses of people.

To reiterate, since we serve the masses and wield the spoken word - which doesn't cost a penny, we have all the tactical means we need. For example, we should encourage people to express their grievances. All you need is that a group of people recount their experiences with increasing oppression and exploitation. If just one person starts another will follow and soon they will all feel the explosive strength of their anger. This spurs people on and moves them to take action against the causes of exploitation and against the oppressors. We should encourage different groups of people in many different places to express their grievances so that their words join together like a raging hurricane. One person alone is weak but many people joined together make up a mighty force. Another form of written mass propaganda is dazibaos. Chairman Mao taught that these wall writings are very effective for democracy. The masses don't even need paper - they can write on the walls with chalk, coal or paint if they have any, using big letters to write simple phrases to say what their demands are, what forms of struggle to use, which experiences are positive and which are negative, how they evaluate their leaders. This is an expression of mass democracy. It is the complete opposite of phoney bourgeois democracy, which is so highly touted but democratic only for the rulers and exploiters and not for the people. When the masses think and act they have an inexhaustible strength and can make contributions in every field: politics, military affairs, economics, the arts and sciences. Let's keep developing people's democracy; let the masses discuss plans and evaluate their implementation as the soldiers do in the People's Guerrilla Army - this will lead to a better understanding, greater unity and more powerful action. Let the masses show their abilities as agitators and propagandists in the midst of democracy.

A great mass ideological movement needs the leadership of the Party, because the Party is the most conscious element, as long as it grasps, wields and applies Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, the laws that govern revolution and politics, in other words the laws of the class struggle for political power, of people's war as the principal form of struggle. Without the Party the masses couldn't even be equipped with a plan, and it is indispensable that the Party lead them with a good plan. We know that a plan is an ideological form, and the Party's plan is an expression of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. Once the plan is formulated the Party has to set the various organizations into motion, because a political line cannot become a material force without organizational forms to put it into concrete practice. These forms can be Party organizations, the army, the organizations generated by the Party, organs of political power or organizations created by the lowest and deepest layers of the masses. Let the masses carry out this great ideological mobilization to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism (as the universal truth) and Gonzalo Thought (as specifically principal for us as its creative application to our conditions), and let armed actions drive these ideas home. Thus only the Communist Party can lead this great process of mass agitation and propaganda. As Chairman Mao taught, "As long as there are masses and a Party all sorts of miracles can be accomplished."

## CHAPTER IV. THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN

At this meeting today we are implementing the decision of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee. Our duty was to carry forward the rectification campaign, and the duty of the lower organizations, Party members, fighters, activists and masses was to carry it out. Right now we are bringing this campaign to its culmination. We have studied "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!", individually and collectively, debated it and applied it.

From what has been said so far certain observations can be made regarding these discussions. The main problem is how to apply the study of this document to the current political situation. We communists learn to do study in order to apply it; otherwise we would be worshipping books instead of using Marxism to solve burning problems. Abstract study is metaphysical, idealist and bourgeois. We aren't pragmatists, either; we don't study for narrowly utilitarian reasons like the imperialists and vulgar materialists. We study theory in order to apply it in practice and transform reality, to change the world in the interests of the class and the people. So the question is how to apply it, on three levels:

1) To the world proletarian revolution. Here there is only one issue. The document lays out the burning questions of Marxism today: revolutionary violence, the class struggle, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the struggle against revisionism. Of these four, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat is principal. Here the point is that Maoism is a new, third and higher stage, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, because it is with Maoism that we shall storm the heavens. In this lies the value of the document - it reaffirms Marxism and holds that to be a Marxist today means being Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist; it grasps that Maoism is a new, third and higher stage, in force and valid throughout the world, for the communists, for the proletariat and peoples of the world. This is the decisive thing. Therefore, our first stand flows from this, from Maoism, and it has been agreed by our Congress: The principal element of Gonzalo Thought is that it has defined Maoism as the new, third and higher stage.

2) The Peruvian revolution. Here the principal thing is that the document serves the building of the new state through people's war. This state is being

built by the People's Guerrilla Army and under the leadership of the Communist Party, based on the masses of people. This document serves the country-wide seizure of power. It deals with extremely important points that should be applied in the new state today.

3) How should we apply the document on the individual level? It is incumbent upon each of us to assimilate and embody the document in order to better serve the revolution. In this regard, all those here are directly concerned with being intellectuals and with artistic questions, and the point is to always put politics in command. When people study Marxism, it shakes them up and the contradiction between the two world outlooks comes to the fore; Marxism deals blows to the non-proletarian aspect and drives on the process of steeling people ideologically. As in every task, there are three stages, each with its own contradiction. At first the question is whether or not to take up study, and once begun the task is half-way done. Then, as things unfold, the question is whether to persevere or quit. This is another struggle, which came up here in the form of drawing out the process until it became burdensome. This was a bad situation because it meant that the old and bourgeois would prevail. We discussed the problem and agreed to carry out this task by giving it priority and using shock tactics to make a breakthrough. This is a very useful method, part of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought style of work. It means concentrating all our energies on the task at hand and spending as much time as necessary until it is completed. This is analogous to carrying out a forced march when the enemy is after us so that we outmanoeuvre him instead of letting ourselves be caught. In study, instead of letting proletarian ideology be defeated by the bourgeois ideology contending with it in our own minds, we take up this new ideology that we embody and use it to defeat the bourgeois, idealist, alien class outlook. The old ideas resist and we all have to consciously and voluntarily wage a battle in our own minds until we finally break and defeat this resistance arising within ourselves. The old calls out to us: How can you leave behind the ways you know so well! How can you abandon the ways that sustained you for so many years! The old paints everything rotten in rosy colours in order to weaken our will. Shock tactics are very effective against this resistance.

In the third stage, the conclusion, there arises a contradiction between carrying the task through to the end or not, until you decide that you are going to carry it through and actually do so. When a particular course of study is completed, that represents a leap, and shock tactics are a very helpful method to aid in making that leap.

You have carried through this rectification campaign. This is simply a form in which to unfold the struggle between two lines in order to mould ourselves to the ideology of the proletariat.

How much advance have you achieved? Starting out from ignorance of the document's content you have gone on to study and debate that has allowed you to arm yourselves with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought outlook concerning four basic burning questions facing Marxism today. From the opinions that have been expressed here, it can be seen that you are applying it to current problems.

The accomplishment of this task has given rise to a leap and a transformation in regard to these four basic problems of Marxism today.

In conclusion, we should emphasize that the document is a serious contribution to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought counteroffensive against the converging counter-revolutionary offensive by revisionism and imperialism, and to confronting the counter-revolutionary general offensive. Therefore in arming ourselves with this document we are serving the Peruvian revolution and the world proletarian revolution. No question can ever be regarded as exhausted - all knowledge is relative since it reflects matter only partially and must be further developed; but this document conforms to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and therein lies its merit. Further, its way of looking at things follows Gonzalo Thought. Therefore it is Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought.

## CHAPTER V. CONCLUSIONS

1) This has been a very good meeting. The work has advanced. Taking up study in the midst of war helps us handle it better. Our study has prepared the conditions for a bigger leap in practice.

2) In summing up the opinions expressed earlier, we have dealt with the contradiction between analysis and synthesis in regard to study and have said that the initial discussion tended to focus on analysis. But now, afterwards, in the subsequent discussions, a synthesis has been achieved, and the essence has been grasped: to take a stand for Maoism.

A qualitative leap was being prepared, and now it has taken place. The study suffered from the limitation of neglecting synthesis but it prepared the conditions for a leap. If you grasp analysis and synthesis, study becomes more powerful and the essence is grasped, and a leap takes place.

3) Marxism has been grasped in regard to four basic burning questions.

4) We study in order to apply it to today's class struggle, to win ourselves some manoeuvring room in our fighting by taking up burning problems. We should look at what is ahead of us and not just at what is in the document.

5) This meeting has been helpful in gaining an understanding of problems that are being confronted throughout the Party. Thus our experience here and what we have done will be very helpful for everyone. For example, the whole Party will benefit from the method of giving priority to this task and applying shock tactics to it, in order to complete our study in the rectification campaign.

6) It is necessary, of course, to gain a better grasp of specific political tasks in relation to the building of new political power through people's war in order to seize power country-wide, but for you concretely this means your work as intellectuals and artists. Therefore your watchword should be "Serve the people and follow the Party's leadership".

7) How much have you advanced? You have taken a leap through studying systematically, intensely and with concrete problems in mind. There is a better understanding of what Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought is, and why it must be upheld, defended and applied to thoroughly transform Peruvian society and serve the world revolution.

8) If there's been a leap, how should we consolidate it? How should this new leap be developed? How to consolidate it and how to develop it are two questions to be taken up from the point of view of how to increasingly and better serve the Party, the revolution in Peru and the world proletarian revolution, to serve the emancipation of all humanity and advance towards communism.

We propose continuing with the study of V.I. Lenin's essay "Karl Marx" to strengthen our ideological training and the reports from the Second Plenum of the Central Committee to strengthen our political training.

This has been a worthwhile effort. We congratulate everyone.



**MAY THE STRATEGIC  
STALEMATE SHAKE THE  
COUNTRY MORE!**

This important document by Chairman Gonzalo is fundamental to understand the meaning of the strategic stalemate and the tasks to carry out the Construction of the Conquest of Power.

## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

### 1. "THE STATE"

It is convenient that we ask ourselves some questions about Lenin's "The State", it is useful because it aims to see the State, to pay even more attention to it. This document serves to see the process of the State and to understand substantive things both for us and to fight the general counter-revolutionary offensive. In it Lenin tells us, talking about the State and the difficulty of studying it, how it can be advanced:

"Because it is such a fundamental, such a basic question in all politics, and because not only in such stormy and revolutionary times as the present, but even in the most peaceful times, you will come across it every day in any newspaper in connection with any economic or political question it will be all the easier to return to it. Every day, in one context or another, you will be returning to the question: what is the State, what is its nature, what is its significance and what is the attitude of our Party, the party that is fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the Communist Party — what is its attitude to the State? And the chief thing is that you should acquire, as a result of your reading, as a result of the talks and lectures you will hear on the State, the ability to approach this question independently, since you will be meeting with it on the most diverse occasions, in connection with the most trifling questions, in the most unexpected contexts and in discussions and disputes with opponents. Only when you learn to find your way about independently in this question may you consider yourself sufficiently confirmed in your convictions and able with sufficient success to defend them against anybody and at any time."

Here, the most important thing is that we encounter this problem every day for the most different reasons in every little question, in the most unexpected combinations, in the conversations and in the disputes with the

opponents; this is very certain, today more than ever. That is what is important.

He tells us later:

“I have already advised you to turn for help to Engels’s book ‘The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State’. This book says that every State in which private ownership of the land and means of production exists, in which capital dominates, however democratic it may be, is a capitalist State, a machine used by the capitalists to keep the working class and the poor peasants in subjection; while universal suffrage, a Constituent Assembly, a parliament are merely a form, a sort of promissory note, which does not change the real State of affairs.”

This is what interests us, the State “a machine used by the capitalists to keep the working class and the poor peasants in subjection”; and suffrage, the Constituent Assembly, Parliament, are form, not essence, content. The content, the reason for these modalities is nothing but maintaining exploitation, oppression. This is what interests us. And then he adds:

“The forms of domination of the State may vary: capital manifests its power in one way where one form exists, and in another way where another form exists — but essentially the power is in the hands of capital, whether there are voting qualifications or some other rights or not, or whether the republic is a democratic one or not — in fact, the more democratic it is the cruder and more cynical is the rule of capitalism. One of the most democratic republics in the world is the United States of America, yet nowhere (and those who have been there since 1905 probably know it) is the power of capital, the power of a handful of multimillionaires over the whole of society, so crude and so openly corrupt as in America. Once capital exists, it dominates the whole of society, and no democratic republic, no franchise can change its nature.”

This is very good, well explained and perfectly understood. He goes on like this:

“The democratic republic and universal suffrage were an immense progressive advance as compared with feudalism; they have enabled the proletariat to achieve its present unity and solidarity, to form those firm and disciplined ranks which are waging a systematic struggle against capital.”

The text that follows must be read, but we are not going to analyse it now; later on we will highlight it:

“It is not only the conscious hypocrites, scientists and priests that uphold and defend the bourgeois lie that the State is free and that it is its mission to defend the interests of all; so also do a large number of people who sincerely adhere to the old prejudices and who cannot understand the transition from the old, capitalist society to socialism. Not only people who are directly dependent on the bourgeoisie, not only those who live under the yoke of capital or who have been bribed by capital (there are a large number of all sorts of scientists, artists, priests, etc., in the service of capital), but even people who are simply under the sway of the prejudice of bourgeois liberty, have taken up arms against Bolshevism all over the world because when the Soviet Republic was founded it rejected these bourgeois lies and openly declared: you say your State is free, whereas in reality, as long as there is private property, your State, even if it is a democratic republic, is nothing but a machine used by the capitalists to suppress the workers, and the freer the State, the more clearly is this expressed.”

Here we must highlight how many are being deceived, how deeply rooted is this absurd idea that the State is free, that it is above others, that it serves everyone. And he tells us that this is true of every State, he gives the example of the United States, of Switzerland:

“There are fewer soldiers, a smaller standing army, in these countries — Switzerland has a militia and every Swiss has a gun at home, while in America there was no standing army until quite recently and so when there is a strike the bourgeoisie arms, hires soldiery and suppresses the strike; and nowhere is this suppression of the working-class movement accompanied by such ruthless severity as in Switzerland and the USA, and nowhere does the influence of capital in parliament manifest itself as powerfully as in these countries.”

He tells us, that they are very democratic there, they have a small army, but when there is a strike, they hire mercenaries, they arm themselves; here we are seeing something similar, but the People's War makes the number of their repressive forces insufficient. Thus, they always arm their armies, they buy mercenaries, they defend their wealth and power. First, there is a paragraph that also deserves to be highlighted, talking about these countries:

"Nowhere does capital rule so cynically and ruthlessly, and nowhere is it so clearly apparent, as in these countries, although they are democratic republics, no matter how prettily they are painted and notwithstanding all the talk about labour democracy and the equality of all citizens."

Very good paragraph. No matter how much they declaim their democracy, nowhere is such a cynical and implacable rule; it is a cynical and implacable rule, no matter how elegantly they are dressed up and no matter how much they talk about labour democracy and equality of all citizens. Lenin tells us later, in those countries, the United States and the European countries: "The power of capital is everything, the stock exchange is everything, while parliament and elections are marionettes, puppets...". We like this very much, even more today, because we are seeing the same thing in the Peruvian parliament; however, here they stuff us with democracy, but this serves to unmask their democracy and their democratic paradigms (the United States and European countries), and makes us see what this system implies; in short, the Peruvian parliament is a great example of their putridity.

And he continues to tell us:

"But the eyes of the workers are being opened more and more, and the idea of Soviet government is spreading farther and farther afield, especially after the bloody carnage we have just experienced."

He speaks of the 1<sup>st</sup> World War.

"The necessity for a relentless war on the capitalists is becoming clearer and clearer to the working class."

After he made the course of the whole State, starting from making us see the necessity of studying the problem of the State, he comes to the bourgeois State, these are the final paragraphs that we have read. Therein lies the bourgeois democracy unmasked, the fallacy of freedom of the State, the vile deception that it serves everyone and the demagogic spawning of labour democracy and equality of citizens, and exposed the wimpy condition of all parliaments. Elections are puppets, he tells us, because where is the power, the strength of the bourgeoisie, it is in the strength of capital; this is everything, he tells us, the stock exchange is everything; and by coincidence the stock exchange was recently opened in Peru. Arriving here, Lenin says: The workers question the bourgeois order, they understand the necessity of overthrowing the old State and therefore of developing a relentless struggle against the capitalists, and he ends up saying about the new system, the New State:

“Whatever guise a republic may assume, however democratic it may be, if it is a bourgeois republic, if it retains private ownership of the land and factories, and if private capital keeps the whole of society in wage-slavery, that is, if the republic does not carry out what is proclaimed in the Programme of our Party and in the Soviet Constitution, then this State is a machine for the suppression of some people by others. And we shall place this machine in the hands of the class that is to overthrow the power of capital. We shall reject all the old prejudices about the State meaning universal equality — for that is a fraud: as long as there is exploitation there cannot be equality. The landowner cannot be the equal of the worker, or the hungry man the equal of the full man. This machine called the State, before which people bowed in superstitious awe, believing the old tales that it means popular rule, tales which the proletariat declares to be a bourgeois lie — this machine the proletariat will smash. So far we have deprived the capitalists of this machine and have taken it over. We shall use this machine, or bludgeon, to destroy all exploitation. And when the possibility of exploitation no longer exists anywhere in the world, when there are no longer owners of land and owners of factories, and when there is no longer a situation in which some gorge while others starve, only when the possibility of this no longer exists shall we consign this machine to the scrap-

heap. Then there will be no State and no exploitation. Such is the view of our Communist Party.”

It is a good text to study and to understand the problem of the State and even better to make the broadest masses aware of a necessary subject, more so today. It is very good because after the first part, I repeat, it comes to the bourgeois democracy, it criticizes it thoroughly, it dismembers its essence and then he puts forward our State, which is to conquer the power, to make the State machine itself by destroying the old State machinery; and he says, we destroy all traces of exploitation, of oppression, and there will be only equality, and when there will be no classes, then there will be no State any more. The question is that as long as the State does not fulfil the programme of the Communist Party, it will not be a State that really benefits the class, the people; thus, only the New State can serve it. This is very good, it puts forward our final course and perspective; and what is principal, it demands us to understand what is the State, to destroy the Old State, to raise the New State, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and with it transform the world (democracy for the people, dictatorship for the collapsed exploiters) and to march to Communism, there we will just leave the State forever.

## **2. “DEMOCRACY AND THE WAR OF RESISTANCE”**

The other text is by Chairman Mao, in the “Interview With the British Journalist James Bertram”, on page 51 of his second volume, the title is “Democracy and the War of Resistance”; We have already studied it in the Preparatory Session of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum, it says:

“We are very interested in the problem of how to develop democracy to further advance our work for the development of the New State; here Chairman Mao deals with the problem of democracy and links it to the war. The Chairman emphasizes that democracy is not opposed to People’s War; he states that in August 1936 the Communist Party of China launched the slogan of Democratic Republic with three characteristics that we can specify as follows:

1. The State and the government are sustained in a front of classes, it is a joint dictatorship. Within the criteria of democratic revolution that we

follow, the problem is to what extent the national bourgeoisie participates in the government, but the question is on whose side it is; our Programme continues to respect its interests. The problem is to develop the State system as a joint dictatorship of three classes, as we are doing, or of four including the national bourgeoisie, which in perspective we must concretize.

2. The government is organized according to democratic centralism, Chairman Mao tells us that this is a contradiction. In our case both aspects are necessary; the basis is democracy, the guideline is centralism. We must persist in democratic centralism in order to develop the New State and for democracy to express itself more. This problem is particularly linked to how to develop the relationship with the peasantry, specifically, to the leadership of the proletariat over the peasantry. They insist and will insist that we intend to substitute the will of the masses and their forms of organization, especially those of the peasantry; this is totally false, the question is that we created the New Power and we need to develop it more, and the basis of it is to build People's Committees, thus we develop the community and the peasant work as a whole. We must make the peasantry see that the community is tied to a reactionary legislation, that the present organizational forms are to subjugate and control it; while the People's Committee provides the peasantry, mainly poor, the concrete exercise of Power in all forms, in alliance with the proletariat and led by the latter through the Communist Party. We must strive to make the People's Assemblies march, as well as the organizations that make it up; be concerned that the People's Committee organizes more and more the social life of all the people and that the masses obtain real and concrete benefits; make the people, mainly the poor peasantry, see in facts that the People's Committee, that the New Power benefits them and serves their interests; and strive so that those from below exercise more Power, themselves.

We must always maintain and manage centralism as a guideline and the key is the leadership of the Party. The armament of the people is concretized in the People's Guerrilla Army in its form of grassroots force and is the support of the People's Committee; then, it is the peasantry itself, especially the poor, forming this army, who guarantees the New Power. Without forgetting that the Party absolutely directs the People's Guerrilla Army.



3. The government guarantees the people the strict fulfillment of the rights of the people, among them political liberties, especially the freedom to organize and arm themselves.

Chairman Mao also says there is no impassable gulf between democracy and centralism, both are necessary. On the one hand, the government we want must truly represent the will of the people, have the will and support of the broad masses of the people and the people; and they must enjoy the freedom to support it and influence its policies as part of participating in the exercise of power. This is the meaning of democracy, to give it paramount importance. Likewise, the centralization of administrative power is necessary, once the political measures demanded by the people are transmitted with the approval of the representative body, the elected government carries out the policy. Hence the importance of the Assemblies, of the generated organizations, in this way the people carry out the policy. A decisive thing is the leadership of the Party. He tells us that only by establishing democratic centralism can a government be really strong, in our case if we had a foreign invasion, the establishment of democratic centralism would allow us to have a really strong government, much more necessary in those circumstances.

The Chairman tells us that systems of government in wartime can be divided into two types: democratic centralism and absolute centralization, depending on the nature of the war. The unjust war type generates a government of absolute centralism that does not need democracy. This government, in order to carry its counter-subversive war to a greater development, necessarily develops a system of absolute centralism which denies democracy, fights it, persecutes it, and this is expressed more and more in spite of any cackling about 'democracy'. That is their course, they cannot get out of it. In a just war democratic centralism is a necessity, it serves the people and has the approval of the people. The more democratic the government is the more democratically it can carry on the People's War, that is why it is essential that we develop people's democracy. The key is to develop democracy, indispensable for our course: the conquest of power.

We need the people to be direct participants, protagonists, that the masses themselves wage more and more the People's War; thus the People's War

will express all its force because it is a war of the masses. Of the mobilization of the masses in the People's War we can fear nothing, rather we need it; what can worry us is that the people do not participate in the People's War. On the other hand, imperialism and reaction in their eagerness to annihilate the People's War use the masses as cannon fodder, then a conflict arises and the masses, the people become more an arena of conflict and the contradiction between reaction and imperialism for wanting to mobilize the masses for their counter-subversive war and us for mobilizing them for the People's War develops in a bloody and complex manner. It is a fact that we must confront with clarity and great resolution; especially if today it occurs at a higher level through the multiplication and arming of the old *mesnadas*, reorganized in 'peasant patrols', 'defense committees', 'urban patrols', etc. Once again the masses are the great arena of contention between revolution and counterrevolution in this new stage of strategic stalemate. Objectively they do not represent the interests of the people, we do; they cannot win over the masses, they have to force them, oppress them so that they follow them and that engenders resistance. We can lead them because we represent their interests: and at the end of the day this hard struggle makes the masses come over to our side, that is why we need to give them more democracy. If we look at the period in which this struggle is taking place, it is not enough that they cannot represent them, nor is it enough that we represent their interests, we must strive to be superior to reaction in order to overcome their sinister campaigns and counterrevolutionary plans, to beat them on all levels. This requires developing our policy, particularly that of the Front, as well as the People's War, making it more massive. But these tasks are defined in function of how we handle ideology and politics; of how we concretize the Programme, especially the concrete one, how we imprint them on the masses with actions that rivet propaganda and agitation: of how to organize the masses in all its modalities, mainly by making them arm themselves, exercise the New Power and see that the New State is theirs, for it is truly beneficial to them. That the masses really exercise the Power must be clearly seen in the country; it is an unprecedented fact, and we must extend it. Our central problem is to expand the New State, to develop it; that is our endeavor in this period which is guided by the conquest of power throughout the country, and to build that conquest.

Chairman Mao tells us that the nature of war determines the relations between the government and the people. This is a law of history. We are within that law, let us fulfill it with firmness, resolution and conviction that following that path we will conquer power throughout the country. This text is extremely important; study it and apply it.”

Finally we would like to insist on two problems. First, reaction, the Peruvian State in particular, in order to direct the counterrevolutionary war, needs to apply absolute centralism, if it does not apply it, it will not be able to organize it, much less develop it to defend its old order; having reached the strategic balance this need is even more peremptory, more urgent, hence the measures and decrees laws given in relation to the State and particularly with the role and direction of the Armed Forces which now has legal authorization to intervene in all areas and throughout the country. But this process is not yet finished, it is only one step in the absolute centralization, in that of bourgeois democracy, in the reactionarization of the old State, other steps will necessarily follow; therefore, their bourgeois democracy is more and more being torn to pieces by themselves, they are not free from it; the shouts, gestures and democratic poses of the old reactionary parties, the talk of parliament, are nothing but that in the development of the absolute centralization to combat the People’s War. However, once again we must make it clear, we are not for the State coup and we reiterate that the people have never been asked for permission or consulted in this regard, they give it when it serves their interests. But, at present, the fundamental question is not the State coup, the question is the absolute centralization to which they are marching at this time, what we see unfolding is an absolutism of the Executive, a presidential absolutism, centering everything on Fujimori; this is the path that the reactionary nature of the Peruvian State is following today and what the Armed Forces support and serve while they are taking over the repressive and bureaucratic systems of the State and extending their barracks control over the population. This galloping State reactionarization is mainly the answer to the strategic stalemate, to the second stage of the war we are in; it is a forceful political demonstration of the strategic stalemate we have reached, it is the simplest and best proof. Likewise, it is the most resounding lie to the hoax of “strict respect for human rights” that Fujimori and his government are trying to sell abroad in order to facilitate the

growing intervention of imperialism, mainly Yankee, against the People's War. Let us recall, moreover, that the 1<sup>st</sup> Plenum of the Central Committee (February 1990) established that, whoever would assume the government would have three tasks: to re-launch bureaucratic capitalism, to readjust the State and to annihilate the People's War; thus, the measures and legislative decrees also aim at re-launching and readjusting.

The second problem to insist on is that the development of the People's War is linked to democracy, to democratic centralism; the People's War necessarily requires and develops democracy, people's democracy, not just democracy but people's democracy. Thus, there are two paths: they for absolute centralism, we for democratic centralism; they for a reactionarization of the State, we for a democratization of the State, a people's democracy, a People's Republic of Peru. We need to develop more democracy in the New Power; all the actions with the masses must be done developing more people's democracy, it is very necessary, it serves to strengthen the work. Just as democracy strengthens us, it weakens reaction; just as in the People's War absolute centralism is counterproductive, for reaction it is the only way, especially in time of war, and even more so in a counter-subversive war.

### **3. "ON THE RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN ON THE STUDY OF 'ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE'S WAR, YES!'"**

In this introduction, we must also take into account and study the document "On the Rectification Campaign With 'Elections, No! People's War, Yes!'" from August. It raises in its first part how to study; to pay attention to analysis and synthesis, to the relation of both. To simply analyze without synthesizing is metaphysics, analysis is necessary but it must lead to synthesis because in it the leap is produced, understanding is generated, that is the axis; let us pay attention to this problem.

The second part of the same is entitled "Celebration of the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", it states that it is 25 years since the Great Cultural Revolution (it began in May '66) and that it is necessary to study it as the greatest political process of humanity, not only for its immense dimensions in terms of masses, but for the political level it

reached and because it expresses the highest development of the Proletarian World Revolution, it is the greatest struggle led by the Communist Party of China (CPCh) and Chairman Mao Tse-tung himself; the decisive struggle for the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, one of the great milestones in the course of the struggle of the proletariat for power: epic that has solved the then pending problem of the continuation of the revolution and has set the essential task of changing the soul, the problem of ideology, making us see that it is not simple but complex and arduous. His immense lessons are invaluable, but in addition we must always remember that with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Marxism-Leninism became Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, in synthesis Maoism; and this for the Proletarian World Revolution, the Peruvian Revolution and the People's War, is obviously of incommensurable transcendence. For all these reasons, let us celebrate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

The third point raises the political situation. The document teaches how to study a text, in this case "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!", applying it to the concrete situation, because if we study it is to know reality and transform it, that is seen more clearly in this part. Thus, in dealing with the international situation and Peruvian politics, in the first point it raises the general counter-revolutionary offensive against Marxism and the revolution; and, as for the second, that Fujimori's government has not succeeded in legitimizing itself as he dreamed, but is becoming more delegitimized every day through its own actions, and today with the latest decree laws, the so-called legitimacy is shattered, more than ever it is in tatters. It is important how it analyzes bureaucratic capitalism; it is remarkable that when it refers to the three moments, in each of them it proposes a preparation, an unfolding and a collapse. We think this is only at this point. In dealing with "The Boycott Develops the Tendency of the People Against the Elections and Serves the People's War", it highlights the great conquest year of '91: the strategic stalemate, to which we arrived with the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Campaign; the document says:

"That simple phrase has been sufficient to make the reactionaries and revisionists tremble and gnash their teeth. Most of them have yelled blue murder and raised a big scandal, they have even set up ridiculous and bloody operations against us, massacring the masses, like they always do, in order to

‘show’ that there is no such stalemate. Why? Because they are frightened since they perceive that their old order is going to perish and be buried. The words of the Party have never been proven wrong by reality. Everything we have proclaimed we have applied: We said we would start the armed struggle and we did with ILA-80. Today we are entering the stage of the seizure of power in the whole country. We say that there is strategic stalemate, and we specify its character. Let us point this out more clearly than ever: ‘Strategic stalemate and preparation of the counter-offensive means the enemy striving to recapture their lost positions in order to buttress their system and us striving to put the finishing touches for the strategic offensive by means of the Plan for the Construction of the Seizure of Power.’ Let us understand this clearly in order to handle it better every time. We think that this is a task we must deal with thoroughly in order to appreciate not merely what Chairman Mao teaches us in this respect, but to identify the specific way in which this manifests itself here in our country.

Also, let us highlight how the entire process of 11 years of People’s War has brought us the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign for Impulsing the Development of Support Bases as a part of the Great Plan for Development of Bases with the Perspective of Constructing the Seizure of Power. The importance of this process is rooted in the fact that it crowns the Plan to Impulse and is therefore a link for a new Plan. In synthesis, the accomplishment of this 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign in May, June and July is something superb. Never before had the People’s War reached so deeply nor raised its quality so highly, mainly in the countryside as well as in the cities as a complement. Everyone of us must feel a deep satisfaction for having served wholeheartedly for such a transcendental task regardless of the level of our participation. A few bricks joined together with others can make a solid wall. Let the traitors deny this victory. If they do so it is only because of their class interest and because they are paid to deny it, no matter how ill-paid they may be by Peruvian reaction and by imperialism. We are conscious of the truth of the reality in which we live. That is why we are able to see how in the Party, in the People’s Guerrilla Army, in the New Power and in the masses, the achievements of this epic People’s War are so much in evidence.”

And continuing:

“Are there any signs of the echoes of this process of People’s War? Yes. For example, for the first time the U.S. Senate has now debated the People’s War in Peru. Therefore this process is reverberating in the very lair of world reaction. This is not the main sign but it is an important one. In this world there are some people who build castles in the air, for example, a traitor and genocidal like Fujimori, hangmen such as the Minister of the Interior General Malca, the Minister of Defense General Torres Aciego, dyed-in-the-wool pro-Yankees such as C. Boloña Behr, the Minister of Economy, or reptiles and arrivistes such as Bernales, Tapia, Gonzales, etc. Individuals who, as thorough flunkies of imperialism and the ruling classes, dream of vanquishing the People’s War by using its great advances in order to beg the ‘hero’ of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, and to defend their ultra-reactionary Peruvian State by obtaining from them their so-called ‘re-admission’ into the world economy.”

Thus it speaks of how the war, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign in particular, is having repercussions inside and outside Peru; in another part it says:

“In the USA, the opening moves for next years elections are taking place. Bush is going after re-election. He has achieved a paltry success in the Middle East. That is sufficient for them although everybody knows well that he did not achieve his aims. We say this because a vile and bullying onslaught against a people can never be considered as an achievement, especially today when every struggle of the world’s peoples for their liberation is a component part of the World Revolution (we are conscious of the class limitations of Saddam Hussein). Nevertheless, such is what constitutes ‘success’ for Yankee imperialism. Moreover, though they undertook that Gulf War in order to give impetus to their economy it has not resulted in the new economic impulse they expected and their economy continues to experience serious problems vis-a-vis the economies of other imperialist powers, although this fact does not imply that they have ceased to be an imperialist superpower. Furthermore, Bush undertook to fight a battle against drugs and in that field he is also having to confront his own people. This is because, just as in the case of the handling of his economic problems, where he raises taxes and reduces expenditure on social programs and clashes with the U.S. people, in this field he also has to confront the poorest and most exploited sections, particularly the oppressed minorities. Hence he

does not obtain any results on that account. Moreover, this struggle against drugs is closely linked with the fight against the People's War in Peru and to the class struggle in the Andean region and therefore it has its repercussions in US political life. Therefore, we must grasp the fact that this affair would not end in September 1991. We refer here to the hold placed upon the so-called 'U.S. aid'. An affair in which, in order to receive such 'aid', the Peruvian government has to comply with the 'anti-drugs' treaty, a treaty stipulating in one of its parts, the need for respecting what they call 'human rights', rights which are systematically violated by that same government. The People's War in Peru is therefore a tool for use in the U.S.'s electoral struggle, but the factor which interests us is that it has repercussions in their own Congress. Besides, all this is a contributing factor to the struggle of our Comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party and of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement with whom, because of this fact, we are more united in waging a common campaign against imperialism, mainly against Yankee imperialism, under the slogan of 'Yankee Go Home!'. This is another example of the achievements and the echoes of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign." Analyzing the last part of "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!", it emphasizes that it is the main one, because it raises how to judge Marxism today and calls us to reaffirm ourselves in how decisive Maoism is, finally, the fourth part of the document we analyze, points out how this study can be applied to the Proletarian World Revolution in the first place, to the Peruvian Revolution in the second place and how to apply it to each one of those who study; thus we can apply it on three levels. In this way, the document serves the rectification campaign; we must take it into account and study it.



## CHAPTER II. INTERNATIONAL

### 1. COMMENTARIES ON NEWSPAPER SUMMARIES

We would just like to highlight a few issues. In the document of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum, commentaries to journalistic summaries were introduced, in the international part we find the following: Following the change of name of the Communist Party of Italy the commentary reads as follows:

“The field is cleared! The ‘100 Marxist-Leninist Parties’ totally unmasked declare themselves bourgeois and shamelessly renege.”

Chairman Mao said that there were 100 Marxist-Leninist Parties in name; today we see how they have completely disavowed and are sinking into total decomposition, so the field is cleared. In February it was agreed to dissolve the Warsaw Pact, the comment is:

“Achievement for the United States and NATO; it opens major divergences in NATO and general rethinking on both sides, especially on the Soviet side.”

They have only said that the Warsaw Pact is disappearing, thus another triumph for NATO, but they ignore the fact that contradictions are developing among its NATO members, we are seeing them. This is what the first part refers to, “it opens major divergences in NATO and rethinking”, both sides have to rethink their situation and, what is key; “especially on the Soviet side”; and we already know where the glorious USSR went to, a simple Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). And this is also good, it is no longer called Soviet or socialist; the label will never wear it and that is also good, it clears the atmosphere.

When in February the news about the Gulf War were hot, the commentary states in relation to how to analyze the problem:

“To analyze the Gulf War take into account what was discussed in the October Session and consider: 1) Conditions in which the war began, especially the assembly and preparations of the allied force headed by Yankee imperialism, the main gendarme of the world counter-revolution

today emboldened. 2) Development of the war, highlighting: a) beginning and devastating imperialist aerial bombardment, showing the great capacity of the Iraqi resistance, of its people mainly, and the difficulties encountered by the imperialists to subdue a nation they thought to surrender in a few days; b) weighing of the diplomatic dealings that place Iraq between growing imperialist military pressure, Yankee mainly, and the hypocritical and interested Soviet advice of capitulation; thus undermining the anti-imperialist resistance; c) the ground offensive, a broad attack mainly by armored and airborne forces of the allies including their lackey Arab States, and, on the part of Iraq, not to engage in a firm and shrewd resistance (aimed at generating political changes mainly in the Arab people and sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions) neither in Kuwait nor in Iraq, ending in the acceptance of all the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council. 3) Current situation, results and perspectives deriving from the Gulf War; for: a) Hussein and Iraq; b) the Middle East; c) the imperialist powers; d) the imperialist superpowers, especially the U.S. which is moving towards being the sole hegemonic power; e) the oppressed nations; f) towards a new world strategic system. Correlation of forces and contradictions (the main one is the same and its importance will increase despite the perspective of sharpening the collusion and struggle of superpowers and powers). 4) Lessons, especially for the oppressed nations and mainly for the Proletarian World Revolution."

This makes us see the correct and accurate leadership of the Party. USA, main gendarme today emboldened; pondering Iraq; hypocritical action of the USSR and powers; powers always seeking to crush with two hands, and difficulties encountered by the imperialists before the resistance of the Iraqi people; and to see the derivations. When the imperialists analyzed Hussein's actions they said: first, he thought that the U.N. would not support the U.S.; second, he did not listen to the advice of Arabs; third, he thought that his army was very strong, the fourth in the world; as a result of these statements they say: "The first thing", that is "he thought that the U.N. would not support the U.S.", "he expresses confidence in the U.N.", and that is not good, one cannot have such confidence "the second thing", "he did not listen to the advice of Arabs", what does the commentary say? The third thing, "he thought that his army, fourth in the world, was strong, big and

powerful”, what does the commentary say? This is important: “The question is not to have engaged the Iraqi armed forces in a firm and wise resistance”, there is the question, it is not a problem of large forces (if he had them), the problem is whether they are used or not, and they were not used. The commentary also says: “In this last point, they exalt to the clouds the ‘invincible American military power supported by the highest and most modern technology’”; of course, if the Iraqi army was so powerful and the Yankee army has turned it to mush, they say, then it is super powerful. Thus, they exalt to the clouds the “invincible American military power, supported by the highest and most modern technology”; and what does the commentary say? “It is a reedition of ‘the main thing is the weapons’, ‘the power lies in the most modern weapons’, ‘weapons can do everything’”, that is what they proclaim; and concludes: “When, precisely, the first great lesson that we must draw from the Gulf War is that the main thing in war is the man, the ideology that animates him, the class he leads, the interests he defends and the cause he serves.” That is the lesson of the Gulf and what interests us as a lesson for the People’s War and to unmask fallacies.

There is also this comment in the ideological problem but which also corresponds to the international question, it refers to the cry about the failure of socialism, as a result of an article by Luis Garcia Miro, in the editorial page of *The Commercial*, entitled “Capital and Labor”; these are ideas that in Peru are spread by reaction, the position against the revolution is systematic here. He says:

“The so-called ‘failure of socialism’ is part of the so-called ‘defeat of Marxism’ and ‘uselessness of the totalitarian dictatorship of the proletariat’. This monstrosity is also proclaimed in the country, now concretely linked to the Fujimori government (‘which has been assuming responsibility for the past’). It is indispensable to thoroughly combat this rotten reactionary mess. Nothing of what has happened denies Marxism, nor the necessity and transcendence of socialism nor the unstoppable march towards Communism: an irreplaceable goal. The question is, we reiterate: the insufficient knowledge of the laws of socialism due to the short time of its development; the inevitable struggle between restoration and counter-restoration; and the sinister action of revisionism nursed by imperialism and in collusion with it. The question is, in synthesis, the continuation of the

revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Faced with the campaign of imperialism and revisionism against socialism, we must: 1) reaffirm unshakably in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought ('Elections, No! People's War, Yes!' serves this objective); 2) highlight and spread the great achievements of socialism and its great construction: never, in any epoch of history, has any mode of production done so much, in such a short time and for such large, extensive and deep exploited masses as socialism! contemporary history and the peoples of the world are incontrovertible witnesses; 3) untiringly unmask all the monstrous exploitation and oppression of imperialism, mainly Yankee, and of revisionism, show how they sail in a sea of blood of the international proletariat and of the peoples of the world; 4) who has brought us here, who is sinking the Peruvian people in the greatest crisis of its history, who are those responsible, who are the ones who are responsible? who are those responsible? the three mountains that exploit and oppress the people: Imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism; mountains that through the organized reactionary violence that is the Peruvian State, a State sustained by its Armed Forces as its backbone and in the bureaucracy, maintain the prevailing order of oppression and exploitation that still subsists; order and State headed and directed by the big bourgeoisie, mainly comprador, with the support of revisionism and opportunism of all stripes and the protection of its imperialist master; 5) 'sacrificing today for a better tomorrow' is an old story retold by Leguía, Velasco, Belaúnde and García Pérez, among others, denouncing it by unmasking Fujimori's 'new' hoax; and 6) propagandizing how the People's War is building a new society truly for the people and that the only perspective is to conquer power throughout the country."

These are comments seen in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum, but it is convenient to study them again; in them the points are well condensed, and sometimes a long exposition is worth less than a condensation that serves as a guide, as an orientation.

As well as the previous comments, those that follow are also pertinent:

"Direct attack against national sovereignty. Imperialism finds the norms of the U.N. insufficient, which, as everything shows, is its instrument; today it

needs greater 'rights' to sanctify its unbridled aggression (as shown by the Gulf War and its current aggression and occupation of Iraq); it needs to 'legally' further curtail the sovereignty of the oppressed nations, a variant of the 'restricted sovereignty' of the revisionist Brezhnev. For this it hypocritically and artfully invokes to fight against genocide (precisely the genocidals!), in the name of 'human rights' and, obviously, 'for humanitarian reasons'. The European imperialists are playing spearhead role in these approaches at the moment. Everything, and these positions too, is showing, that the usual means, mainly the military ones used until today, are insufficient for them to impose and maintain their domination; thus, they apply and will apply more and more brutally denying forms of national sovereignty and the most criminal and devastating warlike means to oppress the nations and peoples of the world and to stifle the revolution." (Following the European Parliament's request for a modification of the United Nations Charter, 20.04.1991.)

"See the historical context and perspective in which both Encyclicals were written: 1891, *Rerum Novarum* and 1991 *Centesimus Annus*; the first 20 years after the defeat of the Commune, when the old revisionism was going on the offensive, Marxism had not yet found the way to conquer power by force of arms, and capitalism was developing in the so-called 'Belle époque' complementing the formation of imperialism. The second, the *Centesimus Annus*, 35 years after the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, and 15 years after the same in China; when a convergent offensive of imperialism, revisionism and world reaction against Marxism is unfolding in collusion and struggle; when imperialism proclaims a 'technological revolution', extends its domination over the spoils of what was the socialist system and proclaims the definitive triumph of capitalism and bourgeois democracy; but when the proletariat guided by Communist Parties and with the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism learned to conquer power with the People's War, to build socialism and with the cultural revolution to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, although it is still pending to create in the class struggle the laws of socialism, to discover, understand and apply them fully and completely, to establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat taking power more and more

from below to ensure its exercise by the masses under the leadership of the Party; and when the task of the international proletariat and the Communist Parties, as well as the deepest need of the masses, remains irrepressibly, today more than yesterday and tomorrow more than today, to develop and lead the Proletarian World Revolution to its triumph by sweeping imperialism from the face of the globe, to build socialism deeply and broadly in all spheres of society and with successive proletarian cultural revolutions 'to make the Earth a paradise': Communism, the beginning of the reign of freedom for all mankind! In this context, drawing lessons, it is necessary to analyze the new encyclical, conceiving it as part of the offensive of imperialism, revisionism and world reaction, although with its own specific interests, those of the Papacy, those of the Vatican and its theocratic dreams today sinisterly revived." (On John Paul II's recent third social Encyclical, *Centesimus Annus*, commemorating 100 years since Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum*; 03.05.1991.)

"If 'the problems and situations of injustice and human suffering which caused its appearance' still exist, as they really do, only today they are increasingly aggravated, widespread and totally unbearable because they do not correspond at all to the social development achieved, especially since socialism with its conquests and grandiose perspectives has been lived under the dictatorship of the proletariat (the only State form under which it can be built and developed); Communism exists and fights every day sustained by the class interests of the proletariat and the defense of the popular masses of the world, today and immediately in the midst of a complex and intricate class struggle and facing a convergent and sinister offensive of imperialism, revisionism and world reaction, developed in collusion and struggle to which the Catholic Church serves not only ideologically, but politically and organizationally; Communism today as yesterday and tomorrow, fought, fights and will always fight, unshakably sure of the final victory, under the red and unfading banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the all-powerful ideology of the international proletariat, the decisive weapon of Marx, Lenin and Mao." (Following the Pope's comments on the new Encyclical; 02.05.1991.)

What important problems are there in the world? In recent times important facts are the Gulf War, the lesson we have already learned, it clearly shows

the main contradiction. Another is the problems of the putsch in the USSR, it is the complete, total, definitive bankruptcy of revisionism; this is the positive and the main thing. As we saw, now the field is clearer; the bankruptcy is definitive; even the name they have given themselves, Commonwealth, paints them from head to toe. This is the sinister result of revisionism, this is where revisionism has led them; this again engendered horrendous misery, deep decomposition, and today it is sinking in oppression, blood and unstoppable collapse. It is necessary to emphasize the total, complete and definitive bankruptcy of contemporary revisionism. These are the two most important facts of the present time, first the situation of the USSR; second, the Gulf.

The war in Yugoslavia, like the one in the Gulf is a resounding denial to the propaganda about "an era of peace has opened", and "the end of ideologies implies an era of peace"; in Yugoslavia we see the combat and struggle of the allies against a small country which they intend to divide. Thus, contrary to what they proclaim, war continues to be a means to impose and fight for hegemony. Yugoslavia is, then, a practical, forceful reiteration that war continues to be a means to hegemonize and subjugate; Marxist theory says it and practice confirms it. And these facts occur in Europe, in their own beads.

Other situations that jump out. Kampuchea is an example of how they continue to seek to solve old problems in order to generate new ones. In collusion, the superpowers and powers that make up the U.N. Security Council (China among them), have agreed on a plan for Kampuchea which they now execute under total control of the U.N.; the latter as an instrument of imperialism serves their plans and must direct the demobilization, form the new army, organize the bureaucracy, repatriate refugees and prepare elections. Thus, in Kapuchea the U.N. makes and unmakes as a proxy of the interests of the superpowers and the powers, mainly of Yankee imperialism, another example of the sweeping away and denial of national sovereignty!

Another important problem remains the Middle East. Its process shows where the bourgeois position and the principled fragility of the bourgeoisie leads (we see it in Arafat). The Palestinian people, as part of the Arab people, shows that, despite the blood shed and the heroic struggle, if one does not

persist and if one does not lead the class, the proletariat, through an authentic Communist Party, that is Marxist-Lennist-Maoist, one abandons the road and renounces the goal, and the interests of the people are sold, trafficked. Today they are discussing how to end an old conflict for the benefit of Israel and the interests of Yankee imperialism; but they will create new contradictions, new conflicts.

The international question leads us to ask: the superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, continue to be so although the U.S. is moving towards hegemony; Yankee imperialism must be seen as the main hegemonic superpower of the moment. Thus, both are superpowers, they are fighting for hegemony, but the one who has taken advantage and is aiming at the sole hegemony is the U.S., that is why we must consider it as the main hegemon of the moment. There are two main enemies, the two superpowers (we are still in the period established by the Chairman, the period of "struggle against the two superpowers" has not yet ended; the fact that one takes advantage does not mean that the other has ended); then there are two main enemies, one is the main hegemonist of the moment, and we must differentiate them. In addition, there are several fundamental enemies, the imperialist powers such as Japan, Germany, France, etc. In short, there are two main enemies, several fundamental enemies and a main hegemonist of the moment, and a main enemy, in perspective, Yankee imperialism. And in front of the superpowers and imperialist powers, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Worlds, the oppressed nations: the 3<sup>rd</sup> World. Thus we condense the international political situation. We must study the facts, analyze them well; and do so starting from a question: what implications and problems do they pose?

## **2. THE BANKRUPTCY OF REVISIONISM**

Let us always reiterate that revisionism is the advance of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the Party, of the proletariat and the people, and that it is not possible to fight imperialism without fighting revisionism. Lenin's great thesis is fully valid; furthermore, let us bear in mind that it is part of our program, it is one of the ideological points that head it. Revisionism must be understood in its course: in the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, the action of Browderism and Tito; in 1956, Khrushchev and the capitalist restoration in the USSR;



in 1976, Teng and the restoration in China; in 1985, Garbachev, and Perestroika, a new revisionist counter-revolutionary offensive began in collusion and contention with imperialism, collusion developed as the main thing. Later we concluded that it had entered into decomposition; now the question is simple and concrete, bankruptcy of contemporary revisionism, that is the situation of revisionism.

### **3. GENERAL COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OFFENSIVE AND U.S. HEGEMONISM**

In the August document “On the Rectification Campaign With ‘Elections, No! People’s War, Yes!’”, it is stated: “Regarding the international class struggle, let us think that today a general counter-revolutionary offensive is being unleashed.” It raises that we have had a course that has to do with the development of revisionism, first “new revisionist counter-revolutionary offensive, headed mainly by Gorbachev and Teng”; later, a counter-revolutionary offensive of imperialism and revisionism in collusion and contention, a convergent offensive. Well, where has all this led to? To a general counter-revolutionary offensive that pretends to conjure up the revolution as the main historical and political tendency in the world today; that is what it pretends and that is what we are facing it. The document says: “And who is aiming against the revolution? Imperialism and revisionism together, both of them, but of both, it is Yankee imperialism the main one, the one leading this offensive, since it intends to set itself up as the only hegemonic superpower in its struggle with the other Russian imperialist superpower and the other imperialist powers. This offensive is carried out mainly by Yankee imperialism as the main hegemon.”

### **4. 25<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION**

It is the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of that great event, we must celebrate it. It is necessary to see the course followed from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to today. Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 25 years later. 1966-76: the greatest and most profound revolution in history, continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat

serving Communism and Communist society. 1973: defeat of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam. 1976: restoration in China. 1979: Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq. 1980: initiation of the People's War in Peru. 1984: Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). 1985: Perestroika. 1988-89: Eastern Europe and USSR. 1990: Gulf War. 1991: "Putsch" in the USSR and, in Peru, strategic stalemate.

## **5. CURRENT SITUATION AND IMMEDIATE PERSPECTIVE**

1) General offensive of the world counter-revolution. 2) Validity and historical perspective of the proletarian revolution. 3) Upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to fight for the Proletarian World Revolution and Communism. Within point 3, the Party and the People's War play the main role. It is very good to see, 25 years after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, what the situation is. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution gave us Maoism; 25 years later we are fighting to uphold, defend and apply Maoism, and the Party with the People's War carries out the task making the main contribution. What is in front of us? The general counter-revolutionary offensive. December 26<sup>th</sup>, Chairman Mao's birthday, is a good occasion to celebrate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary, because it is his greatest work, his great theoretical and practical creation, in the midst of which Maoism shone as the highest peak of Marxism. For this celebration serves the fourth part of: "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!", in addition to what we are considering here, also the relevant part of "On the Rectification Campaign With 'Elections, No! People's War, Yes!'".

## CHAPTER III. NATIONAL

### 1. THE THREE TASKS

In the document “The Party, the People’s War and the Boycott”, the document “Against Constitutional Illusions and for the State of New Democracy!” is transcribed. It is good to take from that document how the economic and political situation was at the end of the fascist government, on page 56 it says:

“In 10 years, what economic direction has the government followed? In general lines, in 1969 and 1970 they prepared conditions for their plans. Then they applied the 1971-75 economic-social plan aiming at accumulating capital. This was canceled in its last year because the difficulties had already begun, the 1975-78 plan was approved aimed of a greater accumulation of capital. It was a plan that in its first two years sought the control of the crisis but without achieving it. In 1977, the Túpac Amaru Plan was approved, which applied the modifications proposed by the President in March of 1976, a plan to extend until 1980, on which date the crisis was supposed to be over. During this period the State fulfilled a main role, as the driving force in the economic process, and developed the State’s monopoly. However, in the last few years, the need to reinvigorate the private economic activity was proposed, and in the imperialist order within which our country and the State operate, it prepares conditions for future development of the monopoly production of imperialism and the big bourgeoisie associated with it.

What is being proposed today for the country’s economic process? Concretely, that the non State monopoly, or private sector, is the motor reinvigorating the economy, so that the expropriation, or ‘privatization’, of the great means of production which the State has been managing and concentrating, especially in the last ten years, and the greater concentration of property derived from the crisis; as well as the establishing of new forms incrementing the exploitation of the labor forces, to restrict or cancel the benefits, rights and conquests of the masses, as usually happens in every economic crisis, and it is a condition to contain and overcome the crisis.

This the economic period in which we now evolve, a period that in the short term benefits imperialism, the exploiting classes and their government in two important problems:

- 1) The financial problem, now centered in the foreign debt. This will demand to take other measures besides the ones already taken.
- 2) The economic problem, taken as the productive process, which demands an economic plan which has already been announced and is closely linked to the ongoing electoral process and to the 'social pact for the national salvation' that is being elaborated; between these two questions, the second one is more important, since the first for the most part has already been defined, while the second is more complex and has a long term effect in perspective."

12 years later we are in the same problem; it says: "We have to pass the center to the non-State activity, to the non-State monopoly"; that is the problem. The document stresses that the State, by assuming economic functions, prepares conditions for the future development of the monopoly production of imperialism and the big bourgeoisie associated with it, a matter which is independent; and points out that it has two tasks: the financial question centered on debt (today it is still a problem) and the economic plan which is the main thing (today it is the same). Where did they get entangled that time? in the plan, but did they solve the debt? No. So, any resemblance is mere coincidence, no; it is the Peruvian society, it is the bureaucratic road that keeps repeating itself, but at more sinking levels each time. On page 60, speaking of politics, it says:

"What is the period that we now live? Since 1977, we live in a political period which will last four or five years characterized by the third restructuring of the Peruvian State in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, and by the development of the struggle of the popular masses in preparation for the launching of the armed struggle. This is a period that occurred in the second moment of the contemporary history of the country, that is, from the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War to the present; a period in which bureaucratic capitalism deepens and the corporativization develops under the leadership of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie; a moment in which, on the other hand, the

conditions for the democratic revolution mature and this begins to define it by the force of arms in order to create a State of new democracy.

But, what is the immediate situation of the political period that we now live in? To imperialism, to the exploiting classes and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie leading the process, two matters arise: first, to carry on elections for the Constituent Assembly, and second, to open up the road to materialize the third restructuring of the Peruvian State. The second, is the principal one because it is more complex and has future implications, and from which the bureaucratic bourgeoisie expects to consolidate its leadership role. On the other hand, the first task has the support of most of the political parties, who see in the Constituent their revival and perspective. To the people, the ones exploited and the proletariat, what is being proposed is that they do not allow themselves to be tied to the electioneering process, which opens the door to the restructuring of the State, and to develop the growing popular protest to mobilize, to politicize and to organize the masses, especially the peasantry. This second aspect is the most important one."

Well, here it is the same; has the situation changed, again it is the same. The document says that they were developing in the third restructuring of the Peruvian State in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century; but, what does the Congress tell us, what does the Party tell us? That the old State needs a new restructuring, could it be the fourth one; it means that they are still within the Party's highlights: "The Constitution of 1979 has not solved anything, it has not satisfied either the Tyrians or the Trojans." But now what are they doing; they do not modify the Constitution, they simply step on it every day because it is on the floor, like all their laws, shattered, torn by themselves, that is the situation. So, the problem is still the same. Yesterday the general elections were a problem, and today how are their elections? They are still a problem, but immensely enhanced now by the development of the People's War, it is that they are the same processes to renew their "authority". How have their last complementary municipal elections been? a disaster, that is why they have no longer cackled; how will the next municipal elections be? will there be any, what will they think, what will they want, although they need them. But as in '78, restructuring continues to be a fundamental problem; it is the same as yesterday, although today it is much more serious,

since its existence is questioned and a New State is rising up defiantly to confront it and, obviously, more peremptory; especially, the growing confrontation of powers, the increase of the power of the armed forces and the disarticulation and unhinging of the Peruvian State; Apart, of course, from the violent sharpening of the class struggle driven by the general crisis of the system and the accentuated recession that further spreads hunger, unemployment and misery, and, most importantly, the development of the people's war in the strategic balance, the problem is that. How do they restructure their State? is what they are defining, are there advances; the question is simple, they are developing it in the midst of acute contradictions within the big bourgeoisie. Let us emphasize this, in the document: "On the other hand, the conditions of the democratic revolution mature and this enters to define itself by force of arms to create a State of New Democracy." It says "enter", we initiated with the '80s, it has already been 11 years and we are going for 12; and our war is a powerful People's War that until today the enemy does not know how to confront; besides, we are already in the second stage, the strategic stalemate, a transcendental conquest that demands an in-depth analysis of the national and international political context in which it unfolds. The transcribed document is a good text to understand how they cannot solve their problems and how they are more aggravated today; is their situation easier or more difficult today, obviously, they are today in a more difficult moment, more economically and politically sunk and, mainly facing a People's War in development.

From the Preparatory Session of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum we should take into account what has been dealt with since page 31: "3) The three tasks of the counter-revolution and its perspective. a) Message. Program and stabilization plan. Character of the government. Message of July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1990." up to page 47:

"Let us aim at substantive issues without forgetting that much of what has been said are generalities and demagogic statements like any programme of a reactionary government, more so if it wants to hide its positions. We hear false declarations such as the beginning of a new era, which we are accustomed to hear in every change of reactionary authorities."

## 2. SLOGAN AND APPLICATION

On the one hand, Fujimori expresses his ideology and adherence to Catholicism, a stale and deeply outdated ideology, but on the other hand, politically, it is nothing but demagoguery to play with the religiosity of the people and charge God with the responsibility for his mistakes; besides, he seeks the protection of the Catholic Church with whom he has already had clashes.

“A president like you.” False and hypocritical because he is not a representative of the people, he is opposed to the people and is about to exploit them more.

“Motto: Honesty, technology and work.” Honesty as a rule of life, motto of the ancient Peruvian civilization that Belaúnde also raised; criterion of linking himself to the Inca Empire to dress as a national. This first part of his slogan leads to fight immorality and to raise “crusade for moralization”, it is not new either, Morales Bermudez promoted this campaign, the result? Immorality prevails; immorality is nothing but a derivation of this old system, the rest is nothing but politicking to traffic with the good faith of the masses and to unravel consciences. He proposed a committee against corruption with people selected by him and answerable only to him.

“Respect freedom of information.” In essence, it is for the exploiters and their lackeys; key to creating pro-imperialist counter-revolutionary public opinion.

Technology. It is imperialism that raises technology as the new revolution; revisionism accompanies it. It is intended to replace the class struggle by a supposed technological revolution. Science has developed a high technology, those scientific and technological developments are the product of the transforming action of the proletariat and the people; but, the financial oligarchy, the big bourgeoisies, imperialism appropriate them, they are private property of the monopolies and instruments of exploitation. In the shadow of this a layer of technocrats has developed and artfully pretend to replace the working class, and make the intellectuals dream, especially the petty bourgeois intellectuals, with a false revolution, with a different path, without class struggle. Moreover, only with the revolution will science and

technology be empowered as never before, but only with the revolution will the productive forces be empowered and benefit those at the bottom.

Labor. It expresses a bourgeois conception. The economists of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century argued that the source of wealth is labor; Marx made it clear, it is labor power, this generates surplus value and the accumulation of surplus value engenders capitalism, consequently, capitalist relations of exploitation. He uses the word labor to deceive with the term the petty bourgeoisie that takes refuge in their work and pretends to extend the deception to the class. But Fujimori goes further and maintains: "culture based on work", this is to erase class character, he seeks to make people agree that based on work a new society can be built, without exploitation; another figment of imperialism and reaction. He says "work is a creative source", simply work to make a prosperous society, and who directs this society, it would be prosperous only for the ruling classes; behind "work" it conceals the relations of exploitation; behind the jargon of "new culture of work", apart from being a strict bourgeois, reactionary conception of work, it conceals preserving, gilding, elevating imperialism. For example, he says "international solidarity is invoked without results" this is to make believe that imperialism and the oppressed nations, Peru, are in solidarity when the relations are of subjection, of subjugation; and in recent years to invoke the participation of imperialism in the country is to act against the People's War; thus hiding the fact that imperialism acts to exploit us and to annihilate the People's War. He continues: "For decades [...] to take us out of underdevelopment"; therein lies the orientation of imperialism which in recent years demands that, in the face of the insufficiency of capital, the subjugated States must base themselves on internal savings, on the capital they accumulate by squeezing their peoples, in synthesis, that they squeeze the class and the people even more. Backwardness has its roots in semi-feudalism, in bureaucratic capitalism, in imperialism; but for Fujimori, faithful lackey, there is no imperialism, it is a problem of unequal and unjust exchange, is imperialism not sustained by the plundering of the peoples and that of its own people, its 'aids' are forms of blood sucking.

The bourgeois root of this new culture of work is also expressed when they say that it will provide the conditions for a market order, behind this tripe they seek to promote market economy, liberalism; as they said in their



government proposal in May, before the elections, the problem is to create markets of various types, to form markets particularly in agriculture (it reveals a semi-feudal base); they say that this culture of work will allow a better distribution of wealth and avoid concentrations, that is, monopolies, but later we will see that they only aim against the State monopolies, Enci, Ecasa, Petro Peru.

Let us repeat, it does not say social market economy, only market economy. Well, we are going to deal with some of what this theory is so widespread in the country and in the world. In Bernard and Colli's "Economic and Financial Dictionary", the market is defined as the place where transactions of buying and selling or renting of goods, services or capital take place; the place where supply and demand are confronted. But, he tells us further on that the theory that defends the need for markets is liberalism, a position openly raised by Vargas Llosa, by the comprador bourgeoisie and imperialism. He defines it as follows: economic doctrine that affirms that the best economic system is the one that guarantees the free play of the individual initiatives of the economic agents, it does not say State; they are based on the fact that the individual and general interests of society coincide and there they are regulated, regulated; in the market, then, the free individual initiatives concur, each one looking for the greatest benefit with the least effort and there they combine the interest of each one with the interest of the whole, with the development of the natural laws, proper; It is a free game that operates in the market and the State has no reason to intervene; it is the free concurrence of the interested parties, each one looking for his own interests and as the interest of each one and the interest of the whole are there, in the market, they combine the interest of all with the interest of each one. They emphasize natural laws that generate equilibrium when imbalances occur. Well, the bourgeois, reactionary theory of labor remains in appearance, it sees fetishism and by remaining seeing the relations of goods in their exchange they do not see the source, how those goods are created, those riches, they do not see the source of the goods; they do not see the root itself, the labor force which is what generates everything that develops in the economy, that does not interest them. That is why we must remember what Marx said, it is not work, it is labor power, it is not exchange of goods and services nor is it rent of goods and services, it is the

relations of exploitation that have their own laws. This is the Marxist position on the economy. Their position, of the bourgeoisie, the market theory makes comparison of buying and selling or renting of goods and services and hides the existing relations of exploitation behind the exchange.

All this linked to what today is being said about market economy, free trade, freedom of association, human rights, is, therefore, liberalism revamped from the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.

What does the Peruvian Constitution say about this problem? Article 115 states: "Private initiative is free. It is exercised in a social market economy. The State stimulates and regulates its exercise in order to harmonize it with the social interest." This is the economic system of Peruvian society; it is in its Constitution.

A representative of the comprador bourgeoisie, Chirinos Soto, comments on this article and says: García Pérez said that if private initiative is not free then it is not initiative; and that if free private initiative is not exercised in a market economy then it is neither private nor free. There is the great herald of nationalist, democratic and popular revolution, he demands a market economy!

The greatest theoretician of the market economy W. Ropke says that the essence of the market economy system is that it can only occur in a competitive system opposed to any collectivist system, more clearly, opposed to the socialist system. It is, therefore, its antithesis. He also says that it is the best system to defend private property because in the market economy competition can be expressed and thus the best conditions are offered to guarantee property, as he says, it defends it from all attacks.

From all this we can derive that it is these forms that allow the development of capitalism, its best advance, aiming at monopolies.

Reagan, who trumpeted this theory, said that all anti-trust laws should be repealed because the persistence of these laws in the U.S. limits the competitive capacity of Yankee companies compared to Japanese and German companies that do not have these restrictions.

So, we can conclude that its market economy system is the one that allows the development of capitalism and its development as imperialism because while imperialism on the one hand restricts competition, on the other hand it opens it up at world level, this is its contradiction. The monopoly imposes prices, generates markets but at the same time they compete with each other; that is to say that competition occurs in pre-monopoly capitalism in one way and in another in imperialism, that is why they are not against all monopolies but against state monopolies. Chirinos Soto himself says that the modern State intervenes to guarantee the market economy, it does not abstain, it intervenes to ensure it, so that its rules work. They, therefore, are against state monopolies but they even accept that the State may have companies under certain conditions and that they serve the market economy and if the State serves them, well, they use it. That which says that it is to close the way to monopolies is false, if not let us look at Germany and Japan.

Chirinos Soto says that the opponents of the private initiative say that it produces to profit and not to satisfy needs and that saying that is perfect nonsense. But, the nonsense is expressed by him because the production that a capitalist generates is not to satisfy needs, if he looks for which product is more demanded it is to obtain products that can be better sold which in turn allows him to produce more, to have more workers and therefore greater surplus value; it is not love for the consumer but that this is a means to obtain greater surplus value. So what he says that it is a system that allows better prices and higher quality is pure fiction.

The problem is that the current conditions in Peru do not allow him to express himself as he is, that is why he says that he uses the State to promote the market economy, and that is how he proposes in his May document, guidelines that are useful, they allow us to see a greater background than in this message and in the Program presented to Congress; However, May does not contain what guides Fujimori because it contains part of what Roca and those who resigned from Cambio 90 think, but they all point to the same thing. He says, for example, that the market is a plebiscite of buyers, a complete big bourgeois!

Erhardt, author of the “German miracle” of ‘48, a Christian Democrat patron of Bedoya, says that three issues summarize the theory of the market economy: 1) it cuts inflation short; 2) it stimulates production in all orders; and, 3) it maintains the rules of the market economy. But if we look at Peru today, what are they getting? They have not even cut inflation, at most they have lowered it but not as much as they thought; there is recession and there is no consumption because there is no purchasing power, there is deflation.

A representative of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie Alberto Ruiz Eldredge in his book “The Constitution Commented” reports that it was the United Left (IU) which proposed the social market economy, defended the positions of what happened in Germany in 1948. Nowadays there is also much talk of imitating the German example of those times, of the “German miracle”; but, they do not see its specific conditions, Germany was defeated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, the occupying military powers applied a system of organized distribution of consumption that the State itself guaranteed, and the Marshall Plan contributed immense capital to counteract the action of socialism in Europe. Having emerged from a fascist regime, “the postulates of the new order” were applied: personal freedom, social justice and economic efficiency; the German theoreticians of the market economy thesis state that this was based on seeing all the components of social production as a unit, for example, the cultural, moral, legal and economic order. That is the reason why morality is now so much pondered, in Europe they say that in view of the supposed expiration of socialism, morality is what fits; but this is not new, it comes from the old revisionism of the 2<sup>nd</sup> International, from Kautsky who stated that Marxism had no philosophy and that what corresponded to it was Kantianism, Kant thought that man in his action is guided by morality, he seeks the common good. The juridical component consists in thinking that through laws, without changing the class dictatorship, the situation of the people can be changed; here we affiliate the proposals of Hernando de Soto, the rural registry law, the administrative simplification law, the procedures for the recognition of micro and small enterprises, the informal sector, the provisions for coca producers, etc. The economic component obviously seeks to impose its imperialist system. The cultural component is another that they consider, and here we can also see Fujimori’s position, his new work culture. Of the

four components, they consider the moral component, but this has a long revisionist history, in short, they hide the relations of exploitation.

German imperialism's system of social market economy sustains some basic ideas: it does not prevent competition between monopolies, it regulates monopolies, objective? To lessen the contradictions between them and with the countries it exploits; it creates a social security system aiming at a series of social benefits as a complement to its economic plans to appease the class struggle and at the same time it is a magnificent economic source; policy of price stabilization to stifle inflation seeking to lessen the crises. A basic idea is the union of an order of competition with an order of social compensation; they are all measures to appease the class struggle.

Thus, the social market economy is the system of German imperialism socially oriented to dampen the class struggle and promote class conciliation. Thus, the IU, by including Article 115 in the Constitution, was and is promoting the most powerful and vigorous capitalist development possible; they even forgot that Peru is not Germany, they seek, therefore, to develop bureaucratic capitalism.

What is being discussed in Peru today? Although the theory is social market economy, what they are spreading and want to apply today is market economy without social, because that is what Yankee imperialism is mainly proposing, mainly through ECLAC, which says "economic transformation with equity", social is a term they sometimes use but they do not include its content; and equity is equivalent to justice and this is oriented by ethics, by morality. This is the course they are setting in Peru, it is the path of Vargas Llosa, of Fujimori, the great bourgeois lackey of imperialism, of the Yankee mainly.

In the petty bourgeois intelligentsia, which serves imperialism, these ideas have repercussions and they lucubrate and elaborate a series of words, they have verbal critical pujos but it is real support for imperialism and they are always proposing ways to stifle the class struggle; an example is the English historian Toynbee who maintains that the proletariat must be raised to the level of the "middle class" for an amalgamation of classes, to form a social cushion and apply social justice, economic productivity, and thus ward off the revolution.

As we saw the new culture of labor is serving to gild imperialist exploitation, it serves to boost the market economy and aim against State monopoly, the latter is clear in a paragraph of the message in which he proposes his anti-monopoly bill.

Linked to this new work culture is also the so-called "full participation", it comes from the fascist government, in essence to use the organizations of the masses controlling them with the labor aristocracy, with the union crusts, guilds, to serve as support for the old State; hence his proposal for a law of popular participation for the channeling of public opinion which is nothing but the "guild socialism" that Lenin already denounced, it is a false socialism, it is revisionism; it is the conformation of a social cushion to apply his system. We saw the same with Velasco, with García and now with Fujimori.

In line with this new work culture is the administrative simplification, which is not new, it comes from García Pérez. In turn, the harmonization of customs regimes and the promotion of exports of medium and small property products, but behind these is the promotion of exports of large companies. Linked to these efforts is the fact that Peru must reinsert itself into the international financial community, because in order to develop the new work culture it cannot disassociate itself from the world imperialist system; that is, to seek the development of the country under the subjection of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism and its instruments, the IMF, the IDB, the World Bank, the GATT. Then, resolving old ties is nothing more than resolving the debt in order to promote foreign investment.

In synthesis, all this means that, as a corollary of this new culture of work, in order for work to be more profitable, to be able to sell abroad and to be more prosperous, it is necessary to be under the wing of imperialism through the international financial community, which requires solving the debt and providing the best possible conditions for foreign investment. This is the background of its propagandistic slogan, it has, therefore, a whole content, behind demagogic words it conceals submission to imperialism, to reimpulse bureaucratic capitalism under imperialism.

### 3. SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY

He aims to blacken even more the situation left by the American People's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), seeking to justify excessive measures, which the conditions left by the APRA forced him to apply shock. Politically it serves him for his tug-of-war with the APRA, as it served him for his links with the FREDEMO. Thus, a deep desire to justify and open links.

He puts himself behind the responsibility of the APRA government for leaving the country in a chaotic situation. We must fight against going after the APRA government to justify Fujimori's measures. But we must be clear that the problems are a consequence of the outdated system that exists in Peruvian society, of the general crisis of bureaucratic capitalism, of Peruvian society as a whole; it is part of the collapse of bureaucratic capitalism, we could not maintain that it is the problem of this or that government because otherwise the government would be changed and the crisis would be solved.

He stresses "deeper crisis [...] almost a war economy". When the military government ended the same thing was said and it was proposed to restructure the economy; when the APRA took office it was similar but it said that in the face of this crisis there was room for a "nationalist, democratic, people's revolution"; today the same chant. Everything reveals the deep root of the collapse of bureaucratic capitalism, the general crisis of Peruvian society, mainly of bureaucratic capitalism. That is why they need to reimpulse bureaucratic capitalism, that is why they talk about the economic base they have to rebuild.

They speak that it is a society in disintegration due to corruption, etc. But corruption is part of the system; because of violence but in this it integrates everything from delinquency to popular war, rejecting this way of conceiving it because it is to cover up that the State is organized violence and that popular war is the solution of class contradictions by military means; delinquency is also a product of the system. Drug trafficking is a problem that we must see in diverse facets; one of them, drug addiction is a product of social degeneration, it occurs more in capitalist societies, in the very bosom of imperialism, less in the oppressed nations; and this as a

consequence of the action of imperialism, they want to fill their empty lives with drugs, they induce drug addiction. We are totally against it because the way out is the revolution, it is the transforming action of man, it is the creation of a new system and we know, we have the knowledge that this is feasible, that the more we fight the closer we will be to the conquest of power and, we will march to the definitive transformation of humanity and we will enter Communism, for these objectives we give our lives; drugs damage the mind, the body and reveal loss of perspective, for us it is a social problem and it is solved with the revolution. Another facet is the need of the peasants to produce in order to survive because they have nothing else to produce; for example, in the brow of the jungle hard corn is sown at a higher cost and lower yield, there are no roads to get it out, the prices they pay are not profitable, and it rots; the fruits are the same. That is why we oppose the eradication of coca, because it is a source for the peasants to live; historical experience shows that the action of imperialism to raze the plantations linked to drugs includes the collapse of the peasantry, e.g. Turkey. Another facet, it generates hard currency, dollars, which act in the economic process of the oppressed countries, it is seen in Colombia, Bolivia, Peru; in this one there are about 1.500.000.000 dollars coming from drug trafficking. We must distinguish well, what interests the peasantry and in what way these dollars have an impact on the productive process. They are material realities of the economic processes and economy is not a moral problem; besides, there is much talk again that politics should be guided by morality but for centuries the difference between politics and morality has been established, Machiavelli was in favor of separating them, the other is an ecclesiastical, medieval approach; this apart from the fact that both morality and politics are of class and that politics is always command and guide.

The policy of the Party on the coca growers and drug trafficking has been correct and shrewd; moreover, it is being confirmed even in the government's proposals, of course, with the objective of winning over those masses and, to keep them away from the people's war, something similar happens with the Unified Mariáteguist Party (PUM) which has just realized that the coca growers live from that crop.



Thus, in violence there are, on the one hand, scourges derived from the system; and, on the other, violence organized in People's War that fights the old State that applies reactionary violence to subjugate the exploited and oppressed classes, violence and just people's war against counter-revolutionary violence and unjust war.

He highlights the fall in economic production, he speaks of a chaotic economy; he deals with the deficit situation of the public companies Petro Peru, Electro Peru etc., but he is silent that these deficits are because they provided cheap energy services to the industry which is the biggest consumer, he is silent that the people have always paid excessive tariffs. This involves privatization of State enterprises, there are about 5.000.000.000 dollars at stake, it is an immense booty which the big bourgeoisie wants to seize and that is why its factions are fighting, besides the fact that it is within the tendencies of imperialism to promote non-state economies. This would force them to take emergency measures, that is to say, to impose burdensome tariffs on the masses.

The fact that they are not going to privatize all the industries is only part of the fact that there is not enough capital to buy them and if they were sold today they would be sold off; that is why they seek to refloat them with the effort of the workers themselves and workers in general in order to sell them once they are refloated. This is going to be the subject of a long debate, moreover, it has been going on since 1979.

Alarming depressed industry, accelerated decapitalization reveals a decayed industry because its system constrains, does not develop; furthermore, they are within the imperialist system and believe that Peru's problem is that it has a location within the world productive system.

The "agricultural system is prostrate", proof of the subsistence of semi-feudalism, successive decades it is sinking and what happened to the so-called agrarian reform? What happened to the three agrarian laws of the '60s? Was it not said that this would renew agriculture and promote industry? The fact is that this reform was made under the criteria of Kennedy, of Yankee imperialism at that time and when they were seeking to suffocate the masses and expand markets, today other criteria guide them.

The mining industry suffers severe crisis. Root? It has to do with international prices, with the non-renewal of large mining companies because it continues to be a system based on oppression and exploitation to obtain greater surplus value, not to develop, to advance, not to reinvest, because bureaucratic capitalism is more rentier and parasitic.

“Repressed or dammed up inflation of 1.200%.” This was said during the military regime and was the justification for the Ulloa’s disbursement. Today he proposes 1.200% inflation, that is 6 times more than the indexes pointed out by all, even Moreyra criticized him; background? To justify atrocious measures against the people.

#### **4. GENERAL GUIDELINES**

Let us note that we are the ones who have distributed the themes of the message for better analysis, in this part we have also differentiated 10 guidelines.

1. Crisis as a basis for development. As we have inherited a disaster, he says, we have to overcome the crisis first and then lay the foundations for development. This is nothing but the most recalcitrant position of the IMF, even today they are developing criteria to manage inflation and boost production simultaneously; but here they take the most monetarist of measures, first strike to reduce inflation and after these blows not even to develop but to lay the foundations for development.

This leads them to state that ‘Peru needs the effort of all’, the same as Belaúnde, García, Morales, Velasco, eternal cantaleta; but they cannot unite all because there are antagonistic interests, the unity they seek is theirs against the class and the people to defend the interests of the big bourgeoisie, of the landowners, of imperialism.

He conceives sovereignty as ‘solid economy’, that is, if imperialism comes because we give it the best conditions and begins to generate a crust of growth, builds highways, buildings, all with the sweat of the people and with greater exploitation, then, there would be sovereignty. Is Mexico sovereign? Brazil? Chile? It is not understood that national sovereignty means

emancipation from imperialism, the only way to make a developed economy, and it becomes concrete with the revolution.

2. Program of economic stability. For them the cause of inflation is the deficit, that is why all their measures are aimed at reducing it, this is another of the recalcitrant positions of the IMF. They say that they are going to reduce three gaps: 1) fiscal gap, they put it in first place because they consider it to be the main gap; 2) external, it involves trade relations with foreign countries, balance of payments, trade balance, how much we sell, buy, owe, they are interested in solving the debt above all; and, 3) poverty gap, they say that they are going to eradicate critical poverty in four years, who believes them? Nobody.

To promptly dictate measures of a tributary nature', aims at the fiscal gap and for that he asks for powers to legislate in tributary matters. They do not want to apply what the Apra did in 1985-86: increase consumption to give economic impulse. Therefore, they do not even dream of wage increases; their policy is deflationary, they aim to reduce purchasing power.

3. Micro, small and medium-sized enterprises as the basis for development: the axis. This type of medium and small companies has become the reactivating axis, he says; we have already analyzed this, they comprise the largest number of EAP but not the largest number of GDP. Let's see some data:

#### *ENTERPRISES IN PERU*

Micro-enterprises	75.000	56,69 %
Small enterprises	15.000	11,34 %
Medium enterprises	2.100	1,59 %
Big enterprises	188	0,14 %
Handicrafts	40.000	30,24 %

We could make the following separation:

Micro	7.,000	56,69 %	
Small	15.000	11,34 %	
Handicrafts	40.000	30,24 %	
	130.000	98,27 %	Petty-bourgeois property.
Medium	2.100	1,59 %	Middle-bourgeois property.
Big	188	0,14 %	Big-bourgeois property.

They say that there would be 130.000 companies in what they consider to be the axis, but they include medium-sized companies, and that is the trap; they also include handicrafts, so 130.,00 is 100% of the so-called small industry.

#### *INDUSTRIAL EAP GDP*

Micro	30,4%	8,0%
Small	17,4%	13,0%
Handicrafts	24,6%	5,0%
Medium	16,2%	28,0%
Big	12,3%	46,0%

If we put together the micro, small and handicraft industries we would have 26% of the GDP; the medium industry contributes with 28% alone, that is its strength; and the large industry contributes with 46%, that is, the largest production is contributed by the large industry and comprises 12,3% of the industrial EAP, with few workers it contributes with the largest productive percentage, this is typical of any capitalist system, in addition, with only 0,14% of companies. So, how can micro, small and medium production be the axis of economic development, it cannot be the engine, it is not real within its system.

So, what is the background of this approach? What it is all about is that it is the largest number of companies and comprises the largest number of workers; consequently, what they want is to use all that mass to generate jobs; but under what conditions do they work at that level of companies? in the worst conditions, they produce at very low prices using excessive labor force, they apply a family work modality, their prices are deeply depressed and they produce for the broad mass, thus reducing the salary. In short, they seek to provide employment, to sell at the lowest prices, to have a cushion to cushion and lower wages throughout the industrial sector.

Besides the fact that they tie all this mass to their productive system for the benefit of big production, the big bourgeoisie and imperialism, seeing that only 30% of small production is in regular conditions to produce, therefore, it will be based on the collapse of the other 2/3, consequently its middle and lower strata will produce in increasingly impoverished conditions.

Therefore, to propose that it be an axis implies sinister exploitation and is part of the U.N. orientations.

How does it aim at minimizing the proletariat? Of course there is a reduction of the proletariat in Peru, this was already analyzed by the Party in the '70s, '78, '79, in absolute figures it is growing but in relative proportion it is decreasing. But what does it say about the proletariat? The EAP of 7.200 has 10% unemployed, 75% of underemployed and 15% of adequately employed; then, he says, why worry about the stable workers and those who have jobs if they are a minimum number, it is better to worry about the immense majority, of course 75% plus 15% is 85%, openly against the class; with this pretext they want to use this mass against the class; but, if within this mass there are 2/3 in very poor conditions and only 1/3 in bearable conditions, the tendency will be for those at the bottom to unite and fight together. We will come back to this because we need to define specific policies for this problem.

Throughout the message he says nothing about the proletariat, nor about the peasantry because when he refers to the peasantry he is referring to the peasantry of the coast and those who live in the native communities, the

peasantry of the highlands does not exist. He favors handicrafts for export and opens the jungle to large investments.

Referring to big business, he says that it is indispensable to eliminate labor conflicts by the employers and workers themselves, the State has no reason to intervene; that in this way the free exercise of association is expressed, the freedom to be part or not of the unions, he says that no one should be forced, that is why he points against the labor exchange. Imperialism wants, then, an unbridled system.

Labor stability and productivity are two complementary elements, not antagonistic', he says, which means that if you work well, if you produce well, you have stability, if not, you do not; if even businessmen propose that stability be respected, their reason is clearly to contain the explosiveness, they do not want to add fuel to the fire, but Fujimori does not care about anything as long as he behaves well before imperialism.

4. The State must serve society. "Excessive bureaucratization" implies reducing red tape, that by legal means the order can be changed. It speaks of the "inertia of the State", it registers what the Party denounced that its State apparatus is a hulk, becoming more and more stagnant; that is why they propose the need to restructure it, but here it does not define how. It can only be seen that they seek to speed up the State's progress, hence their administrative reorganization; and thus, they aim at laying off State workers. To state that "the State must at all times serve society" is to hide the class character of the State, to hide the dictatorship of the landowners and the big bourgeoisie. For it to be a "promoter of development", as it says, is nothing but a State that facilitates the application of the market economy.

5. Drug trafficking. To "integrally address drug trafficking" what he seeks is a global solution and his problem is to resolve the contradictions he has with the U.S. in order to better facilitate his participation in counter-subversive action and in the whole process of capitalist restructuring. This does not hinder its agreement to work within the Yankee plan; it is not opposed, what it wants is better conditions for its action, to use the problem of "narcoterrorism" and the importance it has for the U.S. in order to benefit economically, to link it to the solution of the debt, to sell Peruvian products, to export them to the U.S., to link it to the Bush initiative for Latin America,

the Brady plan. In essence, to use the problem of the People's War to receive strong economic aid.

6. Subversive violence, structural basis and dialogue. "For 10 years the people of Peru have been suffering from subversive violence [...] more than 15.000 victims and damages for more than 17.000.000 dollars." He stopped short and does not go into specifics, but what he intends to do is to present the situation as very serious in order to have a wide margin to apply his plans. "The causes of subversion are to be found in structural violence, in cultural and ethnic marginalization, in the exploitation to which the poorest layers of our population have been subjected." One sees a concession to the approaches of the IU, insofar as it seeks their support to combat the People's War. This can best be seen in the major guidelines and in the Programme set forth by the Prime Minister. In essence, this criterion is the basis for a much more developed anti-subversive war, within the criteria of the Yankee imperialist strategy; so revisionism, the IU is the support and backing of that Yankee counter-subversive strategy. Why do Polay, the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) have their "understanding"? For dialogue and to set in motion their path of amnesty and enlistment.

"The centralist State has ignored for decades the real Peru that exists in the Andes. It has allowed a despotic and abusive power to impose itself there", on that basis of structural violence he says that a State has arisen that has entered the countryside and has imposed a despotic power; when he speaks of this he refers to the semi-feudal base of society but he does not say so because that is not how he thinks; however, that is the background, there is an objective reality that cannot be ignored and he reflects it from a reactionary position. He is also referring to the power exercised by the landlords, what is he looking for? To impose the State in the emergency zones and to evolve semi-feudalism, but as it is not feasible, they are going to increase the presence of the Armed Forces in those zones and that their power be exercised by the same Armed Forces. Therefore, the contradiction between the Party and the Armed Forces will be strengthened.

"What an unworthy people ours would be if it had remained impassive in the face of outrage and abuse"; demagogic and hypocritical phrases because he is against the People's War, he is covering up the strategic plan he has to apply, the most developed counter-subversive war under the wing of Yankee

imperialism, now they will still be able to command those here but later they will put an American commander in charge.

“All that force, that logical protest has been channeled by fanatical ideologies that are trying to destroy the system of representative democracy”; he said that the people could not remain impassive in the face of abuse etc. but that it has been the fanatics who have used that protest of the masses, they manipulate it by trafficking with the interests of the people. Therefore, he pretends to separate the guerrilla from the masses, to aim, to focus the point of attack against those fanatics; he thinks that we are detached from the masses and that we are authoritarians who impose ourselves on them against their will, when the reality is that the People’s War is a consequence of the development and sharpening of the class struggle in Peru.

“Only the definitive elimination of injustice and marginalization can put an end to subversion. With this my government will give effective priority to the development of the Andean and jungle zones of our country today convulsed by terrorism”; that of putting an end to injustice and marginalization is part of the most developed Yankee theory of the counter-subversive war, that is why it will seek to induce progress, put patches, palliate, can they put an end to injustice? no, it is demagogic coverage; the main issue is to destroy those fanatics with rifles, genocide and repression. They seek to introduce development plans in the Andean zones and the jungle to take away our base but as this takes time and demands money, which they do not have, these are demagogic words, at most they will form a cushion through the property, titles, lands, which will allow them to cushion and on that to focus on military razing due to the impossibility of ending injustice because otherwise their situation would be blown up. What is new and progressive? It is a plan to better apply the Yankee strategy of counter-subversive or low-intensity warfare, hence it is absurd for the MRTA to say “on that basis we can dialogue”.

“It should not be interpreted as weakness my inclination to dialogue even with the armed groups as long as they lay down their arms”, he is not at all inclined to dialogue because he decides at the margin of his own parliament, rather he is authoritarian and arrogant; the fact that they lay down their arms to talk does not make sense because in Colombia, in El Salvador the talks were held in arms and then they laid them down according to the



results. Therefore, he is demagogically holding up dialogue to present himself as a man of peace who seeks to pacify without blood when in reality he relies on bayonets.

“The people have elected me to seek the unity of Peruvians, among other things, including the misguided ones”; a problem of misguidance? Are they not fanatics who seek to destroy the system?

“I am trying in very good faith, and I want the international community to be a witness of my fervent purpose, to finally introduce peace through reason and dialogue.” He plays for the stands and seeks prestige, to find support for his genocide, in order to say in the future: my good faith clashed with the coarseness of the fanatics. That is why we insist, how does the MRTA base itself on this farce to ask for dialogue; Fujimori’s position is not to dialogue but to lay the foundations to apply a more developed counter-subversive war and to apply the Yankee counter-subversive strategy of the so-called low-intensity war and he uses dialogue as demagogy. What is happening is that the MRTA has begun its path of amnesty and enlistment, preparing its capitulation to serve the order, participate in it and fight us according to the benefit they receive.

7. Crisis of the Judicial Power. It does not even consider how to restructure the Judicial Power as part of the restructuring of the State, what it does is to touch the exercise of Justice in order to aim against the Judicial Power and seek to control it by dealing with all the deficiencies of justice that are derived from the outdated order of its own system. It aims to move the lumpen as fascists have done in history, in order to have a base for their shock forces, using the lumpen to attack the other powers is a long-standing fascist practice.

Anyone who says that he is not targeting the probity of the magistrates is nothing more than a cover. The problem is not only that he is violating his own legal order but that he is expressing fascist signs that are very notorious in Fujimori.

8. Women. Another demagogic traffic, he salutes the heroism of women but raises food prices through the roof; “terms and equality with men”, another farce, he should start by enforcing the laws and norms of his Constitution since nobody complies with them; to speak of equality within this

impossible system, so they are trinkets to sell. "Cradles [...] health [...] recreation", tales retold. "Mothers' clubs" wants to control them for their plans. And as a great vindication of women he proposes to increase the forces of the female police, of course what he wants is that women participate in counter-subversive action.

9. Children. The child is not an appendix of the mother, so what he wants is to traffic. The U.N., imperialism, has always sought to use children to traffic, in recent years they are promoting the problem of survival when they themselves are responsible for the 15.000.000 children in the world who die of hunger every year. What is the concrete plan to solve this problem? Ethics and morality do not solve the scourge of child hunger in oppressed nations. He proposes the approval of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and thus the matter is solved; but if Peru has signed the American Declaration of Costa Rica and there the rights of the child are raised, it has also signed the Declaration of Human Rights and there is also the problem of the child, then why does it not enforce these commitments? why does it not take concrete measures? for example, its PES (Social Emergency Program), what good is it for the children? nothing. Therefore, as part of the interests of imperialism, his masters have ordered him to sign such a Convention and he, a faithful lackey, complies with it.

10. Human Rights In Peru the first right recognized by the Constitution is the respect for the human person, even the right to a niche is recognized; we also have international agreements but none of them are complied with; Fujimori says that he will enforce them, but what do we see daily? mass graves, disappeared, prisoners, genocide and in the streets of the capital, repression of all protest marches; how is the right to strike, freedom of expression, evictions are the order of the day, etc. What we are experiencing is the most violent contradiction between the rights conquered and established in the Constitution and its laws and the material reality. The Commission does not even exist and the fact that he wants to preside over it is to control it. We have been hearing that we will fight subversion with the law in our hands since the Belaúnde government and genocides, unpunished murders, rapes, etc. continue. Furthermore, Peru is not characterized for being respectful of Human Rights and precisely this is one of the issues that North American imperialism is determined to spread in

the oppressed nations, obviously as part of its imperialist demagoguery to continue oppressing and exploiting and, for its counter-subversive war; it is a hot mess.

It ends like this: "Your vote was for hope [...] message of renovation [...] contributed to democracy"; but if the people were forced to vote and Fujimori obtained 0,6% of the vote less than the absenteeism in the first round; and only in the second round with the collusion of revisionism, the APRA, imperialism, the Armed Forces and Peruvian reaction, did he reach the Presidency. Therefore he cannot come to us with the old story of people's support.

He wants to foment patriotism. This homeland of ours is a nation in the making and only the revolution will achieve it, will unite it and make it a great nation; besides, the borders have been conquered by the people with their blood and it has been the people who have defended them.

He ends up dry and mediocre, he feels he is a technocrat, not a politician, he is making merits to gain prestige before his imperialist masters, mainly Yankee, he does and undoes without consulting anyone but he presents himself as if he were a democrat; he reveals the most disgusting cynicism and once again traffics with the religiosity of the people. "May God enlighten the people and me", he says; he means "tomorrow I blame God for the problems caused".

Why is it good to keep it in mind? Because there it is necessary to compare what he said, how we appreciate and what reality says, that is what is important then. Pay attention to the first point: "Motto and application". There his slogan is analyzed, very important is the analysis on the question of work, how he considers work, the so-called "culture based on work"; he says here: "This is to erase the class character, it seeks to make people agree that based on work a new society can be built without exploitation", another invention of imperialism and reaction. It says "work is a creative source", simply work to make a prosperous society? Who runs this society? It would be prosperous only for the ruling classes, behind "work" it conceals the relations of exploitation, behind the sounding "new culture of work", apart from being a strict reactionary bourgeois conception of work, it conceals preserving, gilding, elevating imperialism. He says: The bourgeois root of

this "new culture of work" is also expressed when he says that "this will give the conditions for the market order", behind this nonsense he seeks to promote the market economy, liberalism, as he said in his government proposal in May, before the elections: "the problem is to create markets of diverse types, to form particularly in agriculture" reveals a semi-feudal base, he says that this work culture will allow a better distribution of wealth and avoid concentrations", that is to say, monopolies, but later we will see that he only targets State monopolies: Enci, Ecasa, Petro Perú. And what are we seeing today? And the "anti-monopoly" law? It is only against the State, it is to maintain the monopolies, to preserve them, to try to regulate their relations so that they do not clash but to maintain their reality, not denying their existence, but how to prevent them from clashing. We must take into account how the market economy was analyzed, here is also the problem of the social market economy, all this must be taken into account in order to undo the mistakes because there is so much talk that is said.

Well, in "General Guidelines", on page 40: "Crisis and base of development" it says:

"Sovereignty is conceived as 'solid economy', that is, if imperialism comes because we give it the best conditions and it begins to generate a crust of growth, they build highways, buildings, everything with the sweat of the people with greater exploitation, then we would have sovereignty, is Mexico sovereign? Brazil? Chile? They do not understand that national sovereignty means emancipation from imperialism, the only way to make a developed economy and it is made concrete with the revolution."

These things have to be studied again, if here are the instruments, we have sung to them in advance what was going to happen, here are their arguments and what they were going to do, and they are doing it.

"Stability. For them the cause of inflation is the deficit, that is why it aims at finding measures, to reduce it, in other words. It is another of the recalcitrant conditions of the International Monetary Fund, it says that they are going to reduce three gaps: '1) fiscal gap', it puts it in first place because it is considered the main one, they have not closed it so far! And they are not going to close it even in the next budget. '2) external' implies the commercial relations with foreign countries, balance of payments, balance of trade, how

much we sell, how much we buy; they are interested in solving the debt above all.”

There it is, have they solved it? They have not solved it, that is the concrete, the contracts with the members of the “support group” have not even been signed, that is the fact, they are just starting to deal with the private banks. And “3) poverty gap”, they say that they are going to eradicate critical poverty in four years, who believes them? nobody, but today we are poorer than before, when he came up we were 7.000.000 poor, now we are 13.000.000 poor, he has multiplied them, so? Cheap demagoguery. “To promptly dictate measures of a tax nature”, he aims at the fiscal gap and that is why he asks for powers to legislate on tax matters, but the main thing he has given is tax matters, everything is “discount”, “charge”, “impose”, but up to now they have not even made a so-called tax reform, which by the way has been pending since the first Belaúnde government, old problems then, and this one has not solved them and will not solve them. He asked for powers, they were given to him and he could not, and he did not start and he has not been able to either, today he is asking for the powers again because they have already finished, is that not the reality? Well, here it is in point 3, it also says: “Base of development. The micro, small and medium-sized enterprises”, this little square that they have must be corrected, there is a sum that is wrong, but this must be analyzed, the micro-small enterprises, this is very good. Here it is necessary to highlight this: “How does it aim at minimizing the proletariat?”

Of course, it aims at disappearing it, and what have the facts shown? In the whole message he says nothing about the proletariat, nor about the peasantry, and what has he done with the peasantry? when does he ever mention it? Never, at most he speaks of the coca growers out of interest. He says “Labor stability and productivity are two complementary and not antagonistic elements”, which means that if you work well, if you produce well, you have stability, if not, there is none. But even businessmen ask that stability be respected, their reason of course is to contain the explosiveness, they do not want to add fuel to the fire, but Fujimori is not interested in anything as long as he behaves well before imperialism. It is therefore sung “The State must serve society” then says the document commenting:

“To state that the State must at all times serve society is to hide the class character of the State, to hide the dictatorship of the landowners and the big bourgeoisie. The fact that it is a ‘promoter of development’ as they say, is nothing but a State that facilitates the application of the market economy, that means ‘promoter of development’. And what is, then, market economy? It is the generation and strengthening of monopolies, it is the benefit of imperialism and the big bourgeoisie. Drug trafficking, it is also here: ‘To deal comprehensively with drug trafficking [...]’ what it wants are better conditions for its action, to use the problem of narcoterrorism and the importance it has for the United States in order to benefit economically, to link it to the solution of the debt, to sell Peruvian products, to export to the U.S., to link it to the Bush initiative for Latin America, to the Brady plan, in essence, to use the problem of the People’s War to receive strong economic aid, that is what it has done today. ‘Subversive violence, structural basis and dialogue.’ What is he looking for? To impose the State in the emergency zones and to evolve semi-feudalism, but as it is not feasible, they are going to increase the presence of the Armed Forces in those zones and that their power be exercised with the same Armed Forces, therefore the contradiction Party-Armed Forces will be strengthened.”

This contradiction has been strengthened even more now with the last decrees. Well, he says (Fujimori’s words): “I am trying in very good faith and I want the international community to witness my fervent purpose of introducing peace through reason and dialogue”, just like what he has said abroad in his speeches; he now comments: “He plays for the stands and seeks prestige, to find support for his genocide, to say in the future ‘my good faith collided with the stubbornness of the fanatics’”, is that not what he has told us? There it is, we have already said it, that is why we insist:

“How does the MRTA base itself on this farce to have a dialogue? Fujimori’s position is not to dialogue but to lay the foundations to apply a more developed counter-subversive war, and to apply the North American counter-subversive strategy, the so-called ‘low-intensity war’, and he uses dialogue as demagoguery, what is happening is that the MRTA has begun its path of amnesty and enlistment, preparing its capitulation to serve the order, participate in it and fight us according to the benefit they receive.”

We think that this goes down very well with us.

“Human rights”, here it is also:

“In Peru the first right recognized by the Constitution is the respect for the human person, even the right to a life is recognized, we also have international agreements but none of them are complied with, Fujimori says he is going to enforce them, but what do we see daily? Mass graves, disappeared, prisoners, genocide, and in the streets of the capital, repression of all protest marches. How is the right to strike? freedom of expression? evictions are the order of the day, etc. What we are experiencing is the most violent contradiction between the rights conquered and established in the Constitution and its laws, and the material reality. The Commission does not even exist, and the fact that he wants to preside over it is to control it, ‘myados in Peru?’. That is, he spoke of a commission that was going to be formed, he asked for power, but to this day it does not exist. Let us emphasize that here he says ‘pampering’, we have found his weak point, his ego, an absurd absolutism of power. We have heard him say ‘we will fight subversion with the law in our hands’ since the Belaúnde government and genocides, unpunished murders, rapes, etc., continue; besides, Peru is not characterized for being respectful of human rights and precisely this is one of the issues that Yankee imperialism is determined to spread in the oppressed nations, obviously as part of its imperialist demagoguery to continue oppressing and exploiting and for its counter-subversive war, it is a good mouthful.”

So, this must be taken into account, it is very useful for us.

Read and study from page 395 to 407 of the same document of the Preparatory Session, on the so-called low-intensity warfare. The document states:

“It is convenient that we return to deal something about this question that must be studied because they are using it and they are going to use it; because we must aim at a judgment from the position of Marxism of this so-called low-intensity warfare. In the immediate to know how to counteract these situations, plans, methods or the way in which Yankee imperialism aims against the revolution, against the struggle of the oppressed nations mainly.

‘Low intensity warfare’, subtitle: ‘Reagan against Central America’, by Lilia Bermudez, 21<sup>st</sup> Century Publications

What stands out is that she provides information on documents of the Yankee government, of Yankee imperialism; she also reports on experiences of the application of this so-called low-intensity warfare, the problem that we must bear in mind is the position of this author, it can be easily derived when she judges this problem as plans that:

‘aim to attack the Soviet Union through the weakest link, which would be the one made up by the national liberation movements or the governments that having changed the previous status quo are in the process of constituting a new type of State.’

Needless to say, and if she speaks of Nicaragua as a new type of State, we already have an idea. She is for the superpower USSR. Another limitation is that this book is from 1987, the materials it handles are from the first part of the ‘80s. There are other later things that we should make an effort to see, more if it says that these forms of low intensity are becoming more specified.

Chapter 3: ‘The contents of the conflict or low intensity war’.

He says that the tendency in the U.S. is to use ‘conflict’ aiming to demilitarize the term in front of the American public opinion; imperialism wants to gain public opinion, that is its eagerness; however, it also contains a difference in the content to call conflict or low-intensity war.

He transcribes a text in which he aims to define the so-called conflict:

‘Low-intensity conflict refers to the series of activities and operations at the lower end of the conflict spectrum, including the use of military or semi-military forces (both combat and non-combat), on the part of an intervening power to influence and force the adversary to accept a particular political-military condition.’

According to this text, low-intensity warfare would be the lowest end of the spectrum. The problem when he speaks of the spectrum refers to the fact that when the atomic bomb was used, they had a weapon of immense destructive power that surpassed everything known up to that time, August ‘45; from there comes the conception that it is feasible to classify wars



according to the intensity of the weapons, of the means used and they classify them in low intensity, medium intensity and maximum intensity, the latter using the atomic bomb; The medium intensity, conventional warfare weapons, all non-atomic means; and the low intensity, those in which simpler, less powerful means are used; hence the classification of war by intensity.

It says that these activities and operations 'include the use of military or semi-military forces, both combat and non-combat'. War has come to use all kinds of instruments. They are used by a superpower or power because it says 'on the part of an intervening power to influence and compel the adversary to accept a particular political-military condition', a condition which is nothing but subjugation.

'The use of force is not exclusively concerning combat, there are a variety of methods and strategies to influence the environment and action of other states without resorting to battle.'

It means the use of other means without resorting to battle.

'It encompasses the threat of the use of force without employing it or fighting and the use of force in combat.'

In other words, to threaten is one way, the other is to use that force in combat.

'A foreign State or States must be convinced that the State that is using force is also prepared to use it in combat.'

It is a principle of diplomacy if armed force is used simply to threaten without the assurance that it is going to be used, then it does not have that effect. Kissinger used to say, it has to be clear that force is going to be used. Diplomacy is nothing more than a set of links and deals that, if it exceeds its limits, it is the weapon that imposes conditions. Diplomacy serves that war and when it triumphs it takes the greatest advantage of the triumph.

It corresponds to the level of interference of armed force in relation to their capacity, to the war power they have. Using the most elementary means does not mean that they will not use medium intensity means. The interesting thing is that it says:

‘For a power it will be low intensity, for the attacked it is high intensity.’  
According to the dimension that each State has.

Another definition:

‘Low intensity warfare is the recourse of nations and organizations to limited use of their forces or threat of use to achieve political objectives without the full inclusion of resources.’

It can start with low intensity and then medium if needed for political objectives.

‘Typical of this conflict is that it involves relatively few participants in relation to the importance of the objectives at risk.’

‘May include coercive diplomacy.’

‘To press for example a blockade.’

‘Police actions’, ‘psychological operations, insurgency, guerrilla warfare, counter-terrorist activities, and military and paramilitary deployments with diverse objectives.’

Wide range of possibilities of this low-intensity warfare.

‘Triumph is often only a means to avoid a certain outcome.’

In other words, a war to obtain results, turns or changes. All warfare is like this.

How Yankee imperialism uses this type of war:

‘The U.S. military engages in this type of conflict in support of U.S. global interests and with the support of the U.S. population.’

For the global interests of Yankee imperialism, general, worldwide; it seeks support which is different, that is seen because it is posed that the American people still do not understand well.

For this author Kupperman:

‘Low intensity conflict or unconventional warfare.’

He says that conflict or unconventional warfare can be used interchangeably. In 1983 he presents a report to the U.S. Army where he states that; that is to say, what yesterday was called unconventional warfare

is now called low-intensity warfare, even conflict, old wine in new bottles; forms that are changing with the experience of the counter-revolution; it gives food for thought being a report of the U.S. Army.

The author says that this low-intensity war 'is a counter-revolutionary war and is a protracted war' and that it has three substantial axes, axes that would become types or forms: 1) Counter-insurgency in those countries where there is an evident threat to the established order (El Salvador) or a potential threat even if it is incipient (Honduras) or hypothetically potential (Costa Rica). 2) The reversal of triumphant revolutionary processes (Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan). And 3) Anti- or counter-terrorism. Their position is confirmed, who are they talking about? Countries linked to the USSR, and where are we?

Schultz, former U.S. Secretary of State says:

'The U.S. faces new and evasive challenges.'

Not frontal, that means:

'[...] thus the methods to combat the U.S. have changed. Low-intensity warfare is their response to our conventional and nuclear strength, a flank maneuver in military terms.'

For him the contest is with the USSR for world hegemony:

'[...] the ambiguous war has shown a chink in our armor.'

He says that the U.S. is being subjected to this ambiguous war, a low-intensity war, and they are making a crack in it, so they have to defend themselves. They take that basis and on that they have elaborated the theory of low-intensity warfare, that is what the author says; she also says that in that way the U.S. is showing its weaknesses and just as in the decade of the '60s, in the '80s:

'[...] the turbulence in the world surprises the U.S.'

For her it is turbulence.

Summers is a colonel in the U.S. Army who has written a book on strategy, analyzing the defeat of Vietnam. He conceives the problem taking military criteria. It is a very important text. He deals with two principles of war: the

dilemma of where to mass and where to apply economy of forces, that is, where to put more forces and where to put fewer forces. The U.S. puts more forces in Europe, for example, while in other parts of the world, in the oppressed nations, it must economize forces, that is to say, low-intensity warfare.

It is interesting that Kupperman makes the point that the U.S. military is not prepared for such low-intensity wars. Nor is it going to be. He says that there is a range of possibilities that are presented in the world and it's a challenge, because each challenge has a specific thing and the U.S. military is not prepared. That's what he said in '83.

Reagan, part of the Soviet threat, 'great enemy', within the superpower contest; he says that the USSR is the 'great enemy' that targets the key parts of the USA: Europe, Persian Gulf; then what should be done? To respond globally by threatening the Soviet weak points in any other part of the globe, amplified in all possible points. Faced with his ideas, one wonders if it is his answer to the USSR or is it the answer of the Yankee superpower to the oppressed nations? Is it the plan of Yankee imperialism to contend for world hegemony? The problem is that he sees it from the point of view of the superpowers.

The author says that some argue that low-intensity warfare can contain conventional but limited warfare. Yes, some argue that; it shows us that they play with a set of possibilities and use them to impose conditions; the Yankees put 700.000 men in Vietnam but it did not go well, so they start to apply low-intensity warfare but they can elevate it.

The Chinese Comrades in documents from the '60s speak to us about the escalation of the war and that was demonstrated in Vietnam: it began for a short time and then it was elevated to great means, to conventional war and threatened with atomic weapons, they threatened to bomb Hanoi and China. What we see is the escalation of war, that is why the author says that there are terms that remind us of Kennedy. Taylor raised the issue of escalation; that is why we say, is it not the old wine in new bottles?

Schultz says low-intensity warfare confronts various political, military, intellectual and moral issues, different new and unconventional challenges that cover a wide and different range. He says:

‘[...] it is the scourge of terrorism in the world, the Nicaraguan struggle between the democratic resistance and the Communist regime, the insurgencies against Soviet or Cuban intervention in Angola, Ethiopia, civil war as in Lebanon, rescue of Grenada, Cambodian resistance against Vietnamese occupation.’

It is a field of different types of challenge varying in scale and scope, which have a common feature, ambiguity; he continues:

‘[...] there are facts that take us out of the balance that we impose and we grope for appropriate methods to respond.’

Groping means that it is not defined; they debate on how to respond.

The author says:

‘[...] it is clear that the most likely areas of low-intensity conflict are the areas of the 3<sup>rd</sup> World, however because of terrorism the geographical area is generalized to include the territory of the United States itself.’

Kupperman:

‘It is not only a foreign problem but on U.S. territory itself, in response to civil disorder or terrorism.’

That is, against the American people itself; we think that this struggle against drug trafficking, just as here it is against the People’s War, there it is against the American people, to break them (for example, the struggle against drug trafficking, against drugs in the United States). That is why we say that this struggle unites us more with the struggle of the North American people. Kupperman says that on the American continent the most probable arenas of low-intensity or medium-intensity conflicts are in Central America, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and possibly Puerto Rico; concluding that the escalation of this conflict is possible in the conventional plane, he says without atomic use; but the use or not will be according to their conditions or interests. It is projected until the year 2000.

The author says that political-military violence is predicted to intensify during the next decades. It is nothing new, this is the conclusion of the political and military analysts of the United States. Now understand why the plan against Colombia and Peru, the problem is South America and the facts are demonstrating it and we will see it more; but, for her we do not exist.

Another author says:

‘[...] the need to see the specificity of each case, the particular reality of each situation to develop this type of war, is not an obstacle to see it regionally.’ See regions and in each case the specific situation. They are drawing lessons and have learned from the People’s War; but the problem is that each side has its strategy, its class character; the question is whether the war is justified or unjustified, the problem is which class leads.

‘Our national interest is expressed in the national context.’

Thus they see the situation as part of American national security and so says the author herself, but she keeps silent that it implies world domination, struggle for hegemony.

Kupperman says that it is not good for the U.S. to continue intervening in covert actions because they are rejected by the American people. In other words, they are unmaskable, for example, the overthrow of Allende by Kissinger himself. So, they want to elaborate a conception that is even capable of deceiving the American people into supporting them, because support is more necessary for this type of war; for example, the American people were against the intervention in Vietnam. People are people.

Schultz says:

‘[...] the public discussion and debate must continue.’

Forming public opinion favorable to aggression, to domination, to the struggle for hegemony. And this is another idea of Mr. Kupperman.

Another author says:

‘[...] to support a State that has war problems with its people, the U.S. needs that government to have legitimacy because otherwise public opinion cannot be moved.’

That is why it is in our interest to undermine Fujimori’s legitimacy using the law, as well as denouncing him for genocide. He also says ‘that in the face of each of the axes, specific responses have been built’; that is to say, concrete, different forms, apart from always looking for the specific. The question is, can the U.S. intervene directly with its troops or not? They say it is feasible; the objective of the Yankee forces would be to bring about a decisive change in the conflict. This is what we saw in contradictions and main contradiction; that is what they would act for.’ Preserving American interests at risk’, for example: Panama, it was for Yankee interests and ‘American life’. Here is the Southern, that is Yankee interest.

‘To provide time and space for the native forces to recover tactical initiative for concrete actions.’

Another reason to give time for the reactionary government that is fighting to recover initiative.

Mr. Graves, says that:

‘[...] if they can intervene, involve small forces in clearly defined missions in geographic areas, targets and time.’

They don’t want to get bogged down, they don’t want to stay too long.

‘Followed by a quick withdrawal once the objective is achieved.’

Meet the specific objective and get out, they don’t want a war of resistance against them. In such limited operations [...] not to defeat or destroy the opposing forces; not to fix other people’s mess, that is to turn against the people and it is not convenient for them to get involved in a more complex process. He also says that:

‘[...] the most likely missions include: rescue, evacuation, protection, anti-terrorist missions.’

For example, Grenada, Liberia.

And with a People’s War? That is the problem they have; then, this low-intensity war is very limited, if they want to aim at destroying implies

something else, if they want to recover the cornered authority; another, will these low-intensity interventions be enough or will they have to move to medium-intensity? They would have to move to medium-intensity.

The author highlights the following, she says an aspect worth highlighting is how:

‘[...] the strategy becomes complex and the objective is global and not only military, the response is also complex, it is long term.’

Yankee authors say ‘we must recognize that the conflict is neither simple nor short term’; in the face of a war like ours, they would have to think that it is not simple, this does not mean, obviously, that the base has to be changed. Fujimori also states that the problem is neither simple nor short-term.

Previously, the author has spoken of direct troop occupation, fighting or supporting; if it is a question of fighting, her problem consists of using a whole range of means, even diplomacy, and not embarking on a war as happened in Vietnam before.

He says:

‘Central America is not Southeast Asia, this time the logistics are on the side of the United States, it can help its allies for a war that may last decades.’

Logistics is an element that counts in war, a logistical connection is more vulnerable the longer it is. So the situation is not the same, as it was in Vietnam; that is why they say that the problem is to provide these threatened governments with logistics that are within their reach, so that it is favorable to them, for example: funds, training, technology, all linked to the problem of counter-subversive warfare. Here Fujimori says technology; linked to combat us.

Thus, they and their allies can face a prolonged war ‘that may last for decades’.

Summers: ‘On Strategy. A critical analysis of the Vietnam War.’

(It would be good to get this text, it has been incorporated as a U.S. Army Studies text.) He says Vietnam generated problems, we were defeated; so there are roots to what happened. Conclusion, we should not get into a war



as in Vietnam; but we cannot fail to intervene, there are two problems that he raises to solve this situation: 1) The rapid deployment; to have a rapid deployment force to strike anywhere in the world, 'task force' able to respond anywhere and for a short time, because of logistics problem; this has been applied in the '80s, more or less 10.000 men deserted; well, that force can have about 200.000 men to move a group of 10.000 for the reasons mentioned; it is what is called 'task force'. 2) To set up a system and form in which to participate in a protracted war and to wear down without the constant combatant action of the Yankees; it is solved with conflict or war of low-intensity, a not massive war and where the United States does not become mired.

First axis of low-intensity warfare: Counter-insurgency. When in a country the war undermines its order or there is danger or potential risk; well, here the author says that in '64 the United States considered its participation in Vietnam as mainly military; in '67 there was a change, a turn in the direct action of the U.S., before they were the main force, but from '67 onwards increasing emphasis was placed on the native troops to combat the guerrillas, so they began to see the war moving the threatened government and them as advisors. In '69 Nixon put forward what is known as the 'Nixon doctrine': the host country assumes the fundamental responsibility of providing military troops for its own defense in the face of an insurgency. That is why we say that they are debating a doctrine of counter-subversive warfare, drawing lessons not only from Vietnam but also from other wars; they are beginning to propose a theory of the so-called low-intensity warfare, military action is developed as in any war, only using 'lower', more elementary means, but which for the attacked country are great, for example, for the U.S. to send 100 helicopters is a small thing but for Peru it is a lot. The 'low intensity warfare' follows their counter-insurgency norm but demands a series of changes; they have set up other forms, another force structure, readjusting their airborne forces, mechanized infantry, task forces, armored cavalry, etc.; in terms of forms of warfare the lowest possible, new ways to strike, a complex use of all their forces according to the situation that arises.

We are interested in looking at its 'non-military' components; there are four components:

1. Intelligence. Concern to improve his Intelligence service; he says that:

‘The intelligence effort is the bedrock of all low intensity warfare operations.’

Objective of their intelligence: to see if there is latent insurrection; information on insurgents; weather conditions; terrain and population; all this they study for them; what do they seek? to minimize insurgent espionage, subversion and sabotage activities. This is in their manual, in their regulations; and they apply it according to the degree of the insurgency which can be initial, medium or mature; for example Huallaga is not the same as Piura or when they say from Lima that Ate Vitarte is red, it is because we are there, militarily they differentiate incipient or emerging insurgency from more mature insurgency, according to that they apply in different ways; they aim to form counter-guerrilla forces and, according to each case what organizations to set up.

2. Psychological Operations. School of psychological warfare, Fort Bragg, founded in 1952. There are two central objectives: 1) To modify the relations between the soldiers themselves; they cannot be arrogant, bossy, and they must win over the people; for this reason they must modify the activities of their armed forces. 2) To change the behavior and perception of the population, of the insurgents during the war, that is, how the population sees them and how the insurgents see the counter-subversive war and the military operations aim to make them see that the revolutionary war is a failure. They are looking for a change of opinion, for example, in the Middle East they have to change their behavior regarding women, alcoholic beverages, because of the customs there. They want the population and the insurgents to change, they want them to see that the war is wrong, that it is not possible to conquer power; they say to the population, for example, ‘there is no light because the towers were blown up’, ‘the terrorists have wanted to blow up the water tanks’ or against us ‘your terrorist war achieves nothing’.

How does an intelligence officer act? The intelligence officer is less interested in arms and men, what interests him is the morale of the troops; the morale of the civilian population that is friendly with the enemy; whether or not there is a black market; problem and everything related to

strikes and absenteeism. Interrogations. It must be carried out within 48 to 72 hours to take maximum advantage of the state of shock, disorientation and fear, to prepare Comrades and combatants to be prepared for torture in times of tension. Psychological techniques. Psychological air attacks by means of armed propaganda equipment operating in areas of guerrilla control or dispute. Objective: desertion because it undermines the morale of the insurgents and raises the morale of the captors; they could kill to intimidate and above all use leaflets which are the most widely used form.

Their field manual on low-intensity conflict aims to set up internal defense and development plans and conceives psychological operations as part of these ('OPSIC'); they say: 'you have to defend yourself to sow', example rondas or civil defense. They take into account the target group of their psychological operation: insurgents, to get them to side with the government; civilian population, to gain, retain and strengthen civilian support for the country's government and for its internal defense and development programs; host country and allied forces, as well as for civilians, with emphasis on building and maintaining the morale of these forces; Loyalty and discipline are critical factors in the fight; it is a matter of getting everyone to support them in the fight against insurgent neutral elements, gaining the support of uncommitted foreign groups inside and outside the host country by publicizing insurgent activities, e.g. 'they kill peasants', 'they are linked to narcos', etc., groups of external hostile powers that support the movement, that convince the population that the insurrection will fail, e.g. 'why spend millions, it won't do any good'; case of Cuba. [...]

3. Civil affairs. The objective is to minimize the interference of the local population with military operations. Slogan: 'intensify combat operations through civil-military cooperation'. To paint well, to gild their action; therefore, the so-called civic action is to intensify their combat action, they aim to mobilize civilian personnel so that the population supports the military and the government, the elimination of military, political, military and social problems, i.e., the fewer problems the better. Particularly important is civic action. U.S. State Department definition: 'Use of predominantly native forces, of projects useful to the local population at all levels.'

‘Fields: education, training, public works, agriculture, transportation, communications, health, public hygiene and others which contribute to economic and social development and which may also serve to enhance the reputation of the military forces in the population.’ (Military Dictionary, page 230.)

The author says that this leads to an increase in so-called humanitarian aid. In this way they move the American people to accept that they are putting money aside for these sinister activities. This civic action sees the degree of development of the revolution, the phase and according to that it is organized. They say that it is not a problem of number but the improvement of the aid, for example, not how many they cure but the improvement of the general health of the population; they fulfill these tasks because they are key to develop their combat. This is what the promotion of medical programs is for, for example.

#### 4. Control of population and resources.

‘Objective: to dismantle the infrastructure supporting the revolutionary movement and prevent new adherents to its cause. To achieve this, intelligence activities, psychological operations, civil affairs and military measures are combined. That is to say, all non-military and also military means to control the population.’

‘They set up pacification projects.’ (page 138)

This is requested by the IU, the Church; it is part of the control of the population to ‘win the minds and hearts of the population, fundamentally of the peasants. Objective: to improve the villages, to achieve economic and political security in the villages’.

Fujimori claims to give security and confidence. If we analyze in the light of this, how are the IU, the Church, etc., left? These are global plans of imperialism.

‘Forced resettlement’, ‘strategic hamlets’ and ‘the forced incorporation of the population into defense tasks’. Three issues apply. By means of the constitution of forces or patrols of civil self-defense. It is the same thing that IU says, even the same name. In Vietnam it says that 24.000.000 South Vietnamese were concentrated in 17.000 concentration camps, for which all methods were combined: destruction, terror, seduction, division and

impoverishment. The economic plan that impoverishes the people and especially the peasantry deeply serves this; and the PES, thus, leads to resettlements, villages and self-defense, to use them for concentration camps. About strategic hamlets in the book 'The Age of Counterinsurgency' by Douglas S. Blaufarb, he explains the objective of those hamlets; he says that the purpose was to dry up the sea of friendly peasants in which the Viet Cong 'fish' swam, instead of emphasizing military action, i.e. to separate the guerrillas from the masses, never to allow it. The means by which they aimed to sever the guerrillas' relationship with the villages was by bringing to the inhabitants the benefits of government and village defenses, physical defense to repel open attack (so the population could sleep at night) and reorganization and survival procedures (food control), to prevent them from serving the guerrillas. In some cases they were even paid for the damage they caused. To support the pacification task the 'support for civilian operations and revolutionary development' was constituted and the author says, in the facts it was not achieved by the methods used; the population was bombed, relocated by force or caught in crossfire as a contending force, in encounters in their houses or around their houses. This applied to those who resisted. Moreover, the pacification effort meant a real massacre of the population as 'Operation Phoenix' conceived by the CIA that aimed to neutralize the guerrillas by eliminating their supporters by any means. It was not achieved despite the mass murder, in 1968 when 'Operation Phoenix' was under direct order of the U.S., 26.369 South Vietnamese civilians were killed, 33.658 imprisoned under hellish conditions. This is why Blaufarb concludes that the infrastructure cannot be eliminated without first eliminating the organization that runs it. He means the Party; formidable lesson; the French propose: 1) to sweep away the Party leadership and 2) to break the relationship with the masses. First the Party because as long as there is a Party the revolution will continue.

'Formation of people's self-defense forces.' Created in January 1968 as a national program; obligatory for all men who were not part of the armed forces of military age; volunteers: women, the elderly and children over twelve years of age. In 1970 it was calculated that the grouped population oscillated in 400.000, although the official figures said that they achieved 3.000.000, always inflated. The 'people's self-defense forces' were the responsibility of the village chiefs; it says 'villagers rather informal and non-

military', 'it was one of the causes and at the same time one of the indicators of the improvement of the situation in the countryside', 'the fact of distributing arms was symbolic'; that is applied here. Five years later, they were defeated; they are transitory improvements. The CIA agent says that the pacification plan was defeated because he says that such a task goes beyond advice and assistance since the leadership of the natives is fundamental and the counterinsurgency demands to give a strong voice to the rural population in their own affairs trying to link them to the national political process, that is to say that they express political strength, that they are recognized in turn and accepted what they propose. will they be able to give the peasants influence, decision, politics? They are not going to be able to give them, that is why they had problems and the plan of the so-called pacification failed.

According to the 'Low Intensity Conflict Field Manual', the population and resource control program is complementary and supportive of other defense and internal development programs. Objectives combined with civic action issues: 1) mobilize supplies and manpower on behalf of the government; 2) uncover and neutralize insurgent organizations and activities; 3) provide a physical and psychological environment for the people; and 4) cut off any existing support between the population and the insurgent forces.

Second axis: Reversal. Nicaragua case. Before, a government was destabilized, undermined, e.g. Allende's government. Now, open struggle that does not have to respect or wait for the fall of a government opposed to their criteria, but they say, they have the right and the obligation to act to overthrow it; for that they move all means, all possible ways. It is important to form an opposing armed group within the country itself with a base of withdrawal and support in bordering countries and direct actions organized by the U.S. using special forces to undermine at all levels, for example blowing up gasoline depots, strategic factories. Use reactionary warfare, such as against the native Miskitos; add economic blockade, diplomatic pressure, etc. The 'change is in open struggle'; the right to overthrow it is openly proclaimed and executed.

Third axis: Anti-terrorism. All definitions contained in Department of Defense documents have become obsolete:

‘The unlawful use of force and violence or the threat of its use by revolutionary organizations against individuals or property with the intent to coerce or intimidate governments or societies often for ideological purposes.’

Similar to Peru’s 046; for them the problem is that a new phase has been entered. William Cassy, director of the CIA, said that:

‘Since the late ‘60s there is a new phase of terrorism fundamentally and more ideologized in nature, e.g. RAF, CCC, Direct Action, Red Brigades in Europe; in the Middle East PLO. Similar groups are maturing in Chile, Ecuador, Colombia and Peru. Ecuador, Colombia and Peru. They no longer look at us that way, they see us in a counterinsurgency role.

Terrorism has become a weapon used by States against each other, it is a weapon of war used by ideologized groups.’

Therefore they say, terrorism has to be fought as a low-intensity warfare force; consequently, all the usual methods can be used, particularly rapid direct interventions, for example, retaliation in Libya. Which is an act to which they are entitled, because, they say, the principles of the U.N. must be interpreted, since they are defenders of freedom; they do not respect any borders. Hence they struck Libya on this basis. If a country is not able to contain these actions, they say, they have the right and authority to intervene, to take an individual or individuals and take them to their country. Another example of such low-intensity actions was Entebbe.”

This document should be kept in mind.

## **5. FIRST TASK: REIMPULSING BUREAUCRATIC CAPITALISM**

We have to look at the three tasks that this government took on. Reimpulse: The problem is to highlight that until today it does not achieve stability. In order to achieve it, the government has taken as its axis the fight against inflation, but although inflation has been lowered, it is being handled deceitfully to pretend that it is declining month by month, the fact is that the process is losing speed in its reduction and therefore threatens to be boosted again, that is to say, to start increasing again, that is the problem they have and to fight inflation is a Yankee demand to solve the

debt issues. Then, Peru is in a deep recession, there are four consecutive years of recession and this year they say that there is going to be a growth of 0,5, that is what they say, and they are going to adulterate the statistics; to think that there are already four years of recession and that the phenomenon of the cycles of economic crisis that also occur in Peru is continuing, whereby the economy sinks deeper and deeper, this is happening. But this process of reducing inflation which they have not been able to control up to now, this phenomenon of four years of recession which they have not been able to stop, has it helped them to solve the problem of the so-called reinsertion? No, it is not finished, in 1992 they will have to make new deals so that as from 1993 they can begin to pay, but there is no way to pay, how to face the obligations they are assuming, and 1992 will not be a soft year, on the contrary, 1992 is going to be a harder year, that is what interests us, "harder year" according to their own statement. Then one wonders, we have been in an emergency for a year and a half and it still has not been solved, didn't the APRA make a plan to solve the emergency in a year and a half, and was it able to fulfill it? No, it went from bad to worse and could not overcome the economic problems, this one is following the same process, that is what we see until today, their plan cannot have a better way out, it will not go beyond that, as the document says "they will be transitory blooming", they are not going any further than that. They themselves are already saying that these are hard years and that they hope in the future to be able to reimpulse, but what will that future be, when? Then, the longed stability is becoming more and more difficult to achieve, and more intermediate efforts, how does it materialize? in: "harder year".

Now, they have focused on structural reforms. In April, as a result of Decree 009 on land, we made the following comment:

"This, like the other recent measures taken with Boloña, are part of the reimpulsing of bureaucratic capitalism. What Fujimori's government has done so far is: 1) the July guidelines, 2) the August adjustment measures and Hurtado's propaganda, complemented with readjustments in December, 3) Boloña's measures, which should be included in the program to be presented by the Prime Minister. Recent measures, although they express a transaction between factions of the big bourgeoisie, as it should be, benefit mainly the



comprador group and particularly the financial and big exporter group. The exporting manufacturing group itself and industry in general, suffer the consequences, obviously hitting the national bourgeoisie and unloading itself with great virulence on the popular masses, particularly the attack against the class is direct. The March measures, a concentrated expression of the most obsequious submission to Yankee imperialism, apart from the rejection and resistance that they strengthen, encounter difficulties in the so-called reinsertion which is the light of their eyes, as well as in the signing of the agreement on drug trafficking, again postponed. The whole plan and program of the big bourgeoisie, mainly the comprador bourgeoisie, which they are promoting, is on the one hand extremely delayed, they should have applied it since Belaúnde; and, on the other hand, they have to develop it in the worst international and internal conditions of a prolonged and worsening general critical situation; all this, apart from the situation of misery of the masses which continues to accentuate the class struggle which is heading towards the revolutionary crisis and mainly the development of the People's War and the New Power. Thus, their new plans and measures have a difficult and hazardous perspective, and even begin by aggravating the recession and orphaned of a program to sustain them, at least not agreed upon until today, this in the bosom of the big bourgeoisie itself, since in the popular camp they can only sow winds and reap storms. Up to now the comprador bourgeoisie has not been able to put together a program and plans like those of Velasco's bureaucracy, nor does it have the political apparatus or support to apply them. It is in these circumstances that reaction and imperialism are pushing ahead with the Boloña measures, without even managing to clean up the financial situation, particularly that of the State, which was previously done by the military fascist government to apply its program. As for the agrarian question, take into account what was seen in the October meeting."

We believe that the economic situation of the country is condensed here, what we started in April is still valid, they are within that plan. So, what we have seen up to now is that their stabilization plan is failing and a tougher year is coming, not even the reinsertion is going well and they have assumed huge payment commitments, this is the situation, up to now these are the results. Then come the measures, the big measures that must be understood

within this, what is important here, it says: "What about the proposals made in July by Fujimori", then "the adjustment measures of August and the measures of Boloña", in other words, these are the measures that have been taken, these would be the fourth step taken, I am not saying that these are moments, that is another problem, I am not talking about moments here. What the government has done so far is: first, guidelines, because we have to think that this is its first message to the country, it should have said what to do, but we only have generalities, that is the point; then, in August, the big adjustment that we all know: and then the Boloña measures. The Prime Minister presented a program, but it was not even published, this program does not exist, he outlined guidelines and aimed at reaching a consensus, generating a dialogue, an agreement, and from there all that came out was the problem of the Council for Peace, and we know the result; that is the question, and what did the government get out of it? the legislative powers. So there was no such program, that is the important thing. Now that it says: "Recent measures, although they express a transaction between factions of the big bourgeoisie as it should be, benefit mainly the buyer and particularly the financial and exporting group", but then it adds: "the exporting manufacturing group itself and the big industry in general suffer the consequences", even the financial and big exporting group suffer the consequences, how are they at this moment? There are banks that are at risk of bankruptcy, that is the problem, and misery has serious problems, that is the fact, and manufacturing, industry? it is getting worse every day; that is, what he says here has worsened, it is the same law that is being complied with. Now, obviously, who is he hitting? The national bourgeoisie, but who is he hitting with great virulence? The people's masses, "particularly, the attack against the class is direct". Then it tells us "the March measures, concentrated expression of the most obsequious submission to Yankee imperialism", that is what interests us, if those measures are the concentrated expression of the most obsequious submission to Yankee imperialism, these we are seeing are even worse; He says that the measures generate rejection, they encounter rejection and strengthen resistance, today even more; apart from this "they encounter difficulties in the so-called reinsertion which is the light of their eyes" and those problems have not concluded, "as well as in the signing of the agreement on drug trafficking, again postponed", today they have already signed it, but how is its

application? The hustle and bustle in the U.S. continues and we have seen all the disputes over it, the discrepancies, the agreements, the subjugations, so these things also; "The whole plan and program of the big comprador bourgeoisie mainly that they are promoting [...]" That is the important thing, that plan and program, there is no sanctioned programme or plan, at least it has not been presented to the country, it has not been exposed to anyone: even if it did not exist, they must have their plans, guidelines and agreements to which they must adhere, then, the whole plan and program of the big comprador bourgeoisie, mainly theirs is on the one hand extremely delayed, they should have applied it since Belaúnde (remember what we have read in the document), on the other hand they have to develop it in the worst international and internal conditions, what are those internal conditions? "Prolonged general critical action which is getting worse, that is to say, the social and economic process of Peru is getting worse, all this apart from the situation of misery of the masses which continues to worsen; the class struggle which is heading towards the revolutionary crisis, and mainly the development of the People's War and the New Power", of course; well, that is the main thing! in those conditions how are they going to be, compare this now with what we have read. Rey said: "It is going to begin" and it has already begun, and today how are we? worse than before. Remember that at the end of the Morales government there was money in Peru, there were bonds in the bank, they managed to stabilize their economic and financial problems, their budget, we must not forget that. Now look at what he is going to say: "Thus, the new plans and measures have a difficult and hazardous perspective, and they even start aggravating the recession", of course, instead of cleaning it up, they aggravate it more "Orphans of a programme to support them", where is their programme, then? That is the problem; it says: "(at least not agreed until today)", although they have it, they have not agreed it, much less have they presented it; "this, in the bosom of the big bourgeoisie itself", they themselves do not agree, they have no plan; "Well, in the people's camp they can only sow winds and reap storms." Now what it is going to say is very important: "Up to now the comprador bourgeoisie has not been able to put together a programme and plans like those of the bureaucracy of Velasco, nor do they have political apparatus, nor support to apply it", one could say: but Velasco did not have a party, yes, but he had an army, armed force, did he not? And he had a

Sinamos at least, today we have a Sinamos? And he had a whole revisionism and opportunism which served him as a cushion, do they have it today? they do not have it then, it is worse. "In these circumstances is that reaction and imperialism carry their re-impulse through the measures of Boloña and without even managing to clean up the financial situation", it is still the same; "Particularly emphasize that it was previously done by the military fascist government to implement its programme." The agrarian question? refer to what we have seen before. Well, I think this condenses very clearly what the situation is.

Then, from the second thing we have seen, there is the appreciation of the whole process. Hard year there it is, who they serve and they do not have a programme.

Let us study, in addition, the following comments to journalistic extracts:

"In the '50s, ECLAC applied 'import substitution' and the result is the deep crisis in Latin America in the '80s from which they have not yet emerged. Today ECLAC brings us the new Yankee imperialist recipe: 'productive transformation with equity', and apart from the usual 'arduous and difficult task' and 'more or less prolonged period of learning and adaptation'; today they sibyllineally tell us: the countries of Latin America 'will perhaps emerge stronger'; in good language this means: the catastrophe will be worse for the Latin American people, and as always Yankee imperialism will be the big winner. That is what ECLAC's new recipe is for, as it was yesterday!" (On the occasion of the article "Productive transformation with equity" by Gert Rosenthal, Secretary of ECLAC; *The Commercial*, 06.05.1991.)

"The so much propagandized privatization began. So far, keep in mind: a) the so-called 'diffusion of property', the proclaimed 'people's capitalism' which they said would benefit the medium and small landowners, as it was before and had to be, but today, it benefits the big bourgeoisie, mainly the bankers. b) Privatization 'begins' late, the question has been pending since the last part of the fascist government. c) Pressure for privatization will grow, and the struggle to take over private State property will stir up contradictions within reaction. d) Imperialism is preparing to feast and will take the largest share." (Following the sale of the first State enterprise, "Sogewise Leasing"; 11.06.1991.)

Structural reforms. Decree Laws. It has to do with 126 Decree Laws issued under the legislative powers, the main part of the decrees are those related to the economy, then the 23 decrees dedicated to the pacification issue as we are going to see later and the rest are about other problems that we are going to see as well. The vast majority of decrees are economic, focused on the economy and where do they aim? They aim to reduce state activity, they aim to develop the monopoly of the big bourgeoisie, the non-state monopoly and mainly to favor the greater penetration of imperialism, especially Yankee imperialism, that is all, under the criterion of "for social necessity, to promote private investment" the same criterion, in the end that is what it is, it is the transfer that they are legally concretizing of all that the State accumulated over decades, and what is pending as we have just seen since the end of the '70s, that is what they are doing. The appropriation of those means that State monopoly concentrated, to whom is it going to pass? To Yankee imperialism mainly, to other imperialisms in second place and in third place to the big bourgeoisie, to a small group of the big bourgeoisie, which generates problems for reaction. It seems to us that this is how we can consider it.

Well, they have also complemented with other fundamental laws, in the main social economic plane are the economic laws to which we have just referred, then there are fundamental laws, the agrarian laws, which is the same problem but in agriculture; it is to guarantee greater plundering also in function of export in the service of imperialism and so that this reactionary government traffics with the ownership of the lands and that it serves a greater concentration in the future. With these measures the collapse of agriculture is going to be worse and worse. We have already discussed the agrarian laws at length in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum, in the Preparatory Session.

Another item is that of labor laws, the denial of all that the class has conquered with its blood, from the working day to conditions. So, the problem points against the wage, it points against the working day, it points against conditions, it points against labor organization, it points against all the rights won by the class; stability, time of service, pensions, etc., etc., it makes them chichirimicos, that is, it is a total destruction of what has been won in decades by the struggle of the proletariat and of the Peruvian people since the beginning of bureaucratic capitalism and that cannot be allowed.

Well, at this time we are not going to analyze all that the law specifies, but that is something we must do soon.

Another group are the laws linked to the social functions of the State. There, for example, education, it is a direct blow against the education of the people; very, very simple, we already know, it aims against free education and to stifle with an education that is anti people's war, that is what the evaluation of the training programs for professional teachers is for, that is not even mentioned, they only talk about education but they do not talk about professional training. The provisions on the university, the demagogic, of the baccalaureate, at the end of the day it is a fragile imperialist loincloth, there it also points against free education, to elitize it more, to control it, to submit it, it wants to destroy the little that remains of the university; goodbye autonomy, what autonomy is there? I believe that this is one of the characteristics, they intend to endorse with Decree Laws and thus make "legal" the grossest violations of fundamental rights that are established in the Constitution and in the laws and not by their grace but against their will and by the struggle of the people. The laws related to health and everything that talks about social security, are also a group of social laws that have to do with the obligations of the State. Have they ever thought about the budget they are debating? Of the 80% they give 60% to Economy and Finance, 20% to Defense and Interior and the rest to the other ministries, and doesn't the Constitution say that 20% is for education? But they allocate the rest for education, for health, for transportation, for all the services, you can see, then the social functions are totally minimized and even in a disdainful and arrogant way; education and health are two fundamental issues, and the masses, the Peruvian people do not suffer pauperization? and if we link this to the fact that they have not been concerned in the least with a social compensation plan then we can see that the people do not matter to them at all. So where is the social compensation plan? It does not exist. They have just formed another survival agency in Comas, to which they say they are going to give about 200.000.000 new Soles, that is another of the government's demagogic lies; this year, the agencies up to this moment, the survival agencies, or the agencies that work in the "social compensation", have received 35.000.000 Nuevos Soles, but the agency they direct has returned the same amount, these are then the results, and even if they say that they are going to give for the "social

compensation”, if this were so, they are only 100.000.000 budgeted because the truth is that this year there is no compensation, and the previous year the compensation was formal, they never applied the 400.000.000 they said they were going to be; today they are saying that they are going to give 300.000.000 dollars, is it true? Why do we say this? Because while Boloña says so, Mr. Jaililie says 200, so we have to see how much they are really going to give. So, we believe that education, health and social compensation show all the restrictive form of denial of the elementary functions that any State has, and what have they done in the health problem, a good part of the health that is in the State is fulfilled in Peru through the social security, the Peruvian Institute of Social Security (IPSS) and now how is it? they have also introduced a decree of the famous privatization that implies the privatization of health.

This document published in The Republic we think is useful, it is a publication of the Center Union of Workers of the Peruvian Institute of Social Security, it was published on November 17<sup>th</sup>, here they analyze concrete things: the workers paid a total of 6% for health and retirement in their pensions, 3 times, and the employer paid 12% for these two things, now the workers pay 16% and the employers pay 2%, round! That is the magic of privatization, but not only that, but the way it is conceived is to embezzle, to steal from the workers of Peru in general, and the people, the class, will be sunk, who is going to pay for the pending obligations of the immense majority that cannot pay for insurance? I believe that this is the fundamental issue. The problem of social security must be seen, it must be analyzed, it must be kept in mind that Lenin himself told us that it is a function that the State must perform, and to which the worker does not have to contribute, it is enough because with the surplus value that they take from him, from there they must take for their needs.

I believe that these things must be seen in this way, these economic decrees, decrees of agrarian laws, labor laws (there is the problem of stability) and then the problem of the social functions of the State, of education, health, the problem of insurance and social compensation plans which for them is key; The situation of the masses is extremely delicate and desperate in America and can explode, in backward countries there is a high index of critical poverty and this is complicated for them, plans of the type that have

been applied in Peru are always accompanied by social compensation plans, but here they have not done so. But let us think, the State, if it does not fulfill its elementary functions, what sense does it have, according to bourgeois theory, it serves for nothing, then what does it serve for, it carries the essence of the problem: it serves to exploit, to oppress, that is what it serves for, to defend, in the midst of the blood they shed, their order, to crush the people and to dream of putting out the popular war, what else does the State serve for here, and obviously to defend the interests of imperialism today, what else does it serve for? The social functions are irrefutable proof, one more proof of the expiration of the State. That in terms of “reimpulse”. We believe that with all this we will see that they sow the winds, as the document says, the storms are going to reap them before and many of them.

## **6. SECOND TASK: RESTRUCTURING THE OLD STATE**

Regarding Restructuring. We see phenomena such as the privatization of the State, not only in the sense of transferring its functions to non-State monopolies, not only in that sense, but the restructuring of the State is being solved by changing the forms, or better said, by minimizing, reducing, eliminating the forms of production controlled by the State, that is the base for restructuring in our country. For years the State in Peru, since the '50s, especially in the '70s, has increased State ownership and the economic function of the State, this will bring them a set of relations of State monopoly and today these are the ones they are seeking to reduce and eliminate, this is the basis of the restructuring they are developing, of the restructuring of the State. Is it clear? On this basis they are developing.

To this we must add the following, the reduction of State action in its social function as we have just seen, of its duties and this has a key point which is the massive layoff of State employees, precisely several provisions are to start releasing state employees under the cover of paying them bonuses; there have been several provisions of this type and a final one where it is proposed until the middle of this month to define the situation and put an end to this year's problem. This is a key point and we have to think about the struggles of the state employees who are the lowest paid employees, those who have lost the greatest purchasing power; it is not as one might think, the



reduction of the bureaucracy, it is not like that, what we are talking about is the launching of the State employees which is different, that is not the bureaucracy, the bureaucracy is the reactionary administrative system that the State sets up and which is fundamentally based on its officials, we have to separate it well from the employees, they are the people who work in the functions that the State has the obligation to provide; Therefore, part of reducing the State functions is to reduce the State employees, and in this way reduce their budgetary expenses, which they consider to be the root of their inflation, so it is key for them.

Well, we have proposed in the Party, the Congress says that the Peruvian State is developing in a reactionarization process, so that is what we have to see, this process is still going on, they are still promoting it. On this basis that they have already given and these restrictions, fundamentally those of employment democracy, come their measures and more than their measures, their action to undermine the executive, the function of the other two powers, the legislative and judicial powers, mainly the legislative power.

Well, in the comments transcribed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum we are going to see about the political issue as a result of the regulation of the Supreme Decrees, do you remember, when they said that the resolution issued should be consulted, that they should agree to give their opinion so that there would be more “democracy”, as a result of which it says:

“Part of the restructuring of the State. This is how he wants to advance in this task, he questions the parliamentary demo-bourgeois order: Institute for Liberty and Democracy (ILD) source of legislation (rural and neighborhood registries, ambulant, autonomous authority, Fujimori doctrine, administrative simplification, etc.); ‘direct democracy’ (participation, ‘integral democracy’). This process will continue and is directly linked to Yankee imperialism through the ILD (De Soto) which is taking over state functions such as economic and diplomatic, for example. In addition, positions of fascist base; new fascism: substitute rethinking of the old bourgeois democracy.”

Here what it tells us is that this measure, for example, as well as those of administrative simplification that already started with García, are part of his State restructuring, that is why it says: ”This is how he wants to advance in

this task, he questions the parliamentary bourgeois-democratic order [...]” because it restricts his functions; ”the ILD is a source of legislation”, of course if they make laws, they themselves make the projects and then they sign them as decrees; the autonomous issue is that for example, the autonomous coca organism, what other laws has it given? Rural and neighborhood registries, laws on street vendors, the “Fujimori doctrine”, administrative simplification, all this has been done by the ILD, then the ILD becomes a source of legislation, and it is no longer the parliament the source of legislation, that is why it says: ”it questions the parliamentary bourgeois-democratic order”, very clear. Then, what are they talking about in Peru? they are talking about “direct democracy”, that is, they are proposing “participation”, they are proposing “integral democracy”, did Fujimori not say “integral democracy”? What does all this propose? It says there: ”This process will continue and is directly linked to Yankee imperialism through the ILD”, who is the head there? De Soto, that is a direct agent of the U.S. ”[...] is taking over State functions such as economic and diplomatic” of course, if Boloña himself is one of his close associates, only Boloña is more Rodriguez Pastor’s son than De Soto and Rodriguez Pastor is the one who has organized Fujimori’s arrival to San Francisco and the meeting with the bankers, etc. The current ambassador to Washington is an employee of the ILD, those are facts, those are examples of how they are copying, how other institutions set up with imperialist money, fulfill state functions through the executive, that is what it shows, without them being neither deputies nor senators nor members of the State, of any State organ, is that they are apparatuses of the monopoly and imperialism generate as advisors to the governments and give them documents, materials to satisfy their demands. It says: ”Besides”, it says besides all this, it says ”besides positions of fascist base”, it does not say that the laws that are given in Peru are fascist, but that they are of fascist base; it says ”new fascism”, they cannot be like the old fascism, they have to be a new fascism today, it says ”substitute rethinking of the old bourgeois democracy”, we think this is an interesting situation.

Then, following Oiga’s denunciation of the fascist root of “participation” there is the following note:

“Questioning parliament is a basic position of fascism that points against the traditional bourgeois-democratic State structure, based on the denial of the principles, freedoms and rights established in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, which postulates corporative organization and maximizes reactionary violence, all in function of the most unbridled class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, (big bourgeoisie in our case) and in the service of imperialism. Historically, fascism has developed more in critical moments for the old State, mainly when the revolution threatens to overthrow the outdated dominant order, but post-2<sup>nd</sup> World War fascism cannot, until today, openly develop as such, nor can corporativization, in spite of its multiple attempts and ‘theorizations’: ‘democratic corporativism’, ‘democracy of full participation’, ‘social democracy’, etc. In the country, Velasco’s corporatization failed in the ‘70s and in the ‘80s García Pérez could not even advance towards the ‘economic congress’. Today the reactionarization of the Peruvian State, which is its tendency, and the need to restructure the old State once again, which is its current task (one of the three, unavoidably united: to reimpulse, restructure and annihilate), raise once again the question of fascism and its confrontation with the rotten ‘bourgeois democracy’. It is within these processes and situation that we must place Fujimori and his government in order to unravel his increasingly clear fascist positions; but, without forgetting: 1) The crisis of bourgeois democracy that runs through the whole century has not yet ended, but even pretends to present it as rejuvenated and victorious, and even more, as the only possible way out. 2) To put an end to bourgeois democracy, with the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to demolish it thoroughly and completely by means of revolutionary violence whose concentrated and proletarian expression is the People’s War; and to build a New State, a new society, in our case a New Democracy which, once the democratic revolution is completed, develops as the dictatorship of the proletariat. 3) The so-called failure of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not such; the problem that has arisen is the usurpation of power by revisionism which has generated the restoration of capitalism; on the contrary, the dictatorship of the proletariat in a few decades of exercise has led the greatest and deepest transformations that history has recorded; consequently, the question is the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its unbendable continuation since it is constitutional to the triumph of Communism. 4)

The old society generates fascism as an expression of its reactionarization (not the only one, since the other is the reactionary evolution of the parliamentary bourgeois-democratic system itself: United States, England, France, European countries), mainly as a weapon when the revolution threatens to demolish it. 5) Fascism has antecedents especially in the decade of the '30s in Peru, but without being able to advance; its greatest failure was with Velasco, however the greatest fascist advance in the country until today. 6) Fascism resumes its path, it is driven as a necessity of imperialism, mainly Yankee, and of the Peruvian reaction in the face of the conquest of power throughout the country; obviously it will draw lessons from its experiences in the country aiming to present a 'new people's and revolutionary and democratic face', but its essence is and will be the same: 'old wine, new bottles'; this process will take place (it is already foreseen) in acute struggle and collusion within the big bourgeoisie, between its comprador and bureaucratic factions and between groups of the same, complex struggle within the reaction whose contradictions must be used in function of the triumph of the democratic revolution. 7) We must take into account this situation and perspective to develop the People's War, to construct the conquest of power, to conquer power in the whole country." We believe that here we see the problem of what fascism is, the problems it has had in the world, but it continues, it subsists although adjusting itself to the new conditions; then it also raises here the situation of Fujimori, "[...] to locate Fujimori and his government in order to unravel his increasingly clear fascist positions", we think that we should take this very much into account, we should understand that we cannot say "fascist" yet, they are fascist positions, the situation is not yet defined, last meeting we said "ideas and positions", it is fine, here we are simply seeing positions, it is an advantage, they are positions, we are no longer saying ideas, they are ideas, of course, only more established, that is what we mean by positions, well that is the main thing here. Then, in Peru, how did it happen, with whom did it advance more, with Velasco? And finally it is important that "6) Fascism resumes its path, it is promoted as a necessity of imperialism, mainly Yankee, and of the Peruvian reaction in the face of the conquest of power throughout the country aiming to present a 'new revolutionary and democratic people's face' but its essence is and will be the same, 'old wine, new bottles', this is the process, it is already foreseen and it will take place in

acute struggle and collusion within the big bourgeoisie, between the comprador and bureaucratic factions and between groups, it is a complex situation, this is what we must repair; 7) says that we must take into account these situations and perspective to develop the People's War and conquer power throughout the country." Here the important thing is how to define Fujimori and his government, they are fascist positions, but we cannot say that he is a fascist, nor are they totally fascist positions, it would not make sense.

We have another quote that is better, it condenses things, it goes like this: Concerning The Commercial opinion on "Original ILD Proposal" this commentary states:

"This makes it possible to establish a difference between the reactionarization of the State advocated by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (corporativization based on union and institutionally organized participation), and that of the comprador bourgeoisie; The latter does not propose corporativization, but the further strengthening of presidential power as the axis of the executive which allows monopoly economic power, in essence imperialism, to directly exercise legislative and State administration functions, obviously aiming at the growing restriction of legislative power and the direct management of executive power, heading towards absolute concentration of functions; issues that undermine the State structure and correlation of powers of the traditional bourgeois-democratic State."

The advantage of this commentary is that it establishes for us, it gives us elements to be able to differentiate in the process of the reactionarization of the State what is the position of the comprador bourgeoisie from that of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie advocates "corporativization based on union and institutionally organized participation", this is the characteristic note of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie; on the other hand, the comprador bourgeoisie "does not propose corporativization but the greater strengthening of presidential power, as the axis of the executive [...]", this is the tendency of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie to "strengthen the presidential power, as the axis of the executive [...]". This is the tendency of bourgeois democracy that Marx

already established for us, although fascism is of this century, the reactionarization is already in the last century, and that is what Marx analyzed when he sees the government of Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon III as they call him, in "The 18<sup>th</sup> Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", then that is what we are seeing: "further strengthening of presidential power as the axis of the executive", that allows, there is a different note than the one we are putting here "further strengthening of presidential power as the axis of the executive" that is to say concentrates power even more: "that allows monopolistic economic power, in essence imperialism, to directly exercise legislative functions" that is the key "and of State administration", that is to say that allows it to give laws to imperialism, to the monopolies, to give laws and to manage "democracy". Obviously it points to the growing restriction of legislative power" but not in the same way as fascism, is that clear, is it not, "and to direct management of the executive power aimed at absolute concentration of functions, issues that undermine the State structure and correlation of powers of the traditional bourgeois-democratic State". This seems to us to be a good thing, it allows us to see characteristics of the reactionarization of the State; so what do we call this? As we saw before, it is the law of absolute concentration and we said that in this transit they are on the way, so what we were asking ourselves was if it could be said in this way: that the bureaucratic bourgeoisie aims at a new fascism while the comprador bourgeoisie aims at and develops executive absolutism, or it could be a presidential absolutism, these are things to be analyzed. We believe that in this way we have elements to understand it. That is the issue of the greatest reactionarization in Peru, those are the two positions and we have made progress in defining them. Now, if you ask us, and what are the laws or Decree Laws for this, we have said that privatization aims at changing that State guarantee, that part of State monopoly to pass everything to non-State monopoly, to imperialism, right? Well, that is what is happening to the restructuring; just as there are also laws to reduce the nationalization, the functions, the services of the State, this is what they aim at with laws on employees, simplification and all those things, we have not separated them, but those are, if necessary we will separate them here. Let us also keep in mind these comments to journalistic information:

“Once again, as when the financing of the agricultural campaign was debated, one of the groups of the comprador bourgeoisie is aiming at softening the recession. A position linked to increasing the price of the dollar, increasing exports and recovering the particularly exportable industry; but now the situation is more serious: the recession undermines their entire productive process, which is creaking under the weight of Hurtado Miller’s imperialist plan, accentuated in December and, even more so, under Boloña’s ‘stabilization’ and ‘reform’ plans. Fujimori’s unbridled pro-imperialism has repercussions even in part of the big comprador bourgeoisie. A pale indication of the abyss of hunger, misery, oppression and death into which the government, the system and imperialism are plunging the proletariat and the people!” (As a result of the economist Moreyra’s statements, not to wait for the IDB credit to come at the end of the year, but for the BCR to issue; and that it is not necessary to continue paying multilaterals. *The Commercial*, 17.04.1991.)

“These statements of the PUM allow us to specify once again their positions. Regarding their action for ‘land seizures’ for ‘restructuring’ which opens ‘a path of hope by closing the way to the Shining Path’; it implies: 1) any advance (if there is any) in recovering some land, in this case, is a by-product of the People’s War; 2) ‘seizures’ to oppose the People’s War and the Party; 3) who benefits? Not the poor (or at least not the poor); 4) furthermore, the land problem which they thought they had overcome, still exists, and what the Party said about the agrarian law of Velasco today they are repeating it, but yesterday, especially the now PUMists, condemned it as ‘ultra-leftism’, ‘dogmatism’, ‘infantileism’. So, then, they have to swallow everything they vomited. As for their repeated phrases between ‘two fires’, ‘they assassinate leaders’ and that repression generates ‘discredit and distrust of the State’; the first two are old talk and closed defense of rotten leaders on whom the popular justice fell; and the third inveterate defense of the Old State and shows how it hurts them what happens to their State, and they are not wrong: it is the udder that suckles them, like their cronies and congeners of the IU, among others. And as regards the solution, the ‘alternative’ they propose, let us highlight: a) ‘land tenure’, is the old position of Christian Democracy in the country (Cornejo Chávez); b) ‘restructuring’, is the PUMist version of the ‘redimension’ of General F. Morales Bermúdez; c) ‘defend communal enterprise’, is to maintain one of the associative forms

and sustain the goodness of these false 'socialist' modalities; d) 'democratically choose the business model', is in agreement with Fujimori's decree; d) 'regional agrarian agreement' is one more example of their frontism ('modern farmers', big bourgeoisie) trafficking with reactionary regionalism." (Following the article "Puno: land and social justice" by Alberto Quintanilla, PUM deputy; Express, 07.06.1991.)

"This approach to labor stability, like others sustained by Express so ardently, superficially and reactionarily, is to return to the times of 'savage capitalism', of 19<sup>th</sup> Century capitalism, before the unions and the great struggles for the demands of the working class (we do not say, obviously, of the conquest of power by the proletariat, of its dictatorship and of socialism), and in Peru to the beginnings of bureaucratic capitalism; that is the essence of the new liberalism, here and in the imperialist metropolises where they engender it and from where they infest the world, in spite of all the verbiage, to the contrary, that they spread. Their dream is to return to the epoch of the most unbridled exploitation of capitalism, before the powerful development of the class struggle of the proletariat and the people, and the pressing threat of revolution, wrested by blood and fire, in heroic days, since nothing was given to them nor fell from heaven, the social laws sanctioning, simply, the conquest of liberties, rights and benefits in stormy struggles." (On the editorial of Express: "Contemporary Muledrivers" on DS 032 that destroys labor stability; 26.10.1991.)

"It had to be Express, when is it not. The most shameless manifestation of pro-imperialist lackeyism and the most shameless denial of national independence and sovereignty. Behind this 'theory', of Fukuyama himself, of the supposed expiration of the national State, the blackest pirate flag of 'down with the national States, destroy it! long live the Yankee world empire, praise be to the great gendarme!' is hoisted. And it is proclaimed precisely when Fujimori (an 'executor of the national State', a 'statesman of the coming century?'), develops his bases to fulfill the task of readjusting the Peruvian State. Besides, it is worth bearing in mind the lethal praise of Gorbachev. The problem of the State is the order of the day for both camps, revolution and counter-revolution." (Regarding Express's editorial on the expiration of the national State, "Executors of the national State".)



## 7. THIRD TASK: ANNIHILATING THE PEOPLE'S WAR

Annihilate. One thing we would like to point out is that in the message Fujimori gave in July on the anti-subversive struggle, there were only generalities and triumphalism, he threw glories on himself and clucked about, for example, the civic action initiated by the armed forces, the action in the universities, the coups he says they have carried out, in other words, generalities and triumphalism that the facts have denied and continue to deny completely. He spoke of rights, of respect for the blessed human rights and we see the genocides he commits like this one committed in Barrios Altos in the middle of the capital, and it is the height of the unbridled excess of the reactionaries, this is not something that can happen so easily in any country in the world because it is in the capital itself and a few blocks from the government palace. Well, another point to highlight is the Agreement, it is one of the cornerstones of their program, this Agreement has been made behind the back of the Congress itself, it has been behind the back even of their own parliament, which they have mocked outright when they went to report, there was nothing left to do, it is good to highlight what is in the document "On the Rectification Campaign With 'Elections, No! People's War, Yes!'". There you can see how the U.S. sees it; what we should see is to derive the struggle that took place around the so-called "aid", "aid" that has not been resolved because they have to show their correctness to receive the so-called aid, that is what is concrete: the Treaty, then why do we put it here? Because the cover is "anti-drugs" but the essence is counter-revolutionary war, counter-subversive war, that is what interests us here in the Treaty, the cover is anti-drugs and the essence is counter-People's War. The Peace Council is another of the "great conquests", the Peace Council aimed at forming an organization which in 150 days would produce a pacification plan, to this day it cannot even begin to march; between night and day, with internal struggles, a leadership has been born which from its birth is unknown, and what is more serious is that it is outside the plans of the Peruvian government; it has against it the opportunists and revisionists themselves who could give it a base. It has its back to the Church because it seeks to do its own work, the Church aims to position itself independently, it has already refused to preside it because it does not want to appear as the head of a crusade that is a cover for genocide, that is, it does not suit it, that

is its appearance because in essence it is the one that organizes and mobilizes against the People's War, we are seeing it in the countryside, we see it in the city and in the capital, but who does that? The hierarchy mainly, trafficking with the needs of our people; then we see that it also turns its back on them, in conclusion, the Council is an unborn child and is at this moment pending, it is a chumbequito that Fujimori holds in his hands through Reggiardo, that is, Reggiardo is a member of the leadership that they have formed, another conspicuous member is the owner of Channel 5, Delgado Parker, those types of people are the ones that compose it.

Let's see other commentaries from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum. In January, regarding the Express article, the commentary reads:

"The MRTA is promoted and 'successes' of the government and 'setbacks' of the Shining Path are touted. Express is a specialist in always writing against us, in conjunction with whom? With The Peruvian, with The Republican and other rags, The Commercial always sinisterly with its apparent objectivity also covers up actions and attacks the People's War. Well, regarding an article in D'Ornellas' column 'Requiem for Abimael', D'Ornellas has been talking for some time about the Gulf War, that Marxism has expired, he spoke of the potential of the U.S., that we should be crying here but that we are stubborn but we do not understand, etc., that is why it is subtitled 'Requiem', well the commentary, which is from March, says:

'Position of the big bourgeoisie, mainly comprador: 'We already have a gendarme, we can sleep peacefully.'

This is said by the article, and the commentary continues:

'But apart from expressing obsequiousness and absolute submission, let us highlight: 1) Being 'world gendarme' opens the Yankee perspective of confronting everyone, mainly the oppressed nations, this poses to draw lessons from the shocking decade of the '60s of the Proletarian World Revolution. 2) The U.S. was never more powerful nor had more prestige than at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War; remember how everything was turned upside down in the struggle against the national liberation movement. 3) The so-called 'total victory of the U.S.' creates more problems for imperialism, especially for the U.S. and its

lackeys, than it solves; this is not a strategic perspective, but an acting reality, for example in the Middle East. 4) 'To make the revolution immediately dust' when it conquers power is the dream of all reactionaries, it is the dreamed restoration to which they will never renounce; today they are more sure and confident, they rely on the supposed failure of socialism and the caducity of Marxism, on the 'low-intensity war' (in its form of revision, in this case), on the 'total victory over Iraq' and on the blind faith in the reborn power of the 'invincibility of Yankee imperialism'. None of this is new or strange, except for the triumphalist drunkenness of the government headed by Bush and his gang (whose novelty lies in the great lack of reality that sustains it). We, firmly based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought; certain and convinced of the triumph of the Proletarian World Revolution and of the unstoppable march of humanity towards Communism and of the transcendence of the victory of the Peruvian Revolution; we must assume with ever greater determination the conquest of power throughout the country and fight boldly and unbendingly for the complete and complete triumph of the new social order, socialism up to Communism. We must take very much into account all the experience of the World Revolution and mainly our own, the Party agreements on the 'eight possibilities' and the intervention of Yankee imperialism mainly, whether directly or indirectly, alone or in alliance and to prepare ourselves at all levels to confront it at any moment and under any conditions, raising our undefeated proletarian ideology and developing the invincible People's War, always under the leadership of the Party, always determined to oppose imperialism and reaction with a sea of armed masses for the conquest of power, for the People's Republic of Peru and its defense and for the future unfading goal of Communism. On the other hand, we must crush and smash such monstrosities as that of the feathered D'Ornellas and all similar attacks, for they are but part of the enemy's psychological warfare that seeks to undermine the revolutionary ranks and make the people believe that victory is impossible or useless; however, their own words show that the People's War is already threatening the total demolition of the Old State. As Chairman Mao said: the road is tortuous, but the future is bright. We must, therefore, dare to seize power and dare to defend it; let us take our destiny into our own hands!"

Well, we think it is very clear, what we can highlight is that D'Ornellas is essentially saying here that they already have someone to defend them, the U.S., that is, he is threatening us with the U.S., if we win they will take us out of a coconut tree, as he said later in another article where he says that we have no perspective, but he has taken a step back, he accepts that we can take power, then he says if that happens, his goal is unfeasible, why? The other democracies will not allow the war to subsist, to subsist, what this wretch is clamoring for is in essence the aggression of imperialism, the aggression of the surrounding reactionary governments. We think this is a good thing. Here is an editorial of Express, from November, which says: "The plan of civilized coexistence", it is important, it says: "Democracy in Peru is only formal and epidermal", that second is what interests us, let him explain later whatever he wants but this is the key idea:

"In Peru nothing is respected, neither the red light, nor the cleanliness of the streets, nor the obligation to pay taxes, nor property, nor the lords of the State, nor life; everything is aggression, abuse, contempt, Creole liveliness." Well, what does it say here below:

"The Shining Path advances above all because there is no order or code of civilized life in Peru. The Shining Path offers an order, suffocating and brutal, but order at last."

Very well, then Mr. D'Ornellas, writing what his immediate master Ulloa and imperialism send him, already feels the steps, that is why he attacks in this way; they fear the revolution because they are defenders of the old order; well, they say that in recognition of the reactionary, they are not advancing in their plans, as Express has said many times, they are not advancing in their plans of annihilation.

Apart from the comments seen, it is good to consider these:

"The question is that if the Shining Path is the 'right arm of drug trafficking', the spearhead of Yankee action, or of action under their direction, should be against the People's War; that is what the U.S. thinks ('narcoterrorism'), and here the reaction and its lackeys. All the recent debate on so-called 'terrorism' has been a prologue and preparation for the Prime Minister's declaration in Congress and, mainly, for the 'agreement on pacification'; but the same unfolds and will unfold in increased collusion and contention,

apart from being neither easy nor immediate.” (“The anti-subversive strategy needs to be specified”, opinions of R. Ames, L. Cisneros V, R. González, Ferrero Costa, S. Pedraglio, and M. Talavera — IDL — published by Express, 19.04.1991.)

“The universities are in the sights of reaction, mainly of the counter-subversive struggle, behind the actions of the so-called Responsible Students of Areas of Strategic Developments ‘READE’ there is a police and even more a military plan of counter-revolutionary war, although this is only a ‘trial balloon’ or initial steps. The formation of mesnadas began in the countryside and then moved to the city; here it began in the slums, it is moving to the universities, it will move to trade unions and other city fronts. It is necessary to re-analyze the mesnadas, since the revival seen since last year in the countryside, is spreading as an impulse in the cities; this is another expression of the strategic stalemate, keeping in mind that it takes shape as follows: the enemy, to recover positions to maintain its system; we, to prepare a strategic offensive through constructing the conquest of power. That is why reaction is faced with the need to annihilate the People’s War and the Party and the people to construct the conquest of power.” (Following the organization of the READE in the university; Express, 20.04.1991.)

“This document is part of the central problem of the reaction: how to defend and maintain the Old State; a reiterated question that today demands a peremptory answer. But from the beginning, the proposals on the military question reveal serious divergences with what the Prime Minister informed on behalf of the government, thus the ‘agreement’ on so-called ‘pacification’ is not as simple as they believe it to be, it will take place in the midst of intense and constant collusion and contention. On the other side, that of the revolution, the peremptoriness they put forward also shows that they reflect an evident reality: the People’s War is unfolding in strategic stalemate.” (On the occasion of a proposal on “pacification” presented to the Prime Minister by The Commercial, Express, The Republic, Eye, Caretas and Oiga; 20.04.1991.)

“With the delivery of the mountains they begin to formalize the collusion for the so-called ‘pacification’; this is a part of a broader plan and campaign that has been promoted, mainly since April (presentation of the Prime Minister in Congress and conversations with party representatives); of

which the MRTA is part (their activities in San Martin must be interpreted within what has been seen about their departure from Canto Grande; it is part of the same thing, although its concreteness is greater as a plan and collusion). All in function of the so-called 'integral strategy' against the People's War; to which, obviously, Yankee imperialism is decisively linked, one of whose bases of action is the 'Anti-Drug Treaty'." (As a result of different parties signing a document on "pacification"; Express, 22.05.1991.)

Well, let us look at the Legal Decrees on this issue, there are 23 decrees linked to pacification, we will refer only to a few of them. Let us begin with the most important ones. Decree No. 733 on "Mobilization", says in its recitals:

"[...] by means of the National Mobilization and Demobilization the Nation's Potential [...] to face natural emergencies and those caused by terrorist crime and drug trafficking [...]"

Very clearly, the problem here is "terrorist crime", it is to fight terrorism, that is the cause of the National Mobilization Law, it says that they have defined an integral strategy to fight terrorism and illicit drug trafficking, the last ones are words. Well, it says here in Article 1, where it refers to:

"[...] the requirements of the National Defense that allows for the timely availability and allocation of the necessary resources to face situations [...]"

That is mobilization. In Article 4:

"Natural and legal persons without exception are subject to the provisions of this law [...]"

Natural and legal persons, it applies to everyone here.

"[...] as well as the goods and services required by the National Defense."

This article is very important to unmask, it applies to everyone, natural and legal persons, and goods at the disposal of the government, of the military, for the benefit of the mobilization. In Article 6, it says:

"For purposes [...] that favor the production of Military Equipment will have priority."

Article 7:

“The expropriation, intervention, requisition.”  
Word!

“[...] and the provision of services of any kind [...]”

If one sees here that is the fundamental thing, it is in function of the fight against us, let us see, article 3; it establishes the mobilization; article 4 says what can be mobilized, all the subjects, that is natural persons and companies, any company, everything, people and goods, there is nothing that cannot be mobilized; then what does article 7 tell us? What is it proposing? Expropriation, that is what the Constitution mandates, it allows it, intervention, and requisitioning? That is not allowed but here they are proposing it, that is what is concrete; here they are even proposing requisitioning, what is requisitioning? It is when one goes and just grabs, one can enter a house and requisition for example the food and take it away, requisition the furniture, requisition the house, that is requisitioning, or what is requisitioning, requisitioning is expropriating, collecting, taking immediately by order and disposition of war, that is what it means. We believe that this is the central issue that interests us, for what? To fight us, and then, what does it extend to? To all persons, to all groups and to goods and services; that is why the radio stations are protesting, of course, they can be interfered with, they can be requisitioned, they can be expropriated, their programs can be varied according to their needs, with the press it is the same, anything, any particular clinic, there is nothing that escapes them; that is what seems new to us and then, it introduces forms that are openly counter-revolutionary, such as requisitioning. Well, this is the most important thing, this is the law that has been attacked the most, because it hurts them, as it touches their pocket, they even put up with it, but if they touch their pocket they do not put up with it, they prefer to take care of their pocket more than their own skin.

Well, another important Legal Decree is No. 735. It modifies articles of the Regional Civil Defense System. In its recitals it reads as follows:

“That, in order to prevent disasters and to be in optimal conditions to provide timely and adequate help to the population to overcome damages or calamities that may be caused by nature or the action of terrorist crime [...]”

This Legal Decree aims at placing the Civil Defense against the People's War, under the cover of the so-called pacification; thus the law demands, says the recital, functions:

"[...] that could be caused by nature or the action of terrorist delinquency." That is also the object of Civil Defense, the action of terrorist delinquency, so it says. Civil Defense is for natural disasters, but here it is to fight us, that is it. Then it says in another recital:

"[...] coordinating actions, in order to replace or substitute the National Police [...]"

They want to substitute the National Police, that is; in other words, the elements of Civil Defense can be police officers, act as police officers, and therefore with the police laws, according to the police laws. Then it says:

"[...] allowing a greater coverage [...]"

Against whom? Against "narco-terrorism", "to combat narco-terrorism", that is what it says. So, it means using the means and contingents of the Civil Defense to fight us, that is; replacing the National Police, that is. In Article 6, which has been changed, we repeat, we have already seen the 5<sup>th</sup> article, right, the 6<sup>th</sup> article, what does it say:

"[...] guarantee the security of the population in accordance with the National Defense policy [...]"

Clause a of Article 6. In subsection c: They must act:

"[...] in the phases of prevention, emergency and rehabilitation [...]"

In "prevention" they must watch against whom they fight. In article 6, paragraph g:

"[...] replace the members of the National Police of Peru in tasks related to the surveillance of public and school premises, traffic control, protection of flora and fauna, care of women and minors and the like [...]"

In other words, it is a free contingent, unpaid police; free and subject to their rules, for what? To fight us; they are talking about public and school premises. Well, who tells us that they are not going to do this? who tells us that they are not going to regulate it? There is no problem in regulating it, what problem can there be, if all the regulations are always in charge of the



Joint Command of the Armed Forces or of some other body of the Ministry of the Interior or of Defense. Article 4 says:

“Fourth [...] elaboration of a National Register of natural and/or legal persons using economic and financial funds for Civil Defense actions, as well as for its operation as the case may be.”

What kind of characteristics will it have? It does not say, the only thing it says here is a register of natural or legal persons, What is its function? That is what is of interest.

Another Legal Decree, No. 738, establishes the rules for the Armed Forces in areas not declared in a state of emergency. Here, what is the problem, Article 1:

“[...] establishes rules to which the Armed Forces must abide when intervening in areas not declared in a State of Emergency.”

According to the Constitution, the Armed Forces can only intervene when there is a state of emergency, that is what is concrete, and by supreme decree and with a fixed term, is this not the law, otherwise they cannot intervene, but here the intervention is declared; without a state of emergency, the Armed Forces can act, goodbye Constitution, that is what is concrete. And what does Article 2 say:

“The intervention of the Armed Forces in areas not declared in a State of Emergency may be carried out when there is a serious alteration of the internal order or when there is an imminent danger of its perpetration [...]” That is, it does not even have to have been committed but may be intended.

“[...] that exceeds the operative capacity of the National Police of Peru.”

So, first, they have been empowered to intervene without a declaration of emergency; second, not only for the commission of the act but also before the police overrun, and how do they know that the police overrun will occur; but here they are saying:

“[...] in the event of a serious disturbance [...] that exceeds the capacity of the Police.”

So, with this criterion they can often dispose, and who disposes of them? They, at their free will, the military chief of the region where the event takes place, without higher authorization, that is what the law says; of course, if the subject says we are going to do such a thing, even genocide, they will say that the police force has been exceeded; then, this is, not only when they exceed but also when they could exceed, prevent. Then now what does article 3 say:

“The Command of the Armed Forces will be informed.”

This way they wash their hands, of course, the superior washed their hands, the Interior also, because they will have seen concrete facts; this way they can dispose and decide invoking this article because nobody is going to analyze it, this is another way of hiding the fight, it is a *carte blanche* to any little chief to do and undo where he sees that the police force has been exceeded. What the hell can the government powers of Peru say? The whole of Peru is subject to the Armed Forces; there it is, it is another repressive decree against the People's War and against all the people.

Legal Decree No. 740, on the possession of weapons by the *rondas*. Here in the recital it invokes the law of Peasant Committees, it invokes the law of recognized *rondas*, peasant patrols; committees have been created, the *rondas* that they create in accordance with those laws. And it says:

“[...] whose characteristic is that of being peaceful, democratic and autonomous, destined to the service of the community and that contribute to the development and social peace without partisan ends.”

But in a war, how can peace be achieved? It is assumed by fighting in the war, participating in it; where is the “peaceful”, where is the “democratic”, the “autonomous”? The law is undone, that is the concrete. So, then, it is confirmed by law that weapons can be carried not only by the Armed Forces and the police, and what does the Constitution say? It is totally opposed to that and goes against its own principles of order; and it is not what we think, that is not what interests us now, now what interests us more is what they think, because that is the key point, and here the problem is that they arm with their own laws forces to fight us, that is to say, they fuel the war more, they are creating cannon fodder by m *ronderos* and date without the judge intervening. But here it says “they contribute to the development”, aha! One more function the *ronderos* have? What function do they have of

“development”, of making roads, of making bridges? For free or paid? With free work, that is what the recital means, in the end it is free work, even if it does not put it this way. The recital says:

“[...] in agreement, all arms, ammunition and explosives [...] are subject to requisition [...]”

There it is, it is based on the mobilization law, do you remember the mobilization law? There it includes requisition, everything can be requisitioned, and by law everything must be handed over, even the paid goods; in this way in the jungle for example, the peasants who buy arms for their work with this provision, military hand, they requisition them, they have to hand them over and thus they arm their own patrols. In other words, men and weapons are provided by the masses, they don't provide anything, they used to provide rifles but now they don't even provide rifles, now they are very cheap, you have to provide blood and rifles, we look like artisans, you have to provide everything to work, everything comes from the masses, weapons and men. Well, here, what is the most important thing? That they will be able to acquire hunting weapons, shotguns, by donation from the State or private individuals. From article 2:

“[...] in activities of self-defense of their community to avoid terrorist infiltration [...]”

That is the objective, it is very clear.

“[...] to defend themselves from attacks [...] and to support the Armed Forces and Police [...]”

So, where is their pacifism? They have turned them into reactionary armed forces by mandate. Article 3 says:

“The norms on the acquisition process [...] will be dictated by the Joint Command.”

Of course, we have another source of legislation now, the Joint Command.

Another law is Legal Decree No. 743, “National Defense System”. What are we interested in here? We are interested in Title 2: “Of the Unified Pacification Command”, we are interested in Article 12: “Purpose of the Unified Pacification Command”.

“It is the body in charge of ensuring the participation of all sectors of the citizenry in the activities of National Pacification in the Internal Front, in the face of the actions of terrorist subversion and illicit drug trafficking.”

Very well, what is here, as in these laws, in the basis of the articles is, following the Yankee theory that it is a war being waged against drug trafficking, that is the problem here, it is not a police problem, it is a military problem. It is the complete submission to the dictates of imperialism, to the U.S. The armies of Bolivia have been opposed, until finally they have accepted, those of Peru have also been opposed, they did not agree, Minister Torres Aciego himself said that they would not intervene, that it was police work, but here, what happens now, it is against terrorism and illicit drug trafficking to achieve the coverage of the forms to combat the People’s War, they submit to this and accept the Yankee theory of being an instrument at the service of the U.S. also for this problem, obviously subsidiary. That is the question, it cannot have the same magnitude as to combat subversion. That is directly a concrete instrument, but that is what it tells us; it was formed, it is the Unified Pacification Command. Who makes it up? Article 13 says:

“President of the Republic, who presides over it, and may delegate it to the President of the Council of Ministers.”

Of course, the President of the Council of Ministers or else the President, that is, they can take turns; Ministers of State who are summoned. The President of the Joint Command, Head of the Secretariat of National Defense. Head of the National Planning Institute, representatives of other Sectors, etc., etc. In conclusion, who are the constants here, the president of the Council of Ministers substitutes for the president when he does not go, so he is neither the president nor the president of the Council of Ministers, here it is the president of the Joint Command, he is the constant. Who is another constant? The head of the Secretariat of National Defense, and the other constant is the head of the National Planning Institute. The president of the Council of Ministers has many things to solve, obviously the president too, and the one in charge of planning is Reggiardo at the moment, and who is going to listen to him? So it is true, then, that the Armed Forces manage it fully and completely through the President of the Council and fundamentally through the Secretariat of National Defense which is the one that manages the whole system, even the links with non-military

organizations in accordance with the military law. We believe that this is the essential. Another thing that is of interest is Article 6. (Title 5, Chapter 2: “Of the CFA”, article 6.)

“The President of the Joint Command [...] is the Head of the Operational Command of the Internal Front for the purposes of National Pacification, for which he will have a Joint Staff, which will be made up of members of the Armed Forces and the National Police.”

There it is, the Operational Command, who directs it? It is saying it here, the Chief of the CFA, who else is there? A Joint Chief of Staff, of the military it is understood, and who else is there? obviously the police because they also have to support and fight. Conclusion: the Unified Pacification Command and the Operational Command of the Internal Front, in the hands of whom? the president of the Joint Command, head of the Armed Forces, who manages the whole problem? the Armed Forces. Centralization, of course, through whom? The Armed Forces, it's a circle. This is an example of absolute centralization.

Legal Decree No. 749:

“Modifies Article 5 of Law 24150, in order to regulate the relations of the Political Military Command of the Zones Declared in Emergency with various authorities within their jurisdiction.”

What does it tell us? That they can intervene in any zone declared in emergency but before they lacked the control of the civil and state apparatus and assets, now that has been clarified, that is the modification. It says, article 1:

“Modify [...] such paragraphs [...] b) To assume the initiative to ensure the participation of the Public and Private Sectors, located in the Emergency Zones [...]”

“Assume the initiative”, that is, they do not have to wait for any order from the civil authorities, they say they have to do such and such and they do this or that, they assume what they think, that means that they will assume the initiative, decide what to do;

“[...] to ensure the participation of the Public and Private Sectors [...]”

Ah! Also of the private sector! It says here:

“[...] Private, located in the Emergency Zones, if this is coordinated with the Mobilization Law [...]”

It's amazing, isn't it? They get into a garage and take all the cars, it is enough to take them, it is easy to invoke the law and that is it; it says here:

“[...] in order to achieve National Pacification and the eradication of terrorist crime and drug trafficking.”

Drug trafficking is a figure of speech, but what we are interested in is the Public and Private Sectors, so there it is, they are going to manage everything! What is left in Peru? Not even the Palace is going to be managed by Fujimori. Well, it says:

“d) To coordinate actions with the different Public and Private Sectors, for the fulfillment of the Pacification and Development plans approved for the Zones under its jurisdiction.”

Wow! Not only does it have initiative, now it is going to coordinate actions for the fulfillment of the action and development plans, very good. Then it tells us that there are pacification and development plans, they are the plans of the low-intensity war, those are “defense and development” plans as they call them elsewhere, which are fundamental to conduct the low-intensity war, here they call them “pacification and development”; the word pacification should not confuse, it is defense, it is counter-revolutionary war, and they join it to development in order to trick the masses, doesn't Tapia say the same thing? “District pacification and development committees”? So, all this that we have said before is to conduct military plans, this is the situation. Well, Article 2, what does it say? It modifies subsection c) of Article 5 of the above mentioned Legal Decree by the following text:

“It conducts the Development actions in the areas under its jurisdiction. To this effect, the Political Authorities, those of the Public Bodies, those of the Regional and Local Governments, shall make available to it [refers to the Political-Military Command] the economic and financial resources, goods and services, personnel and others that may be necessary for the fulfillment of its mission, aimed at achieving the eradication of subversion [...]”

And so on. There it is then, not only that they have the initiative to organize it, to carry out the pacification actions and the pacification and development plans and the other low-intensity war plans, but now to direct

the development actions, and who has to submit? Public organizations, it is so broad! Even the schools, are they public or what are they then? "Regional and Local Governments", how funny, it only remains to say "if we forget something, it is within this article", there is nothing that escapes them; then where is the management of the Regions, of the Municipalities, of the State itself, everything is managed by the Army, it controls it, half of Peru is under a state of emergency or more. That is what is real. And then all the other means or whatever is necessary must be handed over to the Armed Forces for pacification, here they are going to apply the idea of surpassing the police. "j) To have under its command the members of the National Police of Peru that render services in the areas of its respective jurisdiction [...] in the fight against terrorism and drug trafficking [...]"

Perfect, the police, of course, under its command. Then:

"k) To enter university campuses with the purpose of reestablishing the principle of authority [...] that classes develop normally and prevent the action of infiltrated terrorist groups that through violence [...]"

And so on.

"[...] ensure [...] the use of the University Dining Halls and Residence Halls [...]"

What autonomy are they going to talk about with this? They are ensuring their intervention, it is a legalized aggression and they talk about strengthening the "principle of authority", "normality of the classes", "so that the Residence and the Dining Hall can function" and how is the dining hall going to function? They have to get into the university dining room and from what we have been told that is what they are doing; then, in the residence halls they are going to act as guardians: "What time do you arrive, young lady? What time do you arrive, young man?" What is that going to be, because they could not solve it in any other way, they will see who they will put and who they will throw away. Then:

"i) To participate in Civic Action work so that the Universities recover their prestige."

Guaranteed the intervention in San Marcos, La Cantuta, Huancayo, etc., but now by law. That is the problem, and they cannot enter San Marcos, of course, if it is "foreseen" that the police will be overrun if they enter. Well,

this is how they solve very important problems, under the protection of the Armed Forces.

Legal Decree No. 753, “Law of Bases of the Integral Strategy of Alternative Development to Eradicate Illicit Drug Trafficking with the Participation of the Population”, this is the organization proposed by the ILD, so it is an invention of the ILD. Now, what is the name of this organization? What interests us here is to see the declarations that they are going to work wonders, words! Chapter 4: “Of the Institute for Alternative Development (IDEA)”, that is the mother of the lamb, the ILD is born, that is all. They even have a candidate today, who is González del Río, another member of the ILD.

Legal Decree No. 751, “National Defense Planning Directive for Pacification”. In the third recital, it says:

“That it is necessary to approve the Integral Strategy of National Pacification, which not only allows eradicating Subversion, Terrorism and Illicit Drug Trafficking but also strengthening the Rule of Law, consolidating democracy and achieving the integral development of the country.”

How important is this recital, here it specifies the so-called “Integral Strategy of Pacification”, that is the advantage it has. Then, “Integral Pacification Strategy”, it has 5 points, we repeat first: Subversion; second: Illicit drug trafficking; third: Rule of Law, as it says here “to strengthen the Rule of Law”; fourth: Democracy, it says “to consolidate democracy”; five: Integral development of the country, of its State. The first one is the real one, the second one is the coverage, which is demagoguery, isn’t it, that is what corresponds to it. But in the first article it says:

“To approve Directive No. 003 [etc.] of the National Defense Planning for Pacification, as a normative instrument that ensures the coherence of the actions of the other Public and Private Organizations for the fulfillment of said Directive.”

Wow, tremendous! They have given us here, they have exposed it, a national defense planning for pacification, what does it aim at? it ensures the coherence, the harmonic, synchronized march of whom? Of the others, aha! Who is it talking about? The Armed Forces, and who are the others? Public



and private organizations, those are all the others. You can see that they have a disposition and if we compare this with the Law of Mobilization they can affect people and natural assets, or institutions with their functions, companies, everything; then they have a plan, they have their action in pacification and how to make the action of the others coherent with their own action, and who are the others? Public organizations: the whole State.

Article 2 says:

“The Directive [...] of the National Defense Planning [...] has a priority character [...] and its actions will be executed in the short and medium term.”

Very interesting, it implies that there is a plan for the short and medium term, and this has a priority character, to the economic process? Yes, to the social process? Yes, why? Because it is pacification, of course, that is what is being done. There is a short and medium term pacification plan which is a priority. They have a plan to which all the non-governmental organizations are subject to, that is to say, all the State apparatus and all the individuals and then there is a short and long term plan, and that is a priority, it is finished, that is what they are telling us, very clearly. Now it says:

“Article 3. The Ministries, Public Bodies and Regional Governments will comply with the Directive, and must formulate their plans, programs and budgets within 30 days as from the effective date of the Supreme Decree.”

Gee, do you understand? There is a plan in which there are the individuals, the State bodies, everyone; there is a short and long term plan; and, now, everyone formulates their plans, the ministries, the public bodies and the regional governments. They are going to formulate their plans, “programs and budgets within 30 days”. Very well, we already know, there is a plan, they have to present them for the approval of the State and the private sector also enters there; there is a short and medium term plan; programs, plans, budgets have to be made, for what? the answer is in Article 5:

“The Directive in reference has the Classification of RESERVED [...]”  
Therefore it is not published.

“[...] and its content will be disseminated in accordance with the safety standards corresponding to such classification.”

It will be given to each one in accordance with such fact that corresponds to it, wonderful! And Mr. Bernales, what did he say about the present decree? That it cannot be accepted because it is a body of law and a law that is not published does not govern? Of course a law has to be published, I agree, but this is not the main problem, besides, it is already in force and when the 30 days are over we will see, of course it has to be in force unless the Parliament repeals or disallows it, very difficult! Well, there it is, another model of democracy and it is marching steadily towards absolute concentration, absolute centralization, is that right or not? It is a mistake to say that militarization has been sealed, as if that solved the problem, it is not simple militarization, but what does that imply? The armed forces, what are they? Part of the State, they are its spine and now the armed forces are the support and head of the State, they are “handling everything”, and above all “as they please”; and, secret, watch out! Anyone who wants to publish it, I will put him in jail for a lot of years and that’s it.

Legal Decree No. 748:

“Modifies several articles of Law No. 25103 in order to adapt it to the National Pacification policy with a view to eradicating subversion and drug trafficking.”

It refers to what? To the reduction of the sentence, that is what it refers to. This legal decree modifies the problem of repentance, it recuses the previous norm of repentance, it gives other norms to repentance. This is in Article 3, it says:

“The provisions of this Legal Decree do not apply to the leaders, national and regional leaders, military commanders or members of annihilation squads of terrorist organizations.”

Of course, according to their theory of repentance, it should be extended as much as possible to divide, right? Even members, not even heads, members of annihilation squads, all of them, this provision does not apply to them. Of course, it is convenient for us, it is fine, but within their system it is one more expression of this reactionarization. For us, we repeat, it is very good, it is convenient for us because it undermines their own “repentance”, it is an expression of the reactionarization, of how they militarize more, of how they apply more harshly, it is the tendency to accentuate the sanction, the

penalties as they say are very severe, more restrictive, more oppressive. This is an expression of the course and for us it is an advantage, it is good because it contributes to their own undermining. This may make them think that they want the “recalcitrant” Party members to pay, as they say, but we well know that the members of the annihilation squads are not even militants, therefore, it is their problem.

Legal Decree No. 759. Modifies articles of the Compulsory Military Service Law. Article 2 will now read as follows:

“Military Service is an honor and a patriotic obligation [...]”

Article 4 reads:

“The objectives of the Military Service Law are: a) That all Peruvians [...] are trained [...] for the Defense; b) That the country has educated and trained Reserves available in a timely manner [...]”

Up to here it is clearly seen the eagerness to expand their forces without increasing their expenses and they express it in all these laws, they reveal the lack of troops both military and police, and as sustaining them is expensive, then the people should also bear this obligation; the Compulsory Military Service is tremendously expanded, and it is expanded not only as it was before to serve in defense of the homeland in the Armed Forces but to cover police functions through Defense; according to the bourgeois law there are two obligations: The defense of the homeland against foreign aggression, that is, the Obligatory Military Service and the payment of taxes to the State, but now they have included the police function, it is another distortion of their bourgeois principles in order to defend the reactionary system. The following is important:

“c) That Peruvians of age to serve, carry out civic action activities contributing to the development of the country.”

Oh, my! they introduced a law already generalized, full, complete, why? Because they say here that they:

“[...] carry out civic action activities contributing to the development of the country.”

We have precisely just seen that they are only two obligations, now it turns out that obligation is also civic action in service of the country, what does that imply? Establishment of an obligation of free work, it goes against any norm of a civilized and advanced system, two, but what is civic action? It is one of the activities to develop low-intensity warfare, what a good thing! That is to say, now they are going to carry out low-intensity warfare for free, through the development, not only of conscripts, now it is also work and it is considered "Military Service" and the law is going to be obligatory. Now let us look at Article 37, it says:

"In order to define the order in which the Selected should be recruited to the ranks, a lottery will be held."

They always do it this way, people register, there is a lottery and the necessary contingent is covered, now it says:

"Those selected who are not incorporated to the Active Service, as a result of the lottery will remain in the Condition of Available [...]"

In other words, if they are drawn they go to active service, but if they are not available, available means that at any time they can call you in.

"[...] those who will perform their Service in activities of: Civic Action, Civil Defense, Peasant Rondas and Literacy Programs."

They have established a first Compulsory Military Service, to serve the Armed Forces, which is the traditional and accepted one; a second one, Civic Action; a third one, Civil Defense; a fourth one, Peasant Patrols; and a fifth one, Literacy Programs. One problem has escaped them, the self-defense groups, but they will put it, they will put it, when they publish their errata, nothing prevents them from putting it, if they put all of this in! In other words, we have 5 types of Compulsory Military Service in Peru, even for what, for literacy programs, and it is not that someone is going to do it as a vocation but by obligation, they have to do peasant rondas by obligation; Civil Defense is going to be unpaid police; and civic action, to do the works that serve the low-intensity war. This is a barbaric multiplication of the obligations that citizens have.

"In case of not being able to comply with the Service [...] the Selectmen will pay a one-time pecuniary contribution [...]"

What does this say? in other words, the mother's son who has money pays and that's it, just like the road conscription, if one did not go, he paid, but now how many conscriptions do we have, and that, the road conscription, was considered a scourge of Leguía's government. And these 5, or these 4, subtracting the usual Military Service? So, they are increasing to 5 mandatory services at least to fight the People's War.

Legal Decree No. 761. Here it refers to penalties for carrying weapons that belong to the Armed Forces or the police, why have we selected it? The second recital reads as follows:

"That the existence of a criminal alliance between drug trafficking and terrorist groups that operate in the country has been clearly evidenced, the same that is expressed in the delivery of money and weapons to these [...]" They say that there is an alliance that is proven between drug trafficking and terrorists, and they wash their hands of it. And what does this have to do with it? First of all, to make a mess, but it works out badly for them, why? Because here it is about not being able to use the weapons of the army or the police; but those of drug trafficking, those that they would give us, would they be those of the army or those that they bring? What are the weapons that drug traffickers use, they are weapons that the Armed Forces do not have, they buy them; so what sense does it make, there is not even a clear idea of what they are aiming at. It says another recital, in this paragraph there are interesting things:

"[...] homicidal terrorism by means of the assault to isolated military posts and ambushes to personnel of the Forces of Order [...] appropriates the armament [...]"

Why is it interesting? Because they recognize that there are assaults and ambushes, how does terrorism act? When did a terrorist ambush? When did a terrorist assault? They are the most developed forms of guerrilla combat, and they are the two key forms of the People's War. How then do they say that it is "terrorism", then the recital here is absurd, absurd, just muddying; and this one is recognizing, then. They say that the weapons are given to us by the drug traffickers, and here we take the weapons from them in assaults and ambushes, so it is not that we buy them, is it not; that is what is interesting, it recognizes the type of action we do and the weapons are an

illustration of guerrilla action. Now what does it say, in the third recital it says:

“[...] in order to avoid the worsening of the climate of violence unleashed by terrorist groups, in their purpose of destroying our democratic system and the Rule of Law.”

Aha! they recognize the objective, what is it? ”To destroy their democratic system and their State”, all this reveals that we aim to destroy their army which is the spine, and to bring down their State, that is not called terrorism, it is called war, People’s War. There are the articles, but what interests us most are the concepts. That is the whole problem.

Legal Decree No. 762 protects the secrecy of the activities carried out and the information obtained or processed by the National Defense System. It says in its first recital:

“[...] the integral strategy to eradicate terrorist crime and drug trafficking demands the active participation of all Peruvians and at the same time requires keeping the necessary confidentiality regarding information that, due to its nature, could cause or generate serious damage to Security [...]”

The second recital states that these activities developed by the Defense System:

“[...] are of singular importance in the fight against terrorism and drug trafficking [...] it is imperative to protect secrecy [...]”

Based on what it has said, it establishes that the following Article be introduced in the Criminal Code:

“Article 1 — Incorporate to Chapter I, Title XV, Book Two of the Criminal Code, the following Article: Article 331-A. Whoever by any means discloses, reproduces, exhibits, disseminates or makes accessible in whole or in part, the content of secret information and/or activities of the National Defense System [...]”

It says here, ”whoever disseminates, reproduces, discloses, etc.”, then it says: “Whoever provides or makes accessible to third parties, without the pertinent authorization, the information and/or activities [...]”

There are two things here. Those who disseminate or make available in any way, whatever it may be, those who make known; and the others, those who

provide to third parties. This is already sanctioned, it is punishable, and it says not less than 5 years and not more than 10, a little low, isn't it? And in the other case it is not less than 6 (when it is to third parties) and not more than 12; well, all are extreme.

And, finally, the Code of Criminal Procedure. Legal Decree No. 764. This is funny. This is the one signed by Mr. San Roman. Modification of Article 1 of Legislative Decree No. 731, referring to the validity of the Code of Criminal Procedure. Specifically, 731 stated that the Code of Criminal Procedure should be in force as of 1994, they proposed it that way. Well, but there has been a protest from the Public Prosecutor's Office, where is the problem? what happened here? what else was there? Now they are very concise, and especially in the grounds of 731 they lash out, they say that the Public Prosecutor's Office has not taken the necessary measures to prepare its cadres, then; they lash out with the fact that it is not in a position to function, to guide, they say, from the police investigation, so it says, "it is not", that is the mother of the lamb, it is not in a position to guide the police investigation, so it must be given time to prepare itself and meanwhile the police continues to lead the investigation alone, that is, that is the mother of the lamb. Reading 731 and this one, 764, it is very clear, that is why the Public Prosecutor's Office protested, now they do not say anything but they say this:

"[...] Article 1 of Legal Decree No. 731, has extended the temporary scope of application of the new Code of Criminal Procedure, without having observed the provisions of Article 3 of the Authoritative Law [...]"

It is over, everything else does not count anymore, they have taken away the "offense" from the Public Prosecutor's Office and then the little meat that was there, that it does not handle the police investigation, nor control it, nor observe it, that is the whole problem, that is, so that everything is left totally in the hands of the police. It says: "Article 1. Modify Article 1 of Legislative Decree No. 731 [...]", which will now read as follows: "Article 2. The Criminal Procedural Code will come into effect on May 1, 1994, except for Articles 2, 135, 136, 138, 143, 145 and 182 to 188 [...]"

Well, but what happened? In 731 they skipped two articles, article 138, they did not consider it, and what does article 138 say: the judge's substantiation,

right? if the judge does not substantiate the detention, there is room for appeal, and this was put aside, no, therefore there was room for appeal and it was said “this has not been put”; therefore, we repeat, the judge could declare without substantiation, or without the proper substantiation. They “forgot” this article. The 143<sup>rd</sup> article refers to the arraignment. How interesting, the arraignment is when there is no merit for detention or when the person passes without any consequence. And they forgot it olympically, it could then give margin for there to be no arraignment, especially for prisoners, they are monstrosities, right? And they had taken it out, they have just put it here. Law 731 does not contain those articles, neither the one referring to the judge’s grounds nor the one referring to the appearance. So, that is the issue here. But we believe that this clearly expresses the core issue, which we commented on a few hours ago, to leave it in the hands of the police. Well, those are the articles.

It seems to us that apart from this, we must take into account the Presidential Directive on respect for human rights, this part we believe must be taken into account. In part 4, “General Provisions”, it says:

“a) Proposals for institutional changes. (1) The Peruvian government constitutes a Commission that shall present in the shortest time possible, a report on the municipalization and/or regionalization of police functions complementary to those that are under the competence of the National Police of Peru.”

There is a Commission, it is going to present the report on municipalization and/or regionalization of complementary police functions: two police forces, one Regional Police and the other Municipal Police, complementary, very interesting. Some time ago, the *Expreso* said that the police must be reorganized, it must be municipalized, otherwise it becomes entangled and this is a complex problem, but the police cannot be developed as a centralized organization. So, conclusion: the current centralized problem is maintained, which has about 85.000 components, and the police is going to be increased, according to what it says here, two more police forces are going to be created: Municipal and Regional. This is also the way to increase the police force, it is a cheap way to increase the police force, compared to the other we have seen, it seems to us that this is the cheapest way.



“(2) Starting from the understanding that the Police should not finish its work with the collaboration of the police report [attention! it extends the function to the Police, that is what they demand] a ‘Special Investigations Unit’ should be created, with a police body linked to the PNP, but at the exclusive disposal of the Judicial Power and the Public Ministry [you see? special investigations, linking the police to the judicial power, that is what is concrete] whose mission will consist in taking care of the security of witnesses and other means of evidence, carrying out additional investigations requested by judges and prosecutors and making possible the fulfillment of all judicial orders that are communicated to it.”

Apparently this serves to expand the judicial police, but in the end, what is it going to be? To continue intervening and controlling the actions already in court, it seems to us that it is going to be involved up to there, however, now, in the future, it wants to be handed over to the investigation, to the management of the prosecutor, but, as long as this does not happen, it is going to be more and more involved, within the process of the investigation because the Police nowadays goes as far as the report, does it not? But between the report and the end of the investigation they do not act, the investigating judge acts, now they want to put “assistants” to do the investigations, to protect the witnesses, to see the evidence, but who is going to manage these guys? The National Police, here of course it does not say that it is dependent, it says that it is linked, but they, well, they are not going to say that it is dependent, are they? Now look what he is going to say:

“(3) The Peruvian Government will create an inter-institutional control instance. The different State agencies involved in the counter-subversive struggle must not function as ‘compartment-lockers’, that is to say, their responsibility must not be fragmented and, consequently, diluted. The police instances must continue to intervene in the process even after having fulfilled the task of placing the detainees at the disposal of the judicial authorities.”

Amazing, isn’t it? Now they even extend the function of police evidence. It says:

“In general, it should be able to articulate more organically the institutional efforts deposited in the achievement of the pacification of Peru.”

This is its objective, what does it say here? To articulate institutional efforts in the counter-subversive struggle, a special situation, the Police acts there, in view of what? of inter-institutional control, these are the special instances, at the counter-subversive struggle level and they will not be watertight, right? In other words, the police forces must continue acting, but this is based on what? of the counter-subversive struggle; they do not even trust the government anymore, right? in those cases, in general and here, for the specific issue of the counter-subversive struggle. Now, here there is a complete interference in the Judicial Power:

“(4) The Peruvian Government will coordinate with the judicial authorities the creation of specialized tribunals.”

How? If they are courts, they depend on the Supreme Court, they are a Power, but now the special or specialized courts, which is the same thing with a different name, must be formed through coordination. This is what it says. It says:

“The judges [...] must be carefully selected [it refers to the judges of the specialized courts, right?] and trained in the trial of the specific type of crime that generates the action of terrorism [...] the circumstantial evidence [...] the evidence is no longer a problem of the judge, it is a problem of the process [...] the circumstantial evidence becomes fundamental in this type of crimes [...]”

Where are we? Indicative evidence is just an indication, nothing more, it points to something, but here they are telling us:

“[...] the circumstantial evidence becomes fundamental in this type of crimes [...]”

And why not in the others? Because no theory of criminal procedural law is going to accept circumstantial evidence as fundamental, but for the issue of subversion, yes; therefore, those who exercise and those who act as subversion, those who are charged with nothing more than subversion, their rights are restricted, they are discriminated against, the Constitution is violated because it says that no one can be given unequal treatment because of their opinion, because as long as a person is not proven, he is charged, nothing more, and if he has simply helped him to carry leaflets, what if he has helped to carry them? Can even circumstantial evidence be used against

him? Simply discrimination, nothing more. Therefore, this is complicated, this is very serious. Let us continue, it says:

“[...] reason why judges must adapt to the logic of a new and more technified handling of such evidence.”

Right, so judges must be educated, they must be adapted to this logical handling of circumstantial evidence, it is a complete change in the law of the theory of evidence, how can it be? When it says only for subversion, of course, what else, no, that is to say, not for criminals, they steal and it is not valid, and if it is a murderer it is not valid, but for one who is accused of spreading leaflets, it is valid for him, and the judges must be adapted to think in this way. He continues,

“[...] the election of judges and special vocals [...]

Vocals of the Supreme Court? They also need vocals, don't they? So it cannot be said that they are from the Supreme Court, here it says vocals.

“The election of judges and special members for terrorism must be carried out taking into account the following criteria [...]

Aha, they put criteria now, is it about criteria? It says now:

“[...] intellectual capacity, moral suitability and desire to work in this field [...]

What do we have? “Intellectual capacity”, what does intellectual capacity consist of? To adapt to the logic of a new and novel handling of circumstantial evidence, where is his capacity? To do what the government and the police tell him to do and that's it, that's where his famous capacity is reduced to being servile; “moral suitability”. And the other is “desire to work”, oh, how funny! Who will want to work there? Of course, the most recalcitrant ones, right? Well:

“[...] incentives that motivate the magistrates [...] such as bonuses for risk of life, scholarships abroad [...] security for them and their families [...]

And so on. That is, incentives, what do they want to create? A special judicial system, different, how? What does the universal principle say? Common or private system? Interesting, and here what are they proposing, here it says in no. 5:

“[...] a new penitentiary policy [...] The Peruvian government will proceed to put into practice a new penitentiary policy, which will allow a definition of whether it is convenient to concentrate or disperse those accused of crimes related to terrorism.”

What is dispersion? to be able to control everyone, dispersion to what degree? One, two, how many per cell? Well, they do not have cells now, that is the problem, right? Well, dispersion, what if they send them to barracks? That is what they want, what do they want then? Well:

“It is necessary to avoid that in the detention centers the detainees for terrorism who obey to different levels of commitment with the terrorist groups have contact with each other.”

It refers to the isolation of leaders, of what level, it does not say, all this may be very general but they are giving indications, right, it is saying “to avoid contact between detainees of different levels”; that is, what is the essence here? To disperse them and not to have contact, to what degree, for some at least, absolute isolation, how many? It does not say.

“To this end, a specialized technical team with knowledge of the terrorist phenomenon and the organizational structure of the subversive groups could be created, which, once it has received the statement and ordered the arrest by the judge, would proceed to classify the detainee, according to the position he/she holds within the terrorist organization (chiefs, leaders or members). This qualification would determine the place of confinement and the type of treatment applicable.”

Very well, it qualifies what? It determines “place of confinement”, how is that? The vote it gives? And “the type of treatment applicable” what is it going to be, interesting what is here?

“This obviously requires an adequate infrastructure that allows adopting effective isolation measures [...]”

We believe that this must be seen, is it also part of the system? Of course it is part of the system and has to do with the trenches, with the prisoners, etc.

Apart from this we have the Penal Code. The Penal Code is part of your pacification system and belongs to justice. Of course it is part of their system and it has to do with the cases of detention, prisoners, penalties, all of that governs. Genocide:

“Article 129. Whoever, with the intention of destroying, totally or partially, a national, ethnic, social or religious group, carries out any of the following acts, shall be punished with imprisonment of not less than 20 years: 1. 2. Serious injury to the physical or mental integrity of the members of the group. 3. Subjection of the group to conditions of existence that will lead to its total or partial physical destruction. 4. Measures intended to prevent births within the group. Forced transfer of children to another group.”

We do not know if this is wrong, maybe, but we think this is very interesting. (We do not know if it is wrong, there is an erratum ... let's see article 129 ... there are more errata! ... no, this is not an erratum.) Here it says in the “Explanatory Memorandum”, when it talks about genocide, it says (in point 2, when it talks about the special part):

“2. The consideration of the crime of genocide in the Penal Code reflects the provisions of the U.N. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide [...]”

Right? Very well, but this article says here “national, ethnic, racial or religious group”, here it has not put social, it has put racial, so we have to make sure, here there is a typo or they have not put it as a typo, maybe it is in another edition, so it is not the same. Besides, there is something else, it seems to us, it says here:

“[...] complying with the provisions of the Political Constitution which prohibits discrimination on grounds of sex, race, religion, opinion or language [...]”

Of course, that is what it says and it is good, it says it in the Constitution, Article 2:

“Every person has the right: [...] 2. To equality before the law, without any discrimination on grounds of sex, race, religion, opinion [...]”

well, that is what it tells us. There are a number of things here that can be related, the “1” of the “20”. Right, everything that relates to personal liberty and security. Let us suppose, the laws that they have to take, those things that we are reading that they have to implement, if we analyze them, we have to think about them in the light of whether or not they go against subsection 20 which says:

“No person may be diverted from the jurisdiction predetermined by law nor subjected to procedures other than those previously established, nor judged by courts of exception or special commissions created for that purpose, whatever their denomination.”

This is related to this “2. -1”, that is to say that clause “1” of the 20<sup>th</sup> must be related to clause 2 of the second article, in order to prosecute these things, right? And also genocide. So, here it says “opinion”, and the important thing is that it says so; that, it says, is discrimination for what reason? Of opinion, and it links it to agree on genocide laws, there it is. Of course, this is not the law, but this is the “Explanatory Memorandum” and obviously it is welcome. Well, now it goes like this: “In this crime the human being is attacked globally and internationally; hence the special importance for International Law”, of course, that prescription that is imprescriptible, that is what is a common crime, isn’t it, very important?

“The subject is attacked as a person and it is tried to destroy him in all dimensions, denying him by means of extermination, his existence, position, development and history. All his very personal assets are affected.”

So all this is genocide within this criterion, that is why it is the idea of the legislator, isn’t it? So, this is what allows us to judge, to what extent? Much broader than that of the U.N., therefore the question is to see what the declaration says about genocide. It seems to us, then, having seen this, what is left? We as a group can prosecute or not, of course, according to the theory the first social group is the Party, and the Army is also a social group or those that conform them, then we are involved in what they say here, that is why it is key to make sure that there is no mistake. Well, what crimes, it says: “Killing members of the group”, Barrios Altos, it is already included in this, right? “Serious injury to the physical or mental integrity of the members of the group”, aha, serious injury, that is, those who beat and torture and harm, fall into this, and the actions that may take place in the prison, if they annihilate, murder? I mean, or let us suppose, they cut off arms, in short, “3. Subjugation of the group to conditions of existence that will lead to its physical destruction [...]”, trenches! Here it is, that is, “totally or partially”, and not only that, the prisoners in general are being subjected to genocide, and who is the main genocidal? The President of the Republic, the Minister of Justice, the director of prisons; for all the common ones, of course, because here it says “Subjugation of the group to conditions of

existence that will lead to [...]”, so it is a social group? Of course, isn’t it? When they catch the Comrades in prison, the detainees, “the inmate” is what it refers to, “the inmate” is a social group, because the problem is that it is a social group, because, in the conditions in which these people are, they are driven to become imbecilic or die, to become tuberculous, they are already involved in this. “Measures aimed at preventing births [...] Forced transfer of children to another group”, we are not interested, but here we have three, the first three together, and at this moment there are actions incurring in the crime of genocide and it is a common crime, a common crime! So, we would have to study this and give them, well, in their heads, whether they make observations or do not accept it, that is not our problem. We would have to see now how to deal with Barrios Altos, it is common knowledge that it is against us, who has done it? Let them look for and judge those who are guilty, then! They deny it? Very well that they deny it, but we are going and complaining, is that why they do not say that there is an international Tribunal or Commission? It cannot be that they remain in a long bureaucratic and bogged down process, nothing is lost with denouncing or it can be denounced as genocide according to Peruvian law so that the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights investigates. Now we do have a typical case of genocide, it seems to us that it should be denounced.

Well, as regards terrorism, we already know, in the previous question there are three things they introduce: the one who provokes, that is, the one who executes, then it is article 321: the one who voluntarily obtains, collects, facilitates, this seems to us to be a very serious thing, this must be analyzed well: and then article 322: “those who are part of an organization”, very big, isn’t it? It is a complete joke, “those who are part of an organization made up of two or more persons”, that is to say that if two are put together we are already making a demonstration, what a clumsy mockery. Well, that is what we should see, it is part of their system, this next to the aggravated penalties, what we should not touch is repentance, we already know what repentance is for, it is used for genocide, nothing more than that.

Seen in this way, then, we believe that the question is that all these provisions clearly show that it is for pacification, it is a whole set of 23 provisions, decree laws oriented to develop, to give a margin to develop their low intensity war according to the mandate of Yankee imperialism; that is what

it is. On the other hand, very substantive is also the expression, the concretion of this absolute centralization, it is a step in that direction and it is the negation of the bourgeois-democratic principles of the Peruvian State, apart from the fact that they are systematic violations of the Constitution, disregard of the parliament in terms of exceeding the function of the parliamentary faculties granted, the delegation of functions has been long surpassed, and what is the attitude of the parties on this? Hypocritical and crawling attitudes, above all of open defense of these gross violations of their ordinance; of course, because deep down they are all in favor of fighting the People's War even if they usurp their functions and restrict their ordinance or their office, this is the problem they have. One example, it seems to us, of this is the People's Christian Party (PPC), another is People's Action, they are the most extreme in this, Liberty is also in this direction, the position of Bernales, by simply saying that the problem is that a commission of the executive and the legislature should meet to agree on things and not to produce a clash, is this not what he is saying? Then, mere demagogic posturing in the APRA or the PUM, not to mention the IU, which has also been in the same situation for some time and now, with serious problems that do not even allow them to sustain or defend their positions. We believe that this is what we have to see.

Have they advanced? In the implementation of their plan, in the annihilation, they have not advanced. An expression given by the president of the Joint Command in August, "very hard month for the Armed Forces" and the facts prove that every day more and more elements of the members of the Armed Forces and the police are annihilated, their dead and wounded are increasing. The war is expanding and it is seen, developed, noticed, hence its response action. So it seems to us that the very development of the war in the strategic stalemate has had to pressure them to give this set of pacification laws, the passage from the State monopoly to the non-State monopoly, State restructuring, etc., is the framework they need to apply their low-intensity war.

They are developing, they are organizing themselves under the mandate of the U.S. within the situation of a low-intensity warfare strategy. Here we have an analysis of this, a condensation, there has been a debate on whether or not there is a strategy, some say there is a new strategy, their "opposition"



says there is not, the truth is that the strategy exists, it has existed for some time, but it is a badly elaborated strategy, which has given bad results, so this strategy is being reformulated taking into account the experience they have already had and the action of imperialism which is growing in Peru, and mainly the expansion of the popular war, that is what there is. Consequently, we have to ask ourselves what or how to see the low-intensity war. Low-intensity warfare proposes: To link the military to the political; to link military action to social and economic reforms; to develop military action complemented by intelligence, psychological operations, civic action and control of the population and resources; and legitimization, which demands respect for human rights. What Fujimori is doing (following what was done before, especially by the APRA government of García Pérez), is to develop complementary and necessary actions to military action, particularly control of the population (patrols and their armament), intelligence and civic action, within the Yankee imperialist system of low-intensity warfare. The respect for human rights, some sanctioned measures (authorization to prosecutors to enter detention centers or where they can be confined, for example barracks) and declarations, are nothing but “good intentions” to adjust to demands in order to receive the “aid” derived from the “Anti-Drug Treaty”; this apart from the fact that the so-called “legitimizations” cannot be reduced to “respecting rights” (without even considering the bourgeois substance of such rights, their essential formality, their need to violate them to defend their system, especially when fighting against a People’s War). This way of concretizing the counter-revolutionary war ties Fujimori more closely to the military and mainly to Yankee imperialism (“Fighting drug trafficking” gives him “just cause” and “moral base” to the Yankee and imperialist strategy in general, as well as “fighting against terrorism”); and, in turn, is the cause of divergences within the so-called “civil society” (the big bourgeoisie and its lackeys). We believe that this is what we must take into account. What does low-intensity warfare pose? To “link the military to the political”, is to aim at giving it a clear political sense. Every war is always politically driven, for the reaction it is the same thing. “Linking military action to social and economic reforms”, this is another question, things that it cannot do, it has no way to do it, neither the means nor the possibility of support from organizations, much less from the party. Then, “to develop military action complemented by intelligence,

psychological operations, civic action and control of the population and resources”, that is what they are doing, with the limitations that can be seen, but that is what they are doing. And legitimization, the so-called “legitimization”, which demands respect for “human rights”, the axis of it is rights and of these the formality of respecting life, detention, etc. It is something formal and in the end what it pursues is simply that laws are given so that in their application all atrocities are committed; the human rights organizations are demanding that these rights be respected, but they propose that there be laws, that is what they are doing with these provisions, giving the laws to say “with the law in hand”, but does the law in hand justify violation of rights? That is elementary, denial of conquests? They cannot: then, this legitimization is centered simply on human rights, and at the same time it is something that Yankee imperialism is raising, that is why they put it there, it is therefore a restricted form, they do not even see all that is implied in the so-called human rights. That is what low-intensity warfare proposes. So, it proposes: linking the military to the political; linking military action to social and economic reforms; and developing military activity complemented by intelligence, psychological operations, civic action and control of the population and resources: and adding to this the legitimization. Now, what is Fujimori doing? what Fujimori is doing is applying precisely this; that is what he is doing, what is he doing? Particularly control of the population, patrols and their armament, intelligence and civic action. Respect for human rights, some sanctioned measures (like the decree on the prosecutors so that they can enter the barracks), and public statements, that is all he has done; giving laws for the appearance of compliance for imperialism, these are just provisions, as Amnesty International says, there is no sign that they have corrected their violation of human rights, even Amnesty International says so, and not only he says so, Americas Watch says so.

Well, now, “This way of carrying out the counter-revolutionary war links Fujimori more with the military and mainly with Yankee imperialism”, we are seeing it. “Fighting drug trafficking provides ‘just cause’ and ‘moral base’ to Yankee imperialism [...] as well as ‘fighting against terrorism’”, remember what we have seen in September, that in this way they have a moral base to make a plan and subjugate Latin America militarily, that is what they are doing. But at the same time he says: what Fujimori is doing is causing

divergences within the so-called civil society; we are seeing how they are protesting, they are diverging. What is civil society, it is the big bourgeoisie and its lackeys; why is that? Civil society is nothing more than the laws for the ordering of society, nothing more than civil society; and who makes them, in function of what class, of the big bourgeoisie; then, that is Fujimori's position, that is what he is developing, he is laying the foundations and developing within a strategy of low-intensity warfare, that is in concrete terms, a long road.

We also had to see Legal Decree No. 741.

"Self-Defense Committees are recognized as organizations of the population to develop activities for the self-defense of their community."  
The fourth recital says:

"That, in the areas declared in a State of Exception, the Self-Defense Committees have been operating, whose activities, operation and accreditation must be pointed out."

That is one recital, in the following it says:

"That numerous sectors of the population, freely and spontaneously, have been organizing themselves [...]"

Where? It does not say.

"[...] to defend themselves from the aggressions and violence of terrorism and drug trafficking, and to defend the rule of law [...]"

Another recital:

"[...] it is pertinent to develop self-defense activities of the communities in the zones declared in a State of Exception for which purpose the Self-Defense Committees should be authorized to possess and use weapons and ammunition for civilian use [...]"

And that speaks of weapons in the zones of exception. Let's see what it says here:

"Article 1, 'On the Self-Defense Committees', 'The Self-Defense Committees are recognized as organizations of the population that arise

spontaneously and freely to develop self-defense activities for their community, avoid terrorist infiltration, defend themselves from their attacks and support the Peruvian Armed Forces and National Police in pacification tasks, whose characteristic is that of being transitory.”

“Article 2. The Self-Defense Committees shall be accredited by the corresponding Military Commands [...]”

It says nothing more.. Article 3. Their functioning is:

“[...] under the control of the respective Military Commands.”

Article 4 reads:

“[...] may acquire by purchase, donation by the State or private individuals, hunting weapons [...]”

Article 5: they may carry out:

“[...] self-defense activities [...] to prevent terrorist and drug trafficking infiltration, defend themselves from attacks [...] and support the Armed Forces and Police [...] in the tasks of pacification and development [...]”

Article 6:

“[...] they will select young people of military age to serve in the Committees for a period of one year, this period being considered as the fulfillment of the Compulsory Military Service.”

Now they have already forgotten, there is no such thing, but what about this, they have already put it here, haven't they, that is to say, "there are six forms of Compulsory Military Service", they have introduced this one of Service in the Self-Defense Committees.

“The Military Commands will establish the adequate proportionality [...]”

And so on.

Final provisions:

“[...] The Joint Command [...] is in charge of formulating the directive on the organization [...]”

The rules will be given by the Joint Command; are they for the emergency zones or not? That is the problem, in the previous article it does not say anything:

“Recognize the Self-Defense Committees as organizations of the population that arise spontaneously and freely to develop self-defense activities for their community, to avoid terrorist infiltration, to defend themselves from their attacks and to support the Peruvian Armed Forces and National Police in the pacification tasks, whose characteristic is to be transitory.”

It does not say anything. Then, this is a problem, that is to say that these Self-Defense Committees would be entering here, which are they? Well, that is what the CFA is going to say now, against the proposals made by the Parliament, they say that they have remained applauding the project of urban rondas that is in the deputies, well, that is what should be asked. That is what is important.

## **8. THE STRIKE MOVEMENT AND THE PEOPLE’S STRUGGLE**

Another point that we have to take into account is the strike movement and the people’s struggle, because here the problem is that we have to take into account the conformation of the United Front of the revolution, why, because now more with all these serious economic measures, the famine, hunger, etc., then the struggle for daily demands will be strengthened and developed more, and this is intimately linked to the struggle for power, more with the People’s War. So, all these things must be taken into account. We believe that in the document of the Preparatory Session of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum, in the part that the PUM calls “The revolutionary situation has entered decisive moments and the risk of reactionary regression”, this is criticized, and here we analyze how the revolutionary crisis is, we analyze how the government acts, we analyze how the struggle is taking place in the city, how the struggle is developing:

“‘The revolutionary situation has entered decisive moments and the risk of reactionary regression.’ They paint in black; for them the People’s War does not count at all, only the mass organizations which are the support of the order and its ‘vanguard’, the IU.

They record that there was no spontaneous overflow; they assumed that the political crisis would simply be prolonged; but Fujimori applied his measures and the supposed period of a ‘peculiar revolutionary situation’ with great confrontations collapsed. These are digressions on revolutionary situation and revolutionary crisis, an opportunist

understanding; the clear and concrete question for Marxism is class struggle, revolutionary situation and revolutionary crisis with the three notes established by Lenin, and whether they are taken advantage of or not is a problem of subjective situation. 'Risk of regression'; it is to preach pessimism. Today they say 'the peculiar revolutionary situation has accelerated and entered a decisive stage', and 'there are possibilities of a gigantic social explosion'; again elucubrations and erroneous understanding of revolutionary crisis. The Marxist question is that, in synthesis, the developing revolutionary situation is becoming more and more powerful and will unfold as a revolutionary crisis, there is an objective basis for the general crisis that this government will stir up more; besides, the influence of the bourgeois workers' parties and the trade union bureaucracies has begun to be reduced, but they still have influence; power still does not slip from the hands of the government, mainly in the capital and big cities, although it is applying more and more drastic measures; and time is needed for the Party to bring together the broadest people's masses at this juncture towards the revolutionary crisis, it has to do with the leap, the key to this is to develop the class struggle of the masses under the slogan of combating and resisting through the People's War, and the main thing to develop the People's War and the New State towards relative stability and in the cities to prepare conditions for the insurrection. Thus, what the PUM maintains is a false vision of reality, it is a pessimistic vision in the face of the failure of its lucubrations. The central power is being undermined in different parts of the country, the vertebration of the masses has a magnificent perspective, its key is People's War, New Power, linking the daily demands with the three mountains (this is a tactical and strategic condition, because as long as the three mountains are not destroyed the problems of the masses cannot be solved). To unfold towards the revolutionary crisis implies a more acute, complex, hard and difficult struggle, successes and setbacks; militarily it implies how we develop mobile warfare and deal with polarization; within this strategic perspective is the margin of Yankee intervention, directly or through intermediaries. A revolutionary crisis cannot be considered without considering all this, but what revolution we are talking about. 'Protracted recession'. There has been a key variation since the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, the crisis occurs in the second half of each decade and in each economic cycle of gradual decline with its moments of recovery,

acceleration, crisis and stagnation, each new recovery starts from a lower level, each time; it is not, therefore, a problem of 'protracted recession'. The greater fragility of the State, the struggles around the bourgeois-democratic system, the contradictions and the clear signs of fascism, that is what it is all about and not simply authoritarianism. The Peruvian State is faced with the need to restructure itself.

'The masses are not in conditions to rebel because they have been defrauded'. The usual infamy, to unload on the masses; the masses express pessimism of the present system and optimism of the future, of what they can do with their own hands that vertebrate a great unity of struggle that has an axis, the People's War. The shock has proven once again the impotence of the General Confederation of Workers of Peru (CGTP) and of the current organizational forms that bind to legality; the existing forms are those that the law allows to drain the struggles and bind the masses; inconducive and passive hunger strikes are armed, while the strikes are carried out with pacifist methods of serfs and are even reduced to the ridiculous spectacle of deputies; the forms and methods of the renegade scabs are those that the system allows. Therefore, the problem is to move the masses from below and develop new forms of struggle and organization, to strengthen the struggles of the peasantry, of the proletariat and the people, of youth, women and intellectuals and of the masses of the regions for their true interests: To link the workers' struggle to the neighborhood struggle; to repel aggression; to wage combat strikes; to intensify the application of the four forms of struggle of the People's War in direct support of the struggle for the daily demands of the masses, particularly sabotage and selective annihilation, for in this way we pave the way, in addition, to sweeping away the nefarious legalism. On the other hand, we must combat the stabilization plan as part of the system which aims to restructure the Old State, annihilate the People's War and reimpulse bureaucratic capitalism; to see tactics and strategy, how in each action the two problems move: the daily demand and the conquest of power. The objective conditions continue to develop and the subjective ones are going to be strengthened; let us see how the New State, the Party and the People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) and the masses develop, the latter ask for the leadership of the Party which expresses the maturing of the consciousness of the masses marching towards more developed organizational forms.

The PUM states that there is an 'internal war, militarization and dirty war' and they enter into contradiction with Fujimori's pacification plan. For us, the war is between two parties: revolution and counter-revolution, Old State and New State, Armed Forces and Communist Party; and 'militarization' is the development of the counter-revolutionary war. On the other hand, at present the government has a persistent link with the APRA and is united with the Army and elements of Velascism; as well as there is resistance and counter-attacks by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie; in the midst of this struggle and collusion are the economic measures and the clash between powers. Although the comprador bourgeoisie has the hegemony and imperialism endorses it, there are positions of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the government itself, protected by groups within the Armed Forces; and there are attacks and counterattacks which will continue to develop, not to see it this way is to have the criterion of a monolithic State, of a super-State.

They maintain that 'a first wave of people's response to the government is coming in the following months, the culminating moment of a revolutionary situation'. The greater control of power assumed by the Armed Forces, which is still sufficiently strong, allows it to maintain the power of the State and revisionism still maintains influence over the masses. However, the march is towards the revolutionary crisis, it marches in waves and has to do with how the People's War, the Party and the class struggle develop in the city, with how we advance towards the insurrection moving other modalities of action: riot, armed strike, mutiny; we must also shape mass demonstrations and marches of another type. As a consequence of a wave the revolutionary action expands more; but the waves cannot be long and sustained, especially in the cities, the counter-offensive of the reaction comes; thus the action rises more on both sides and we enter a fluid struggle in the cities. There will be many waves and the struggle will intensify, it will be harder and tougher; the people will become stronger and reaction will weaken, but will apply more of its abject reactionary violence: they repress more because they begin to lose. Today the concretion of the strategic stalemate is unfolding. Finally, in these waves there is a margin for the State coup, more time more time less; it is convenient for us that it be as late as possible. For the PUM there would be, then, a revolutionary crisis in the following months; then they will say that they have defeated us and will



again promote the accumulation of forces and wait again; simple justifications of the PUM to persist in the most crass legalism.

They speak of 'crisis of the left and the need for a new vanguard'. The question is that they are bourgeois worker's parties, supporters of order, unrepentant of parliamentary cretinism; that is the whole IU, including the PUM. We must fight them and unmask them, make them see the responsibility of the IU, their role in the elections, their co-responsibility in this government and how they hinder the revolutionary process; aiming to make them differentiate themselves, to blow off their bureaucratic crusts; in these organizations there are workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie and also isolated elements of the big bourgeoisie.

To keep in mind that the People's War and the revolution are strengthened and that we are the axis, the guiding center of polarization; on this basis to develop the United Front of the revolution based on the worker-peasant alliance and integrated by four classes: proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, 90% of the population and which should unite all those, persons or organizations, who are really for the revolution and its concretion through the People's War; if we do not see thus we will not develop the third instrument and in perspective of revolutionary crisis we do not contribute to the scabs losing influence over the people and that the Party is center; if we do not act thus, how will we develop the polarization, the dislocation of the masses and the seizure of the cities. See, then, accurately, the importance of the United Front. There is a constant trunk in the revolution: workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie; but the national bourgeoisie has to support the revolution expressing its class condition and develop with it unity and struggle; if we do not act in this way we would be sinning of sectarianism, closed doors is sectarianism, the question is unity and struggle. It will be presented to open doors for a great incorporation to the revolution; thus, for example, the greater part of the intelligentsia is petty bourgeois, and the intellectuals are indispensable for the revolution; they are more complex problems, they involve greater risk of rightism and demand broader work. There will be a version of the People's Consultative Council, but how to concretize the democratic government. For all this, always maintain the hegemony with the worker-peasant alliance and the leadership of the Party; thus the broad people's masses of the United Front will serve to demolish the Old State. This task poses us problems of

development, of militarization, of incorporation into the PGA; for this reason it is key to powerfully strengthen Party politics. It seems to us that this is good, we have corrected this part quite a lot, this must be taken into account.

It is also necessary to think about this, it is good to study Chairman Mao's texts on the Front, particularly we are going to see that he is proposing to study 'On Policy' The question is in this, to keep in mind that the Front in us is not a front, at this moment, to confront imperialism that has entered to combat us directly but it is our front, the front of our revolution, it is in the perspective of conquering power, if we do not also unite the national bourgeoisie how are we going to build the State in the whole country? That is the difference, then, to keep in mind what Chairman Mao says but specified, concretized, starting from the fact that our problem is to march to the conquest of power, it is not the problem of a foreign invasion, it is the Front that we have to develop within the polarization, that is, of two poles, in which we march, one to its collapse and we to the conquest of power, that is the question, that is the essence that differentiates one from the other situations, but, this is extremely important. In synthesis, the United Front is maturing, until today the Front has developed as Power, as we have stated, as Power of three classes: workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie, but now to shape the People's Republic of Peru, we need, it corresponds, that we also pass to the participation of the national bourgeoisie, that is the reason, before we could not do it, it is not that we have not had planning, we have had it and we have formed we repeat, the Power with these classes, just as we have done it in the masses, we have managed the Revolutionary Movement in Defense of the People (RMDP), another is the problem that is posed to us now, we believe that this is in synthesis."

Finally, a point to be highlighted is the border problem with Ecuador. We start from the fact that our borders are going to be the object of serious difficulties, in Peruvian history it is like that, when there are difficulties of crisis, etc. in Peruvian history, it has been decimated in the borders with border problems. Now the question is this, in perspective, they are instruments that the great powers are going to use to strike at the revolution and the New State, that will be when there is already a State, but today what

is it, that this border problem is not totally defined and a few months from now they are going to totally question the Rio Protocol, that is what is concrete. In this way there is a problem pending and it will be a greater pretext for them to attack the revolution, I am not saying that if this is solved there is no longer a problem and there will be nothing to do about it, but just another pretext, so this problem should be over, right? But which one is it? They have never defended an inch of land, the borders of this country have been made by the masses, by the people with their own blood, they have never been, and what they are doing is, either because of economic problems or problems of People's War and the intervention of the U.S., which does not want conflicts, they are not defending the borders. The U.S. is responsible for not having established landmarks on the borders and is against even international States, what they are doing is to accept all the Ecuadorian interference because the U.S. imposes it, we believe that this is how we should put it, we are not terrorists but we point out the problem that exists, as it does not cost them their fatherland, after all they have a pending problem in order to facilitate future aggression. All the things they are doing prove it, well, Peru is really invaded, it is concrete, since the month of August or July the troops have been there, they are occupying a land that belongs to the country. What does not cost them they do not defend, in exchange they want to leave a pending problem for Peru, that is to say that it is necessary to combat the positions of false bourgeois pacifism which do not serve the revolution, apart from this, if the war with Ecuador comes, well, we are going to continue the People's War, are we not? We are.

## CHAPTER IV. CONCERNING THE III CAMPAIGN TO IMPULSE

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign is not yet over, and we must complete it with a grand culmination. However, we have begun its summary with an extensive investigation on the key question of the two hills, particularly on the enemy; this is important, it allows us to better arm ourselves to develop the People's War.

How do we judge the development of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign? With the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign we have reached the highest point of the People's War until today, that is the situation. In the process of the People's War, to analyze the III Campaign demands to make the summary of the whole Plan to Impulse the Development of the Bases centering on the New Power: we must study the three campaigns of Impulsing, mainly from the point of view of the New Power: at the beginning of the Plan to Initiate we had Bases, we passed to Open People's Committees and now we have arrived to People's Struggle Committees, first form of Power in the city. Thus from the point of view of Power we have achieved a great leap; what is our perspective, the People's Republic of Peru.

From the point of view of the development of the People's War, we have developed in this way: from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare (with four milestones) and we have entered into strategic stalemate. Consequently, the course followed and concretized, in the Plan to Impulse and its three campaigns, in terms of People's War, has reached the strategic stalemate and entered to promote preparations for the insurrection in cities.

As for construction, the Plan to Impulse has embodied the Strategic Plan of Construction; and, it is applied as a Pilot Plan following the construction strategy: Construct the conquest of power in the midst of the People's War!

In the work of the masses, the Plan to Impulse has generated a leap in the incorporation of the masses into the People's War, particularly in the city, which is taking place with greater intensity in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign, opening a broad perspective to the United Front of the revolution.

Considering the road of encircling the city from the countryside, the Plan to Impulse, mainly the strategic stalemate and the development of the

3<sup>rd</sup> Campaign, raises in perspective the question of the transfer of the center of work from the countryside to the city. When should it be embodied? It should be studied very seriously taking into account the practice, the concrete reality, as in everything.

Analyzing the three Campaigns to Impulse, the first generated the Open People's Committees; the second, the strategic stalemate; and the third, the emergence of People's Struggle Committees as the first form of power in the city, a leap in the incorporation of the masses in the People's War, particularly in the city, and the development of campaigns and counter-campaigns, that is, the development of campaigns of encirclement and annihilation. What would be the main achievement of the Plan to Impulse? The strategic stalemate; main because it is the development of the People's War which is the main form of struggle, that is why it is the main achievement. In synthesis, the main achievement of the Plan to Impulse is the strategic stalemate.

This is how these problems of how far we have come are condensed, that is what is urgent; but we still have to continue studying, especially the culmination of the plan.

*Peru, November 1991*

**FUNDAMENTAL  
POLITICAL QUESTIONS:  
BASES OF DISCUSSION  
OF THE III PLENUM**

## CHAPTER I. IDEOLOGY

Marxism, the only ideology of the proletariat and the most advanced and last class ideology of history. The “expiration of Marxism”, the “failure of socialism”, the “totalitarianism of the dictatorship of the proletariat” and the “uselessness of the Communist Party”, is the new spawn, reedition of the “death of Marxism”, and shows the theoretical and practical incapacity of the bourgeoisie, once again, because, in the midst of its arrogant triumphalist drunkenness and its anti-historical dream, it can only raise its old banners of neo-liberalism, bourgeois democracy and eclectic and idealistic pragmatism. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the only, undefeated and unfading ideology of the proletariat. Uphold it, defend it and always apply it! Gonzalo Thought, application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our reality, specifically main for the Peruvian Revolution.

## CHAPTER II. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

### 1. IMPERIALISM

It is still, and even more so today, monopolist, parasitic and moribund. Process of imperialism and collapse of the old empires unbridled to consolidate positions won from social-imperialism and ensure its system “forever and ever”. Privatization. Denial of national sovereignty and further subjugation of oppressed nations. The decomposition of imperialism: it is long but irremediable; the general crisis afflicting its economic base and the impoverishment of its own people. The general counter-revolutionary offensive. Superpowers, powers and unique hegemonism of the United States: rotten colossus with feet of clay; collusion and contention in a general fight over the plunder of the USSR and Eastern Europe, and the development of zones of influence that sow imperialist wars of plunder all over the world, targeting the 3<sup>rd</sup> World which today is broader than yesterday (including the semi-colonies and colonies of what was the Soviet Union). The European Community: imperialist union to dominate the world: Franco-German collusion and contention. Japan: “Asia for the Asians”, co-prosperity, base for Japanese world hegemony. The general bankruptcy of revisionism. Decomposition of the USSR, Great Russian

nationalism, Pan-Slavism, unbridled bourgeois nationalism and “worshippers of the West”. Albania collapsed and is subjected to Italy. Revisionism [...] develop capitalism, influences in Asia and be future great power.

## 2. REVOLUTION

It is and will be the main tendency, historically and politically, of the inexorable process of world development; it is a question of the struggle between the old and the new and the latter has always triumphed, triumphs and will triumph; but the development of the revolution is uneven and zigzagging like that of the rivers which, however many turns and twists and turns they take and even setbacks and regressions in their course (think of the Mantaro) always arrive and will arrive at the full sea of the triumphant World Revolution, at Communism. The 3<sup>rd</sup> World, base of the main trend and the international proletariat and the Communist Parties, leadership of the Proletarian World Revolution. Latin America: zone of Yankee influence and betrayal of the revolution. The People’s War, torch of the World Revolution and the People’s Republic of Peru, future support base and trench of combat of the working class and the peoples of the world.

## CHAPTER III. THE OLD STATE, THE OUTDATED PERUVIAN SOCIETY, AND ITS THREE TASKS

Economy, trapped in general crisis and without real perspective. Repercussion of the People’s War: the first by the evolution of bureaucratic capitalism, the second by its destruction: result, mainly by the People’s War, the old economy can no longer subsist: the question is to evolve or destroy the three mountains, but there is only one true solution: destroy them and build a new economy, a new society, generalizing what has been done and, mainly, developing it since it will have to cover all fronts: agriculture, industry, commerce, finance, etc. Politics: the bureaucratic path specifies its State reactionarization in absolute centralization and concretely in presidential absolutism embodied by Fujimori, also, as a negative result of the People’s War and necessary, since no State or society withdraws from history but has to be swept away, obviously, it defends itself as a wounded



beast with cruel and bloodthirsty claws; In the face of this, it is urgent to further develop people's democracy, raising and applying the rights of the people to thoroughly unmask bourgeois democracy in greater reactionarization and its fallacious human rights. The People's Republic of Peru, for which we are fighting, needs that, developing the policy of the Front, we shape the United Front for the conquest of power on the base of the Concrete Programme. This is the solution to the contradiction between the bureaucratic road and the democratic road, there is no other; the evolution of the Old State and its reactionarization as its natural and necessary process, even more so because of the development of the People's War, will only shed more "blood, sweat and tears" of the people as long as it subsists. In the military sphere, the task of annihilation that the bureaucratic path needs is increasingly adjusted to the "low-intensity warfare" to "recover positions and defend its system", as it corresponds to it in the strategic stalemate, as specified by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum, it imprisons the masses imposing on them with blood and fire to join as mesnadas in the so-called "*rondas*", as complementary armed force, cannon fodder for the counter-subversive war and shield of the counter-revolutionary armed and police forces; thus preparing their black dream of drowning the revolution in blood and consolidating their Old State, in order to reimpulse bureaucratic capitalism under the greater domination of imperialism, mainly Yankee. To the democratic road, to the road of the People's War, it corresponds to develop the construction of the conquest of power, as a development of the strategic stalemate, to pass to the future strategic offensive: this inexorable course must take very much into account the Yankee strategy of low-intensity warfare that the enemy is developing, the plan it applies, its genocidal campaigns to "recover positions and defend its system" and the growing intervention of imperialism, mainly Yankee. We must prepare ourselves ideologically, politically, organically and militarily: prepare ourselves very highly and consciously to confront and defeat the enemy whatever the circumstances may be, being superior to the enemy on all levels, mainly ideologically and politically to establish the People's Republic of Peru.

**BORDER PROBLEMS.** Ecuador. Bolivia. Chile. Colombia. Brazil. Foreign policy of the Peruvian State.

## CHAPTER IV. PEOPLE'S WAR

Strategic Plan of Development of the People's War: readjust it serving the conquest of power power. In 1980, Strategic Plan to Initiate; 1983, Strategic Plan to Conquer Bases; 1985, Strategic Plan to Develop the People's War to Develop Bases. 1992: NEW STRATEGIC PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR TO CONQUER POWER IN THE ENTIRE COUNTRY. And within this, apply new military plan, would be the 6<sup>th</sup> Plan: Great Plan to CONSTRUCT THE CONQUEST OF POWER.

## CHAPTER V. STRATEGIC PLAN OF CONSTRUCTION

Application of "three bases and three guides": achievements and problems. Add the following specifications: PARTY: growth and consolidation; PEOPLE'S GUERRILLA ARMY: development and empowerment; NEW STATE: expansion and relative stability. And as for the masses, great leap in incorporation into the People's War and the United Front to Conquer Power.

*Peru, 1992  
Central Committee  
Communist Party of Peru*

# III PLENUM

Bear in mind the documents of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Plenum; publish the ones approved in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum; print the document “May the Strategic Stalemate Shake the Country More!” for the Comrades in the leadership. Send the document “The Two Hills” to the combatants, so that they can reproduce it; spread “The Promise, etc.” These are the official documents, apply them at once. They contain the fundamental positions of the Party.

On “Karl Marx”. We must see how the Comrades manage Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. There is empiricism, and we must see how to combat it. There are serious difficulties on this; there is too much subjectivism and individualism, and they are problems of ideology. In the Communist Party of China (CPC), at one time they studied “On Practice” and “On Contradiction”. It is very important that these issues be understood. If not, reality cannot be understood; so how can it be managed? If contradiction is not studied, how can revolutionary leaps be managed? These are problems we must think about. “Karl Marx” is a text of Lenin’s. Chairman Mao developed some points further. For example, he developed the issue on contradiction. By studying this text there is a risk of falling into the criteria of Stalin; we must know when and how to study it, or it must be noted.

The Comrades [...] say that there is empiricism, it is matter of ideology. A problem that will present itself more and more is that we must investigate reality; if not, how are we going to face new problems? Chairman Mao, at important moments of the revolution expounded on the necessity of understanding our conceptions by applying the practice of contradiction, and this is a task for the entire Party. We must understand what to do and what to study. There is a lack of knowledge and reactionary ideas have repercussions. It would be better to address some of our specific problems and study them, analyze them by Committees, and see what ideological problems occur. It seems that there is much repetition but little understanding.

## CHAPTER I. DEVELOPMENT OF THE III PLENUM AND OTHER PROBLEMS

We have addressed the contents of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Plenum in the January meeting. There was a conclusion to elaborate a Central Document with the following parts:

### 1. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

We must examine the theme of imperialism. Taking into account the thesis of Lenin and Chairman Mao, we should analyze the following points:

The characteristics of the decomposition of imperialism;

The contradiction between collusion and contention of the superpowers and powers;

What is relevant to the bankruptcy of revisionism?;

Oppressed nations,

The 3<sup>rd</sup> World. Strategy and tactics of the World Revolution. We must see revolution as the main tendency.

### 2. ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY PERUVIAN SOCIETY

Focusing on bureaucratic capitalism, we must base ourselves on our positions on this. For example, in the August document ("On the Rectification Campaign with 'Elections, No! People's War, Yes!'"). Bureaucratic capitalism is ripening the conditions for revolution. We must consider the reactionarization of the old Peruvian State, with the armed forces as its spinal column and the groups and factions of the big bourgeoisie, both the comprador and the bureaucratic ones, the Church and its growing influence, particularly, the Catholic Church. We must look into the importance of the land question; we must examine semi-feudalism and how the People's War has had an impact on this problem. How is the

fundamental contradiction between masses-feudalism, nation-imperialism, people-bureaucratic capitalism materializing? How about the democratic path and the People's Republic of Peru? We must aim to see Peruvian society and its collapse in the process of its inevitable destruction.

### **3. STATUS OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR**

The Strategic Plan of Development of the People's War.

The campaigns and counter-campaigns and the transfer of the center and the insurrection.

How to achieve the democratic revolution by taking the cities on the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside.

### **4. PROBLEM OF CONSTRUCTION**

Highlight the most urgent and important problems:

The United Front of the Revolution to Conquest Power,

The construction of the New State, exercising democracy.

The People's Guerrilla Army: develop it and strengthen its weaponry to the highest bellicosity.

The Party. How to understand the Rectification Campaign. The Party maintains the road, the immediate goals and the definitive goal. The content of the Rectification Campaign should be on construction. Study Lenin's "Karl Marx".

The documents for the Rectification Campaign of the Great Conclusion are three:

1. Quotations from Chairman Mao on People's War;
2. Mao Tse-tung: "On Policy", 25.12.1940;

3. Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru: “On the Construction of the Party”, 1992. Highlight that everything serves to lay the foundations for the 6<sup>th</sup> Plan and Strategic Plan of Construction.

In summary, the document should have five parts: World Revolution; Peruvian Society; On the People’s War; Construction and other problems, Concrete Program, etc. New Plan and Strategic Plan of Construction. We have been handling these problems, and our ideas reflect reality. In the beginning they were not so clear, but later the unfolding of actions and debates allowed ideas to consolidate and explain the problems with greater clarity. It is very good that we have defined these fundamental documents of the Session. The Central Document must be developed in accordance with what was covered in the Preparatory Session. We must prepare progress reports and work on this in two or three months, to complete it.

These are serious and complex problems; for example, the strategy and tactics of the World Revolution or the questions of the People’s War in Peru. This report should not be too extensive. It should be simple and clear, so that they can be spread easily. The revolution needs ideas that are more elaborated, plain and simple ideas and clear truths. We must address the issues that the militants require and not fall into subtleties or ambiguities. Sometimes we are pressured by the criteria of the reactionary hacks, specialists in subtleties, double talk and the twisting of ideas. Where does the document go? It goes to the public, to the masses. The masses are engaged in solving decisive and fundamental problems, things will not be resolved by superficialities, but with well worked-out thoughts, clear ideas, a fusion of our general theory. The document should be geared to the masses that it is aimed at. Some documents are for leaders who have the obligation to study classic works and analyze reality. They should master theory well and apply it with audacity. If we do not handle dialectics well, if we are not sure and astute, then how will we handle things, how will we lead, how will we keep our course? We must give the cadres broader texts, in order to spread ideas more widely. We have peasant militants so we must teach them with concrete and applicable words. Marx founded our theory and we are applying that theory in a proven and true way. Our efforts aim at discovering specific conditions and the appropriate laws as the circumstances demand them. Below is the outline:

## CHAPTER II. SOCIALISM, THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE PARTY, AND MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM

These are the four points systematically and maliciously attacked by the enemy. Socialism is negated, the dictatorship of the proletariat is attacked, the need for the Party is denied, and the obsolescence of Marxism is proclaimed.

We should recall the fourth Chapter of “Elections, No! People’s War, Yes!”, which contains lessons and truths of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, how to uphold our principles, the declaration of our convictions, principles, and great truths. Although the document is good, it has been said that some comrades have shown problems in studying that part. The document spells out the truth.

We must aim to defend socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party, and Marxism and to uphold the extraordinary transformations and the unique grandeur that socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party, and Marxism have impressed on the Earth in a few years. It must be made clear that the benefits received by the people and the proletariat were immense, like never before, because before, progress was always for the benefit of small groups. It must be made clear that the temporary disappearance of this socialism and the attacks on the ideology of the class have caused so much harm. But soon they] have realized that what they lost was immense and it will be restored through fire and blood. It was heaven that was lost and we must reconquer it. We must storm Heaven again; it is not so complicated.

Mao said: In a few years the world has been transformed like never before; what it took England 250 years to develop as is, it will take China 50 years to do it. Here we see the potential of the relations of production.

The old Tsarist Russia, burdened with centuries of backwardness, with a stifling feudal system that gripped the system from the deepest roots to the most volatile, with a brutal, autocratic dictatorship known as the gendarme



of Europe, was toppled by the revolution. Centuries of oppression were swept away and in few decades, which reached highest levels of production and provided the basis of what the revisionists have later used and profited to their advantage, a powerful economy and superpower status.

We should look at the five-year plans, which according to non-Marxist authors like Bernard and Colin, the USSR in the first five-year plan from 1928 to 1932 gave priority to the development of heavy industry, the second five-year plan from 1933 to 1937 prioritized the iron and steel industry, and the third five-year plan from 1938 to 1942 focused on the future mechanical industry. With the Nazi attack in 1941 this plan was interrupted. In sum, the USSR did not even complete the third five-year plan. Before 1928 they had taken Power and had to complete pending democratic tasks; later on the New Economic Plan was developed, which was a step back in maintaining the new Republic. They had to struggle to stabilize that economy. Therefore, they did not even carry out fifteen years of the five-year plans since the planning system began in the late 1920s.

They attack the planning system when in reality it was the basis that allows the handling of the economic process serving the interests of the class, exercising its class dictatorship, moving the masses with people capable of managing the society and imposing conditions on the world, planning its laws. That's an expression of freedom, not a puppet show. Economic planning permits the strengthening and unfolding of the social character of production, managing to serve the interests of the majority, and this is something that they do not like at all. We repeat that economic planning in the USSR begun only in the 1920s since there were serious problems before that period of time. The new state was being born.

The fourth five-year plan was from 1946 to 1950, which was formulated to organize the reconstruction; the fifth plan was from 1951 to 1955, which gave preference to the building of the means of production. Stalin died in 1953. There were five five-year plans, for a period of 25 years, with a world war in which the Soviet Union had 25.000.000 dead and had to apply a scorched earth policy. The force and conditions created in those times allowed a forceful advance and development until the 1960s, and the drove of revisionists could not contain such a powerful force, the momentum and

vigor of the forms generated by the new system which continued to express itself. The five-year plan from 1961 to 1965 gave priority to the economic bases; the plan from 1966 to 1970 and the one from 1971 to 1975 were for the purpose of maintaining the economic bases.

The first five-year plan gave priority to heavy industry, and on this plan Chairman Mao said that Stalin did not know how to manage the system of production very well. He bypassed it and did not allow it to walk on its two feet: agriculture and industry. Nevertheless, despite the errors committed, the momentum of the power of these new social relations created a complete revolution and determined the bases of economic development that met the needs of millions of people.

What system has done anything similar? The United States? This country for example had its umbilical cord tied to England, which was already bourgeois; upon reaching the USA the British did not find a feudal base. How many centuries did they need? More than three centuries, 350 years, which cannot be separated from England. In 30 years, were they able to make a nation like the USSR? Were they able to overcome hunger like in China? What can they boast about? Nothing.

A book issued by the World Bank analyzes 30 years of development in the backwards countries, it also analyzes England, USA, Germany, Japan, and China, and says that the one which made the greatest leap in the shortest time to date was China. These are not the laws of Teng, it is the economic development of China based on the accomplishments of the democratic revolution and the bases created after Liberation in 1949. These statistics demonstrate that the system made an extraordinary leap in the shortest time.

## **2. ON THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**

They say it is totalitarian: Let us see what Chairman Mao said in “On the People’s Democratic Dictatorship”, and see who benefits the most: the people and the class. Let us sweep away the trifle double talk of “totalitarianism”, this old tale they use to confuse the people. Let us show

the benefits of socialism, and the advantages the people had. What about the reactionaries, what does the bourgeoisie give to the people? .

They proclaim the non-partisanship, which aims to dissolve the politics of the working class, the proletariat, and seek only to keep bourgeois politics. To impose their policies they don't even need political parties any longer, see how they kill.

Our politics require our concerted actions to conquer Power.

### **1. ON THE QUESTION OF MARXISM**

The bourgeoisie is so decrepit that it does not attack it directly, rather it recycles ideas from two centuries ago, resuscitating ultra-reactionary persons, fools like de Tocqueville, a rose-tinted version of the North American bourgeois dictatorship. This is a complete pastime. They say that Marxism is obsolete and that it doesn't work, but they don't attack it openly. When have they found a basis for this? No one has ever proven the obsolescence of Marxism. Apprentices and charlatans like D ring and other pack of plunderers of Marxism are the ones who have boasted about it.

In synthesis, we must defend Marxism, socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party, seeing the great things they have generated, whose interests they serve, and counterpose them to the interests served by capitalism, imperialism, the bourgeois dictatorship, the parties. We are not living in ambiguous times. In order for the revolution to advance, it requires struggles with violence for big ruptures. Chairman Mao said: "Only a great chaos can generate a new order". We have had insufficient chaos, we must generate more, do it at the level of ideas. Moving ideas is vital to shape public opinion, without this we cannot conquer power.

## CHAPTER III. REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

Lenin said that Engels praised revolutionary violence; to a Marxist, a revolutionary it is appropriate. Praising pacifism, the false peace of bayonets, is appropriate for a reactionary. These are two positions, each one has its peace and each one manages its war. In the world there is an unchecked insistence of talking about peace, pacification, dialogue, an unchecked overflow of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas of the most uninspiring pacifist positions, a stupid venom to poison the class and the masses. Peace, is an end to the cold war, but the world continues to be rocked by brutal conflicts like Iraq, with weapons not seen until now, except the atomic bomb. We see massacres, the war in Yugoslavia, in the Caucasus, in Ukraine, and Moldavia.

There is a combination of repressed things which are going to burst. Look at the imperialist scramble, the US systematically shouting that it has power, the rest feeling a mortal panic, similar to Khrushchev who said that if the US and USSR joined forces, if they raised their little finger, the rest of the world would die of fear. Pomelli said that the US is the only one that can rule. The new gendarme can present itself as all-powerful, each day as it relies more and more on nuclear weapons, raising up military and atomic blackmail. They dream of their "Roman peace", but that peace was imposed by legions of iron on the oppressed.

We must unmask this monstrosity, just like we must unmask all that propaganda about pacification which is a closed defense of the exploitative and oppressive order which that pack of imbeciles defends and sustain to defend their daily bread. The question of violence must be made clear, and as a counterpart we have seen the Outline of ILA-80, an outline on revolutionary violence.

This is an INTRODUCTION. We must demonstrate our conception, which our line, dictatorship, socialism under the hegira of Marxism gave the greatest thing the Earth has seen, and it was lost by a traitorous revisionism. We must see the process of revolution and counterrevolution; We must not

be pessimists, the transitions from one system to another are complex, hard, and brutal.

## CHAPTER IV. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The Party documents show the basic ideas that need to be developed, we must work on them well since these are the sources that will serve as our basis. In addition, bear in mind the experience of the Party and the experience and lessons to be learned from the work of the Communists. Communists do not always have a clear understanding of this process:

IMPERIALISM. We must see Lenin's thesis that imperialism is monopolist, parasitical, and in its death throws and that it is the last phase, is like a cancer. We must see Chairman Mao's thesis that imperialism is a paper tiger; where is the USSR? It was also a paper tiger. We must understand the law of imperialism and the law of the people. People do not need imperialism, this plague is not needed at all.

One problem is to aim to see how empires sink and to understand how imperialism and the great empires collapse, the existing states, and see how the USSR burst. This was a social-imperialist power with a mask, and we saw how a giant with feet of clay burst apart. The collapse of systems happens over long periods of time, so this one must be understood as an unburied corpse. They have a moment of recuperation before even steeper declines and until their total extinction or crushing. Many years may elapse after they are swept away and reappear in other conditions; Spain, for example, has recovered in the capitalist order but it had sunk before. It is a long but inevitable agony. We can look into history to understand this process.

The current state of the big imperialists, the current economy of imperialism after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, is undergoing a serious problem. For example, the United States: How can this country use a quarter of its budget to pay the interest? It is parasitical, and every day more so. It has 4.000.000.000.000 dollar debt, 700.000.000.000 dollars in foreign debt, and its production is in recession. It has massive unemployment, and millions of people who work only to put the food on the table. It is a rotten giant with feet of clay.

The German economy is trapped in the incorporation of East Germany; it cannot digest what it has swallowed. Japan has serious problems; for example, its finances, severe recession, and investments (inmobiliarias). It is not the way they portray it.

We must see the unchecked and relentless manner in which they launch their new policy of collusion and friction. The areas of domination and influence frequently intertwine and frictions have already began. Germany and Japan have to militarize rapidly; we said this before and it turned out to be right. The Japanese military budget is increasing. For example, Japan has a minesweeper in the Gulf and it doesn't want to withdraw it. Japan is desperate to be recognized as a power, and for this reason it developed great power politics. It is galloping to become a military power and it tangles with other powers and clashes with the oppressed. We see contradictions, powers, superpowers, readjustments, modifications and problems with the 3<sup>rd</sup> World, which show that the privileges they enjoy are all tinsel, rubbish, and smoke. Their parasitical actions have caused dead in Africa and has brutalized people in Asia. Because of the policies of imperialism, there are 15 million children who die each year in the world to the benefit and greed of the big magnates in the US (not the people of the US.) We must unmask how vile they are. It is clear how they are sinking in a long death agony, in their inevitable death, their thievery, collusion and contention. These are times of great bellicose clashes. They stoke nationalism to serve their interests. The scramble for the Caucasus began in Central Asia and extended to Mongolia; but their aim is the 3<sup>rd</sup> World, which is every day more exploited and oppressed. They achieved some victories with the disintegration of the USSR, proclaiming their "victory" and have presented it as a "revolution", when it was actually the Eastern European counter-revolution. All of this put the ideas of neoliberalism, pragmatism, and bourgeois democracy up in the clouds. Their purpose was to secure the greatest exploitation, to devour as rapidly as possible the gains made by those states over decades of this century.

The concentration and dispossession, starting with the movement to expropriate, are in charge of a handful of magnates who seek to impose their bourgeois democratic system through blood and fire. They developed the great power politics and denied the sovereignty of nations. There is a

tendency to collude themselves under the lead of Yankee imperialism to subjugate the oppressed nations. There are clear indications of this policy in Iraq, the threats against North Korea, the aggression against Cuba. What they are scheming will not only be implemented by the USA, but it will involve a group of superpowers and lackeys that seek loot. They will attack Cuba and dream and plot about attacking Korea. They will continue to wage military blackmail against the oppressed nations. But this plundering will generate a reaction. It generates the development of the national struggles. The crisis that grips the imperialist countries will lead to the awakening of the proletariat, which cannot remain as lethargic as in Europe. The problem is that the oppressed nations are the key, the base, the very foundation of the anti-imperialist struggle.

There is one main problem: revolution is the main historical and political tendency, therefore we must show it. Contradiction unfolds progress, and the majority are for progress, and for achieving basic living conditions and human development in accordance with the advances of the times. Lenin said in 1913 that the masses don't want to keep living with conditions that don't correspond to that century. According to economic overviews of the 1950s and 1975, it was concluded that a fabulous wealth was being generated; there were specific conditions to live better, therefore, then and now the masses cannot coexist in the world in subhuman conditions, in contrast with the colossal wealth and waste of a few.

The world has to advance; progress, development and the revolution are the historical tendency. For this reason the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois lackeys uphold the negation of progress, development, and advancement. They say that these are erroneous and bourgeois ideas. A bourgeois idea is to believe in progress as "a bourgeois development with the mere passage of time". We conceive progress as a consequence of revolutionary transformation of the class struggle that generates more advanced classes and a more combatant people. History has a tendency that goes toward broader freedom for man. This is undeniable, but it is denied claiming these are pseudo-Marxist ideas. However, a contradiction between the new and old exists, and this generates the concept that revolution is the principal tendency. Let us review the editorial from "Peking Review" in May 1976:



“The new always triumphs; the struggle between the new and the old is a form of contradiction.” Chairman Mao said that “the future is bright; the road is tortuous”. Either this contains a contradiction, a reality, or it is a contrivance of brilliant phrases. Nothing follows a straight path, there are always contradictions. Two things contend and tug, for that reason the path is zigzagged; the flow of the rivers whether turbulent or laminar goes through nooks and whirlpools; it overcomes them and reaches the sea. These are material realities; flows and rivers are matter.

We must see how in the development of our people, they were exterminated from more than 10.000.000 to 2.000.000. Now we have grown and the entire country is tinged with mestizaje. Historically and politically, revolution is the main tendency, the other tendency is a temporary reversal. When there are problems, pessimism is generated, people say “so much struggle and for what?”, but what has been done is never lost.

There is contention between the positive and negative, because the new is superior, it imposes itself. We must see the contradiction, the history, the interests of the masses which will define their future, the socialist future, not one shackled to a master, to imperialism. We must see and understand what the masses want. Their socialist future or their survival under a imperialist. To see what the masses want, we must define their historical and political consciousness.

## **1. THE BANKRUPTCY OF REVISIONISM**

Revisionism entered into bankruptcy without a war, the old revisionism went bankrupt with the war, while the second revisionism came from Khrushchev. It was bankrupt and its regimes were disintegrated. We must link the process of socialism’s regression, and then the triumph of revolution, with revisionism. The revisionists are the vanguard of restoration. The revisionists are responsible for it. Socialism did not fail, what has failed was the abandonment of the socialist principles by a revisionist clique in order to adjust it to the old imperialist world order. They have disintegrated their system to be part of the imperialist world order.

We must see the historical period of the struggle against Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. We must study whether or not it is changing or ending. One of the superpowers is disintegrating. It is becoming disarticulated, and its economic system is being scattered. Its system of semi-colonies is scattering, but it has not completely ended. One of them is dissolving and the other has serious problems and is following the politics of a “lord” based on military power, however, there are others that are stronger and more aggressive, and they are preparing their assault.

The document “May the Strategic Stalemate Shake the Country More!” says: “In perspective, the main enemy is the USA”, which meant that another will come (it says “mainly the USA”) and later bitter struggles. We must develop further the theory of the three worlds, two worlds in dispute for world hegemony while the other power seeks to benefit itself. Then there are the masses of the oppressed nations. Furthermore, the first world is redefining itself.

## CHAPTER V. PERUVIAN SOCIETY

There are many Party documents that address this topic, however, we look at the Preparatory Session of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum. Bureaucratic capitalism is evolving in cycles with gradients. It has temporary recoveries but each new cycle starts from a lower point than the previous one. It has been this way for 30 years. We must see how it is evolving:

- The third stage of bureaucratic capitalism, of contemporary Peruvian society, began in 1980.
- The general crisis is evolving. It can have recoveries until its destruction, and with the People's War the process of destruction of the economic system will aggravate.

The People's War has been added to the process of destruction of bureaucratic capitalism, and for this reason its economy cannot recover like of the neighboring countries. Our war is being managed politically, with sabotage and armed strikes, which limits investments. The security factor raises insurance rates, etc.

Bureaucratic capitalism is in decline. It is in decomposition since the 1980s and it is being sunk by the People's War. The loans it gets from imperialism have harsher conditions for the oppressed nations. They can only expect major investments when imperialist interests heightens. When they say "what a bad example, we must crush it, send in money", this in turn leads to a more general putrefaction, such as in Vietnam and Korea.

It is necessary to develop the criteria of the two roads. We must see how the peasant road is developing, and how the new economy is developing in contrast. Pedraglio says there are beneficial conditions for the Huallaga Zone. We see a decline due to the war. We must see how the peasantry is developing, and see also how the seeds and flowers of the New State are opening the way to a new economy.

## CHAPTER VI. PEOPLE'S WAR

We must develop the understanding of our specific war. See what are its own laws, how campaigns are being developed, why don't they clearly and fully develop. We have our own programs and politics to destroy the system. There is something particular about this war or the circumstances in which it is being fought. Consider the fact that the reactionary armed forces entered the war in the third year, what is the particularity on this? How did the initiation develop? The plan to undermine the old order, how do the campaigns develop? How did the stages occur? How does the intervention or aggression by imperialism occur? We must see the peculiarities within the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside, see the scheme, with the countryside as the primary scenario and the cities as a complement. We must find what is specific in our People's War, even in the forms of struggle. For example, the armed strikes are very important.

All of this serves to understand the laws of our war. We are now in the Strategic Stalemate. We must prepare the synthesis of the laws of war of the entire first stage, and on that basis establish the laws of the second stage and outline the laws of the third stage in order to choose the appropriate, specific path of the People's War.

Thus, we will handle and crush the acts, activities, and campaigns waged by the reactionaries who try to recover themselves, and thus we must persist in the conquest of Power.

We must be clear on the road to follow and define the laws of the war well. We must see the nature of our army, see how we built it, and have transformed into a more developed organization. The legions of iron have their own particulars. We must see strategy and tactics.

There are three parts to define. In the first we must spread a clear understanding of the war, its course, situation, and perspective so that the masses, the class, and the peasantry know this. By taking up and applying our laws, we will reach to our inexorable goal. If we commit no errors, the time span will be less. There is a variable of repercussion, that is the international situation, but the revolution is sustained here. Although

outside support is indispensable; one of the considerations focuses on this. They may intervene. The political conditions demand that they expand and exemplify that such a bad example doesn't spread. They may launch their system and give a crushing blow and things may become more serious. It is a probability, but another Vietnam is not convenient for them, however, the turn that things are taking in the USA is like saying "they should tremble" and "no one should dare to raise their voice" before an empire that impose its will on small nations. So how can they let a youngster impale them up front? Their necessity may demand to crush us, but we will keep on fighting. It is better to be prepared for all conditions.

(1) The importance of this, which is a limitation, is that it doesn't consider the specific character of our People's War, and that they don't apply their tactics to the specific conditions. Thus, each day we will have to confront new problems [...]

(2) They talk and talk, and what do they get out of this? We must understand basic things, understanding what is specific and what is the main thing. Some make mistakes, they prefer to keep moving their heads, because at heart they don't want the war. The situation in Peru will become more acute.

The cadres and militants must be forged in general warfare, in revolutionary warfare, and the war in this country.

## CONSTRUCTION

[DATA MISSING -EDITOR]

## CHAPTER VII. STRATEGIC PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT

1. A new plan that takes into account all the experiences of these years has been prepared. It will again establish the main points, derived points, directions, and lines of movement with an outline of its general characteristics.

2. In 1978, we said that the countryside was main, the cities complementary; the situation of Peru, etc. In the Party document of 1986 there was a sketch. We must outline all of Peru and its regions, to build it in a great unity; for example, to see the Highlands, the south, the east, Loreto, Madre de Dios, which is a weak point in this State; see the borders, and the coast. If we don't handle things this way, what plan are we talking about? We must see the main regions, the fundamentals, and others defining each one. We must see city and countryside. Yesterday we saw the transfer of land in the countryside. We must develop the People's War and prepare conditions for the insurrections in the cities.

We must see and understand the countryside-city, develop the war in the countryside and see how to manage it in the cities.

3. The reactionaries are proposing to pass over to defend their cities, which are their strong points. See how they develop civic actions, intelligence, and control in the slums. The revolution from the countryside to the city begins to touch points in the cities; they are retreating, this is revealed by seeing the work plan in the cities, [...]

(4) We must seek other forms of developing, and launching military campaigns of the strategic plan, fixing our sights, for example, on such objectives and completing them in time.

(5) Their necessity is to develop campaigns to recover and hold, therefore, we must prepare ourselves for that [...]

(6) We must resolve the question of the General Command Centers. This is a complex issue. Look at its personnel, System; a Command Center that must decide what force must go there and develop, for example, in the

northeast campaign in China (see Vol. IV.) They sent cadres, troops, and arms. Thus, the more the plan is managed the more it develops. It must have more initiative and give more weight to the subjective capacity and have a greater criterion of a unified work. The war needs more thought. We see too many wandering local forces. Either we see the war as a great unity or some will be thrown out.

(7) We must see the Strategic Plan of Construction. It is already being applied as a Pilot Plan. Very little is reported about the construction, only that it is being applied. And the experiences? In the meetings of the Committees we must plan the Strategic Plan of Construction. We must see that there are documents from the Preparatory Session of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum where we see the course of the organizational line, and always see our own experiences in everything, first and foremost. We must develop a Strategic Plan of Construction based on three bases and three guides, bearing in mind the following: In the general orientation of Party work. Construction is the base, the People's War is main, and the Congress is the guide. In the work of construction, the Party is the guide, the Army is main, and the New State is central. "Develop, Construct, and Conquer!", this slogan is appropriate. Regarding the Three Instruments. The Party says "develop them". The Strategic Plan (see the Preparatory Session of the Central Committee, outline point 2) which refers to the Strategic Plan of Construction, this is not quite accurate. It should say Develop the Strategic Plan of Construction of the Party, the Army, and the United Front.

We must develop our work with initiative, flexibility, and planning. We must make a Strategic Plan of Construction for each apparatus, seeing its base and guide.

For the Party: Specify its growth and consolidation. For the Army: develop and strengthen its structure, its construction, its training. (See the consolidation in "Introducing 'The Communist'"). See institutions, infantry, artillery, for example grenades and mortars; the immense mass is infantry, cavalry to develop faster deployment; communications, health. Give training in improvement. In warfare, elevate the bellicosity and seize arms. Strengthening has to do with bellicosity.

In the New State, it must be extended and given stability. In the Party, organize the Central Department. Expand the Central Committee.

(8) In the Army, strengthen the Army in mobile warfare, develop and raise its fighting capacity. In the New State, form a government and develop the state organization, have a plan, a base, and a guide and a key problem. Always take up key problems. In the Front, see how we are materializing it;

(9). The axis for the Front is the Concrete Programme. We must see the alliance, the hegemony of the proletariat, and the four classes. We need the Front to seize Power. If there is an imperialist aggression, it will be converted into a National Front, which will also lead to contradictions. When we propose to strengthen the national production, even the national bourgeoisie is in agreement with this proposal. On this issue there are convergences and divergences.

The 6<sup>th</sup> Plan to Build the Conquest of Power. In 1981, we implemented a plan based on an in-depth study of the country. 10 years later, it would be a good idea to return to this study of the country. This plan will be applied here, in this old society, but it will surely serve the interests of the new society that is being developed today, led by the Party.

*Peru, March 1992*

*Central Committee  
Communist Party of Peru*



**III PLENUM:  
MEETING OF THE  
CENTRAL LEADERSHIP  
WITH THE NORTHERN  
REGIONAL COMMITTEE**

## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Greetings from Chairman Gonzalo and the leaders, cadres and militants of the Northern Regional Committee (NRC), along with the combatants of the People's Guerrilla Army and the masses who fight alongside us.

We are developing the tasks within the 3<sup>rd</sup> Plenum which should adopt the New Strategic Plan of Development which will become the fourth in the process of the People's War, keeping in mind that we should definitely approve the Strategic Plan of Construction and implement the 6<sup>th</sup> Military Plan under the slogan: "Build the Conquest of Power!", as befits within the stage of Strategic Stalemate. In addition to these three important tasks, we add the approval of the Central Document of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Plenum in order to understand the importance of this Session. For this reason, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Plenum is historic and transcendent, because in order to fulfill its highest ends, it is necessary to have the most objective understanding possible of the Party's situation. This implies an understanding of the actual situation of the Committees, the Party's work beginning with how we develop the construction of the Party, the Army and the New State, and how the Peoples' War, which is our main task, develops. Only by starting from this understanding of the objective situation of the Party, can we define such high level tasks with such an important perspective. It is for this reason that the Permanent Committee, the Political Bureau and members of the Central Committee have decided that there should be meetings with every Committee, which will become the second part of the Session. We have already met with various Committees. We concluded that it is better to deal directly with the Comrades [...] and this serves its cohesion, starting from the task on how to develop the work of each Committee. The cohesiveness of an organization is fundamental, especially when dealing with its leadership. Cohesion and unity are achieved in struggle, but only in a just and correct two-line struggle, an ideological struggle that aims to analyze problems and see a development of the two-line struggle. It requires objective analysis: to see and analyze reality as it is and to make the effort to do so. No one is unaware of the importance of the Northern Region of our country.

The NRC has been carrying out work for years, and it has advanced, but it could do much better, as its perspectives are very bright. For this reason, this meeting was planned. It will serve the Committee, not only the Regional, but also the entire Party.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Plenum is showing us, as it had to, that every Committee is contributing as part of the Party. This Committee, in order to analyze its work, its objective should greatly contribute to the Party. We are sure that it will be this way. It depends on us, and efforts are not unusual in our work; rather, they are the norm.

In synthesis, this meeting hopes to view the situation of the NRC, keeping in mind its process, looking its potentials, and also serving the entire Party, defining its problems, tasks, the Strategic Plan of Development, the Strategic Plan of Construction, and now the new military plan.

We propose an agenda with two points:

1. On the NRC.
2. On other issues of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Plenum.

The first point, on the NRC, will be applied by adjusting ourselves to our interests, and what is concrete. We have written reports which have been studied, and we think we will develop this point.

## CHAPTER II. ON CONTRADICTION

Everything that man does, is in the midst of contradictions. Everything is a contradiction, the Party is also a contradiction; war is also a contradiction. Two hills confront each other: armed revolution and armed counter-revolution. Nothing is exempt from this law. Furthermore, if we keep in mind what the 1<sup>st</sup> Session of the Congress said, we should make every effort to determine with clarity the situation of the two lines, adding also that the two-line struggle is not buried and unclear. This should be seen with clarity. We are insisting that the problem is to apply the experience that the Party has with two-line struggle. The Party has great experience with the two-line struggle and knows how to apply it. Applying the two-line struggle in the Party is a concrete expression of the class struggle, nothing else. To not develop it is to sidestep the class struggle. The Party has taught us to handle it with wisdom and firmness, it has taught us how to define the two lines, and how to make it specific in terms of ideology. One of the great experiences of the Party is knowing how to handle the struggle against rightist lines, including a Right-Opportunist Line (ROL). It is sufficient to look at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Session of February 1980, and the Military School. There we concluded that the Party is capable of handling the two-line struggle, and furthermore, we are capable of managing antagonistic struggles with non-antagonistic methods, developing the struggle within concrete situations in order to resolve problems, because it may become antagonistic in a specific situation in order to resolve problems. We must apply and handle the two line struggle well. The struggle is not personal, it is objective and not subjective. It aims to strengthen the Party, not to weaken or undermine it, because whoever undermines the Party, is committing a grave error.

For this reason, the struggle should always be very well handled or managed well. It's an ideological struggle developed for higher tasks like the conquest of Power or the strengthening of the People's Army, the New Power or the consolidation of the Party. Obviously, these will develop the struggle further. We must keep in mind how the initiation of the armed struggle was. It demanded intense struggle because we had to make a great leap from an unarmed organization to an armed organization to develop the People's War. The struggle was very intense and even antagonistic in the 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>,

8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> Plenums of the Party. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, the Military School, 1978, 1979, the beginning of 1980 were years of intense struggle. If that leap demanded an intense struggle, which produced the Initiation of the Armed Struggle (ILA-80), and we have learned to handle the two-line struggle with wisdom and firmness. Therefore, is the conquest of Power a major leap? Obviously it is: Establishing the People's Republic of Peru is a great leap, we have been preparing for it for some time now by making a leap in ideology, and a great leap in the incorporation of the masses into the People's War. In the meetings we have held with the Committees, among advances we have reached a conclusion: The great leap must obviously be on all levels: ideologically, politically, organizationally, and militarily. A great leap on all levels, and like all leaps it is a problem of contradiction. It is within the great leaps that the contradictions sharpen; if not there is no change from quantity to quality; no leap. The problem is simple. For this reason, we must pay attention to the two-line struggle, and we must add that in conquering Power, we are not only fulfilling a leap amongst ourselves, we are also implying the destruction of the other hill. The war to the death enters into major contentions and most decisive ones. This is a concrete way of understanding it.

We have seen great advances of the Party and heroism up to today, but we should see more, we should do more: more transformation, more destruction, more strengthening of the Peoples' War and more construction. We all understand this clearly, a Communist understands it, a revolutionary also. There will be great massacres, great heroism, and great destruction will come. If not, how will we reach the People's Republic of Peru? How will we develop into a New State? It is enough to recall that it is the end of the first stage of the revolution (the culmination of the democratic revolution) and the beginning of the second (the socialist revolution). This implies that what has been done up to this point is immense and should be taken a gigantic preparation, the greatest effort made by our people in 13 centuries, the most heroic and resolute struggle of the Peruvian proletariat, the most extraordinary war ever unleashed by the Peruvian people. No war ever has fought for such high objectives. It is good to think this way with clarity, so that we will know how to place what we have done: A great preparation for the great leap that we are building. We

should struggle more because nothing falls from the sky; we know this and we know it well. We should evaluate more our process, and our own history, everything that we have been through, the wasting of energy and the spilled blood of the people and the class. One must be clear about this, have a very clear mind, solid and firm passion and a resolute will. We must analyze the past will. If we analyze the genocide we will know what sinister plan it corresponds to and which reptile carries it out. We cannot say that it was the same as 1986: No Comrades, everything has its place. We must know how to interpret things, and never allow ourselves to be clouded. Sentiment must not blunt our will, nor control our minds; pain will only serve to strengthen our efforts, to temper our souls, and to make our decision more firm.

In synthesis, if we look at the contention between revolution and counter-revolution, it is obvious that it will be extremely bloody. Some time ago we said that this war to emancipate our people might cost even a million lives, but it is not because we want to be so costly, but because the reactionaries and imperialism are the ones who wish to drown the revolution in blood. They are the genocidal ones who sharpen their sickles to cut our throats, dreaming of defeating us in their slaughter of revolutionaries, like Nero dreamed. Imperialism and reaction think like him, it is what they would like to do [...]. Our obligation as leaders, is to struggle for the cost to be the least possible; (remember the Central Committee Session of August 1980). There we agreed on that and it is still valid. We must precise calculations and thus know the real cost required by revolution as well as what are the enemy's. If one thinks in this way, and when there is a firm passion and no hesitations, then we are not for whimpering, but for converting pain into strength, and converting it into powerful energy to demolish the enemy, and to know what heroism is all about.

If we see the leap that the Party has to make; if we see the growth of the conflict to its extremes — development we haven't seen up to now — it is indicated that the contention between revolution and counter-revolution will reach higher levels; that the struggle will intensify immensely.

Keep in mind the “Considerations” of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenum. They are clear and we must not forget them or else we will fall into serious errors.

## CHAPTER III. ON MARXISM

The general counter-revolutionary offensive consists in a relentless attack against Marxism. They say that Marxism is obsolete, that socialism has proven that it doesn't work, that revolutionary violence resolves nothing, proclaiming that the Party is useless, shouting to the four winds that everything accomplished by the Proletarian World Revolution has been a slaughter and they even talk about "rebuilding fascism". Don't they compare Comrade Stalin with Hitler? Don't they talk like fugitives by saying that what is obsolete "is the socialism of Stalin"? In reality the obsolete thing is the solid waste which was generated by the revisionists.

That is how the world is now. Apart from this, the sharpening of counter-revolution is expressed between the imperialist superpowers and powers, and most importantly between the imperialists and the oppressed nations. We cannot sidestep this general counter-revolutionary offensive, it is the other hill at the world level. The contention between World Revolution and counter-revolution is sharpening. It is still true that the Proletarian World Revolution is developing within the Strategic Offensive of the World Revolution so that this counter-revolutionary offensive is within that situation. We must not be fooled; we must see imperialism's situation, we must not believe what they tell us.

Recall Marx; he says that when we study the reactionaries, we must do so with a critical spirit, not gratuitous criticism, but that our studies should be done with a class spirit. No one is going to tell us that Yankee imperialism is in good shape, it is rotten from head to toe; or that German imperialism is a "miracle"; the so-called German unity is the devouring of what was the German Democratic Republic which had been prostituted by revisionism. Where has this brought German imperialism? To deeper problems, to hinder it. They crow so much about the Japanese myth, that it is not in a recession, but this is false, Japan's growth is slowing. What path is it following? It is moving towards recession. Don't be fooled by what they say and shout. The World Revolution continues to be the main historical and political tendency.

They are on the defensive, but they want to make it seem like things are not that way. We will not believe them and we will understand this if we start from a class position. What is certain is that there is a general counter-revolutionary offensive and it will last for years. The stage of the Strategic Offensive will last decades, the general counter-revolutionary offensive will last for a few years rather than for many years. Thus, at a world level the struggle intensifies, world reaction needs to consolidate its position. They need to consolidate what it has devoured in this scramble, dreaming that Communism will never raise its head again, dreaming that their capitalism will reign forever, that their bourgeois democracy is forever [...] No matter how prostituted it is, and that it be the only one, that its bastard ideology, its vile conception be the only school in the world. This is one of their dreams.

Contradictions unfold on all levels. We will win, they cannot win. The working class is the final class in history, this is inescapable. The bourgeoisie will try to burn it in order to finish it off, but the bourgeoisie will be buried, the corpse will become ashes and will be scattered to the four winds to fertilize the Earth. Imperialism has no other destiny. Thus, the problem is one of eddies against the powerful river of the World Revolution. If we don't think this way then we are not Communists, we are not revolutionaries. We would be wretches with eyes on our backs, we would not be mere breadwinners chasing the scraps of the reactionaries. We are Communists, we have a class ideology and cannot judge without starting from the class interests. We have a better understanding which allows us to see the recesses and eddies that reaction generates in the face of our relentless advance. It is not that we are blind in the face of the great defeats that we have suffered, but this will not detain history, eddies are nothing more than countercurrent perturbations. Which is bigger? An eddy or a river? The river, of course.

We must understand the reactionary offensive on all levels. Consider, Comrades, that the triumph of the People's War here implies that the rise of the People's Republic of Peru is nearer and more immediate, in order to construct everything that millions have struggled for over centuries of combat. We are nothing more than the most recent part. We are the



material part, the leading part, the part that opens the stream like the head of a river, because we have the force of history behind us. We have all read what that North American admiral has said: "If Communism is not crushed in Peru, it will be reborn in the world like the phoenix from its ashes." The rhetorical part is not important, because that is their fear, but their basic idea emerges when he said "it will be reborn in the world like the phoenix from its ashes". Behind this figure of speech he expresses their dread, the dread of imperialism, of the only hegemonic power, the arrogant lord that seeks to do whatever it pleases, who wishes to parade around like the spirit of God across the seas, and since God does not exist, all they have is dreams and vapor. The rest is nuclear artillery to defend their interests. He said "before this happens that danger must be swept away". Therefore we must think how imperialism opposes and will oppose our road, which is developing the People's Republic of Peru. As such, we must base ourselves on our own forces, and with the necessary support of the proletariat and the people of the world we will conquer Power. We will defend the People's Republic of Peru, which will build before it is born, and finally be born and developed. We must see this clearly to be united with common feelings and one will. What we are doing is reaffirming ourselves in this understanding.

In synthesis, at an international level the struggle will intensify and develop. By being a torch, a base, and trench they will not forgive us, and we do not ask for forgiveness nor for permission. As such, we must tie the intensification of the class struggle linked to the People's War in order that it be made specific as a two-line struggle within the Party, which expresses itself like the People's War against the counter-revolutionary war in the country and like revolution against counter-revolution in the world. That is our perspective and the situation in which we are evolving. Who among us will slacken in the obligation that the Party has assumed? "The Express" says: "Sendero has no choice but to win", regarding San Roman and Fujimori dialogue. They are part of the reactionaries, but hasn't our Party taught us that we are condemned to win? A beautiful verdict. This is more valid today than yesterday, and tomorrow it will be even more so. They are expressing it from their point of view, from fear. The problem is an antagonistic contradiction between the Communist Party and the old Peruvian State propped up on the bayonets of the armed forces more than

ever. For this reason, the contradiction between the Communist Party and the Armed Forces becomes more acute.

## CHAPTER IV. THE PARTY AND THE NEW POWER

From the following three struggles: the class struggle from the point of view of the conquest of Power; the destruction of reaction in the country; and the service this People's War gives to the Proletarian World Revolution, what is the axis for the conquest of Power? The Party. What is it that serves the World Revolution? The Party. For this reason, the handling of the two-line struggle in the Party is crucial so that the proletariat maintains its hegemony, so that the Party accomplishes its tasks today and tomorrow, and so that the Party will be a fortress, and each Communist a bastion. "Fortresses are taken from within"; what does this demand of us? Its prevention: to carefully see the two-line struggle, to justly and correctly evaluate the line opposed, is it revisionist? Is it rightist? To what extent? Which is the fortress of the red line? How to strengthen the proletarian line, the red line? From what we are seeing in the Committees, we cannot affirm that there is an antagonistic contrary line in the Party. The struggle against revisionism as the main danger, continues to develop. We are proposing to carry out the struggle against rightism as the main danger; it is wider and more specific. Why are we proposing this problem? Because of the ideological dynamic. If we take into account the ideological dynamic on an international level as well as the one that develops inside our country, we have to understand the repercussions. Chairman Mao Tse-tung said that the Communists that went to see their families came back reflecting a variety of ideas. Clearly, the mind is that way; it reflects ideas, and for that reason they came back repeating imperialist, bourgeois or feudal ideas: something is reborn, the familiar ties are strengthened. These are material realities. He also said that in the world there are storms and typhoons and that the stalks will sway. Chairman Mao Tse-tung said that the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, which with Khrushchev represented revisionism, was a typhoon, but that we must differentiate between the stalks that swayed and others that did not. We must not close our eyes, but must see things with more objectivity, understand that if we consider all that, we will see things with more expansiveness [...] so as to identify rightism, reaching levels up to revisionism. These are things that we will be further defined in the Third Plenum. All that we are saying here is that we will pay close attention to the two-line struggle.

Synthesizing: Within the Party, within the People's War counter-insurgency War and within the World Revolution vs. counter-revolution, the struggle will become more acute and the key to all of this is the two-line struggle within the Party, so that the Party will continue to be a fortress and fulfill its role, handling the struggle with firmness and wisdom looking at new problems, seeing how rightism expresses itself in its various gradations and manifestations because there is no antagonistic line in the party. The NRC has an accumulation of experience in handling this problem and this can help the Party to study and better understand the two-line struggle. It is also useful for this Committee because it will serve to make it more cohesive, and cohesion is absolutely necessary.

We believe that everything is a contradiction. We must also emphasize this, that contradiction is a process; this must also be analyzed. We have learned that we must begin with our experience, that we must know history, the path the country has followed, that our Party has followed; the path of the Regional Committee or our work has followed. This has to do with the famous thesis of Chairman Mao Tse-tung: "Know the past, understand the present and know the future." Contradictions are not always the same, they vary. Problems are not always the same, for example construction; are problems of construction always the same? No. When we did Party building before the People's War it was different; after the initiation of the armed struggle it was different but the principles were the same. The Party develops today within People's War because war is the main form of struggle. As such, it defines the entire situation, but the problem of war today is that it is entering a new situation, it is unfolding into the Strategic Stalemate and the Strategic Stalemate presents us with Constructing the Conquest of Power; that in turn will lead us to prepare the Strategic Offensive. Thus, we are no longer in the same stage as before. Then it was a Party in construction in the midst of the People's War, colored by that stage of the war (the Strategic Defensive). Now that we are in the Strategic Stalemate we can say that we must build organizations superior to those of the reactionaries. If we don't, how are we going to resist the attacks and assaults they will launch against the fortress? The reactionaries wish to dynamite it, destroy it, demolish it. For this reason our fortress must be strong, like a tower on a hill faced by a storm, because it is the Party that leads. Thus, circumstances are different.

Secret work must be developed more, clandestinity must develop much better, we must be much more demanding with clandestine work, no one must know more than they need to know: a secret is a secret and if someone tells me stories, I know nothing. This is one of the Five Necessities, we must see how we are accomplishing it.

In 1979 we proposed that the militant or the Communist has three things to accomplish: First and foremost to be a Communist, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought; second, a militant is a combatant of the People's Army no matter at what level; and third, a militant is a builder of the New State, we have said he or she is also an "administrator". Are all of us administrators? It is no longer suitable to say that; things are changing. We are gratified to be in the Strategic Stalemate. What is this gratification? Communist joy expressed in the realization of Constructing the Conquest of Power. This is how we can look at the process.

In the New State it is the same: we are making the People's War. The Party leads it as a front of classes. How did it start? In the beginning, it was the Distribution Committees, later Clandestine People's Committees, later Open People's Committees. We proposed a road in this Strategic Stalemate that opens up the conquest of relative stability within the New State. Who leads this? The Party, unalterably. How? With People's War sustained by the People's Guerrilla Army, there is a process. What does a process imply? Contradiction. What is contradiction? It is what makes a process dynamic; a contradiction implies two aspects. One is main, the other is secondary. The main aspect defines the contradiction. For example, in the Party there is a red line and a black line. Which one predominates? Which one must predominate? The red line. As long as it predominates the Party will develop.

We have had a process. When has there been an intense struggle, an antagonistic struggle? whenever the red line has been questioned and undermined; when the black line has sought to assault the red line in order to achieve the necessary changes, which now make four. It is critical to see which aspect predominates. The red line implies the development of the revolution. What does the predominance of the black line of pirates imply? The predominance of the bourgeoisie, revisionism, restoration (Russia,

China). What did the predomination of the black line of Jorge del Prado in the Party imply? It implied the selling out of the revolution, its abandonment; to hinder it more, to tail after the bourgeoisie. The two-lines struggle has two aspects. In military question, implies the proletarian military line and the bourgeois military line, reflected in the People's Army. What does this imply? Army of the new type vs. army of the old type. The army of the new type carries out three tasks: to combat, to mobilize and to produce. If these tasks are not being carried out, then the construction of the Army of the new type will fail. And this would be a rightist setback; look at its magnitude. Thus there are two aspects to the contradiction and these become dynamic. But there is not only one contradiction, there are many contradictions in the world.

We have the problem of conquering Power countrywide. Since our revolution is a democratic one, there is a New State with four classes that struggle together, and that has materialized by forming a front of three classes. This is what we call the constant trunk with a solid base, the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat headed by the Party. But today, the problem is to embrace the people: to win over the national bourgeoisie, or if we are more precise in our analysis, to win over the majority of it and neutralize its top third. There are three layers: lower, middle and upper. We must differentiate between the upper layer which seeks to increase its capital to become part of the big bourgeoisie. For example Vega Llonca, which is why they have those expressions. There are four classes, but each one has its own interests and each class of the four wishes to mold the State according to its interests, according to its image and similarity. In this manner, the contradictions are born and are expressed.

If we look at the Party there are contradictions. For example, we wish to advance the Party, make a leap in its construction. Applying the principle of construction, it is necessary to introduce new forms of struggle. This requires new organizational forms, new methods of leadership, new styles of work, that is to say more Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought styles. This is in accordance with the necessity of conquering Power. It does not mean inventing new forms. It means that from the experience that we have we must introduce new, more developed forms. For example the armed

strikes, what have they shown us? Each day, they are managed better and we put there reactionaries in dire straights. Recently, an armed strike in the Central Region paralyzed Jauja- Concepcion, La Oroya, within the heart of the reactionary economic system. Or consider the military action developed by the Southern Regional Committee, an eight-day excursion to strike Chuquibamba, entering and exiting in seven days with confrontations, breaking through 10 encirclements. Arequipa was stirred; or look at the campaigns and counter-campaigns from 1989, 1990 and 1991: what does this show? The Ayacucho Zonal Committee, in four clashes that lasted more than six hours, 50 combatants faced 500 and we defeated them; they were challenging battles and we confronted them. And these great combats are taking place within the process of the Peoples' War. They were not ambushes nor assaults, but battles. The war itself is generating new forms of struggle; higher, more developed forms; this is being demonstrated. Even the last genocide. Was it in the same conditions as the one García Pérez committed? No. It was in worse political conditions; everything was against the reactionaries, there were four days of resistance. This has to do with the experience of 1986, with a greater tempering, with the presence of leaders who we remember with profound affection and to whom we render our homage. What does our process show? That we are advancing. In 1986, there was a sinister, wicked genocide, and they said they would sweep us away. Haven't we seen the resurgence of an even higher Shining Trench of Combat? Four days of resistance in the eyes of the world, haven't they shown what a Communist is, a combatant of an authentic Communist Party? We discover new things.

In accordance with materialist principles, what exists resist its own death. It persists; furthermore, what is old resists and pretends to persist within what is new. It reestablishes itself. Consider, even in the simple phenomenon of doing what is already familiar. There is a tendency to do what is already familiar, what is already handled, by the law of minimizing efforts. These are material things. What is old is restored. It reestablishes itself. It denies its own death and disappearance. Thus with classes, the earlier situation have repercussions, and it is obvious that each class tries to represent its own interests in the State. There are four, and as such the contradictions multiply, they become aroused, each class will try to satisfy its class interests.

First and foremost we must satisfy the interest of the proletariat and the peasantry, then the petty bourgeoisie, later the dual national bourgeoisie. There is not only one contradiction, there are various ones, and these imply divergences and convergences. In Party work it is the same: aren't there expression of counter-positions on mass work and military actions, on ideological construction and organizational construction? There are contradictions between the base and the leadership. The issue is not that we can utilize the base to pit them against the leaders; that is erroneous, it is not our line, that can never be done. There is always a center and a periphery; there are centrifugal and centripetal forces. Tomorrow when we construct a government there will be contradictions between the government and the people; the question is how we will handle them; we must understand their class character. For example, the peasantry will want that everything be transferred at once. We must see what is main, what is primary, not everything can be resolved at once. We must see what is main, see the graduations, the interests. Contradictions are resolved in a process of main contradiction and main aspect. Keep in mind the multiple contradictions, their process, the main contradiction and fundamental contradiction, the contradiction between struggle and unity, with struggle as an absolute thing and unity as relative.



## CHAPTER V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE NORTHERN REGIONAL COMMITTEE

We have looked at our concrete problems. The problem is not to consider our ideology in the abstract. Thus, we think that in order to analyze the NRC we must start with what the Congress said: “With the Congress as a weapon, and in the midst of the People’s War, build the NRC in a unified way to conquer Power.” We are interested in looking at follows: there is the orientation, the road to follow, and this presents four questions:

First, with the Congress as a weapon; second, in the midst of the People’s War, with the Party in and for the People’s War; third, building the NRC in a unified way. A correct understanding of its construction implies construction of the Three Instruments: the Party, the People’s Army and the New State. To see the progress of our People’s War is necessary to look at the process underway since 1980; everything is being done to serve this. Our Party and its construction cannot develop on the margins of the war, nor can it develop without always aiming at the construction and development of the New Power as its goal. This is shown by the history of our Party. It shows that our line cannot develop solely as a General Political Line, but it is linked to the Military Line. Remember the 2<sup>nd</sup> National Conference. Nor can it be untied from the line of the United Front-New State. Recall the Plenum of 1983, the relationship between the Front and the New State cannot be untied from the construction of the Party and the construction of the Army. We all know well that the construction of the Front-New State follows a principle: first and mainly the construction of the proletarian ideology, and simultaneously, on that basis the organizational construction with two-line struggle must be developed, all of which is in and for the People’s War as the Party has indicated.

The fourth question is for the conquest of Power; it has to do with how we see support, the role of the NRC in the conquest of Power, within the Strategic Plan of Development that has to be established. What is the role of this Committee?; to what extent do we only see the NRC and not the entire set; this is a question of seeing the whole and not just part of it. This is important; only those who see the whole can see the revolution. If we do not see the whole, we do not see the revolution; if we only see the part we

are in danger, we are mistaken. These are four issues that are before us in this road set forth by the Congress.

We have spoken about dialectics, and concrete contradictions, we have referred to the Congress, the road it established for the NRC, and its four contents.

The first point of the agenda is to judge the progress of the NRC, its compliance with the road established by the Congress in these four aspects. What do we mean to say? In the People's War what was the progress? The course we followed since the Congress. For example, the ambushes have a moment, at the beginning there weren't marvelous ambushes made. Consider how much effort and how many lives they involved, what we have advanced and what we have not advanced. The Congress has many things, but one is central: the Basis of Party Unity, which implies ideology, Programme and a General Political Line. How are the ideological and political questions, how is the process of struggle in the ideological and political level? A correct ideological and political line is decisive, we must grasp this. In the construction of the Three Instruments there is the Party, the Army and the New State. What is the course that has been followed? The Party has many aspects, ideological, political, leadership which is key. What is the course of the leadership? The militants, the problems between networks, the relationship among Party-Army-New State. And if we talk about the process, how is it today in the current situation and consequently what are its real prospects.

One thing that the Committee needs is to see how it has developed its progress and what are its strong and weak points, and very importantly what are its prospects; how to shape it, and how to make a reality out of that immense potential that the Committee has. If it didn't have it, why would the reactionaries be so worried about it? This will be more appropriate. We need to give more mobility to our minds because when we follow one scheme, we are taking a risk: The routine as a mental scheme. Where is the problem? It requires more effort from us. We must do it because it is necessary, it is part of renovating our forms, and one problem is to know our reality. In conclusion, the lesson from the Zonal Committee of Ayacucho is the problem of applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought to

our reality. If we don't apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought to new problems we will not resolve them. The Party needs this, a renovation, as leaders who judge things.

A good part of the Party that we are seeing to date is empiricism, among the greater part of the Committees that have been analyzed. Why is this so? It has to do with problems of study; in the final case with contradiction and how we see the world, how we manage it. It should be treated in this manner. The situation of the NRC allows us to aim at renovating our methods as a form of judging. It is the first time that we are applying this in this Committee and we will achieve it, this will lead to the study of contradictions in a practical sense. That is not to know but to do, to apply. For this reason, we propose that the first point of the agenda should be seen in this manner, as the problems of the Committee on the road established by the Congress.

Regarding the second point of the agenda on the 3<sup>rd</sup> Plenum.

Handle analysis more clearly and synthesize the fundamental and main contradiction. Analysis is indispensable, establishing synthesis, aiming to be as clear and precise as possible. Synthesis saves time, it clears away the rubbish. The road of struggle is the most objective understanding of the road followed by the Committee, "its current situation". If we all see the objectives in the same way, we will be cohesive. The objective is to consolidate the Committee for the highest tasks. We have an ideology which is the same, we have the same line, the same Party we are pledged to the same cause. We base ourselves on the same class, the same people, and we have a common enemy. All this will unite us. We must state the problems and we will consolidate it.

We are in agreement with the agenda. We must follow the road established by the Congress, the four questions. Regarding the ideological and political line: how do we forge the militants in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, and how to apply the General Political Line while understanding that the Military Line is part of it. With regard to the People's War how will we develop the four forms of struggle, particularly the guerrilla combats, and in what way we are developing a war of the masses. We are forming them in the midst of the People's War. In the third question, on construction, we

need to see the Three Instruments, keeping in mind that of the three the forging of the People's Army is the main one, because it corresponds to the main form of struggle, and the question is strengthening it. The Party is the axis of all construction and as it fulfills its role, as it launches its organizational construction to become a heroic combatant, "it manages the People's War and leads the construction of the New State". Understand the New State and its construction, as the central issue of construction, must be in agreement with the main one which is "Conquering Power". The central task of the revolution. In order to conquer Power countrywide, we must see the role of the Committee within the whole, within the Strategic Plan of Development of the People's War. In this fourth part, we must focused on the implementation of the Strategic Plan of Development, and try to aim at serving this and how to see it from that perspective. We must see the forest, the whole, not just the tree. The problem is to define the laws and roads to follow. With that you will begin to see. As leaders of the NRC, your task is "to consider the whole", that's what your tasks and responsibilities are. The role of the leadership is to seek, contribute and understand the revolutionary road.

Peru, March 1992

Central Committee  
Communist Party of Peru

**SPEECH BY**  
**CHAIRMAN GONZALO**

## CHAIRMAN GONZALO'S SPEECH SHINES VICTORIOUSLY AND POWERFULLY BEFORE THE WORLD!

**COMRADES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!**

**COMBATANTS OF THE PEOPLE'S GUERRILLA ARMY!**

**PERUVIAN PEOPLE! :**

We are living historic moments, each of us knows that this is the case, let us not fool ourselves. In these moments we must strengthen all forces to confront difficulties and continue carrying out our tasks. And we must conquer the goals! The successes! The victory! That is what is to be done.

We are here as children of the people and we are fighting in these trenches, they are also trenches of combat, and we do it because we are Communists! Because here we are defending the interests of the people, the principles of the Party, and the People's War. That is what we do, we are doing it and will continue to do so!

We are here in these circumstances. Some think this is a great defeat. They are dreaming! We tell them to keep on dreaming. It is simply a bend, nothing more, a bend in the road! The road is long and we shall arrive. We shall triumph! You shall see it! You shall see it!

We should continue the tasks established by the III Plenum of the Central Committee. A glorious Plenum! You should know that these accords are already being implemented and that will continue. We shall continue applying the IV Plan of Strategic Development of the People's War to Conquer Power, we shall continue developing the VI Military Plan to Build the Conquest of Power, that will continue; that is a task! We shall carry it out because of what we are and because of the obligation we have with the proletariat and the people!

We clearly say that today the democratic road has begun to develop as a road of liberation, as a road of people's liberation! That is the circumstance in which we are unfolding. We should think with a great sense of history, we must stop closing our eyes. Let us look at reality, let us look at the history of Peru. Let us look at the last three centuries of Peru. We should think about

it. Look at the 18th century, look at the 19th century, look at the 20th century and understand them! Those who don't understand them are going to be blind and the blind don't serve the country, they don't serve Peru!

We believe that the 18th century was a very clear lesson. Think about this. There was a dominator. It was Spain and where did that bloodsucking domination bring us? To a very profound crisis, as a consequence of which Peru was divided. From there come the origins of today's Bolivia. It is not our invention but facts.

Fine, the last century, English domination. Where did their rivalry with France take us? To another big crisis: 70 of the past century. The result? War with Chile. We must not forget it! And what happened? We lost territory. Our nation suffered a schism 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, principally North American, this is real, everyone knows it. And where has it brought us? It is reminiscent of the 1920's, here and now, in the worst crisis of the entire history of the Peruvian people. Learning the lesson of past centuries, what can we think? Once more the nation is at risk, once more the republic is at risk, once more our territory is at risk. It can easily be lost, and by interests. This is the situation; this is where they have brought us. But we have a fact, a Peruvian revolution, a People's War, and it is advancing, and will continue to do so. Where have we gotten with this? To a Strategic Equilibrium. And we must understand this well. It is a Strategic Equilibrium! It solidifies itself in an essential situation. What have 12 years served for? To plainly show before the world and principally before the Peruvian people, that the Peruvian state, the old Peruvian state, is a paper tiger that is rotten to the core. That has been proven!

Things being that way, let us think of the danger that the nation, that the country, can be divided, that the nation is at risk. They want to dismember it; they want to divide it. Who wants to do this? As always, imperialism, those who exploit, those who rule. And what should we do? What is our task now? It is appropriate that we push forward the People's Liberation Movement and that we develop it through the People's war because the people, always the people, have been the ones who defend the country, who have defended the nation.

It is time to form a People's Liberation Front, it is time to form and develop from the People's Guerrilla Army a People's Liberation Army. That is what we must do and we shall do it! That is what we are doing and that is what we shall do! You gentlemen shall be witnesses.

Finally now, listen to this. As we see in the world, Maoism is marching unstoppably to lead the new wave of world proletarian revolution. Listen well and understand! Those who have ears, use them. Those who have understanding - and we all have it - use it! Enough of this nonsense. Enough of these obscurities! Let us understand that! What is unfolding in the world? What do we need? We need Maoism to be incarnated, and it is being incarnated, and by generating Communist Parties to drive and lead this new great wave of the world proletarian revolution that is coming.

Everything they told us, the empty and silly chatter of the famous "new age of peace." Where is it now? What about Yugoslavia? What about other places? That is a lie; everything became politicized. Today there is one reality; the same contenders of the First and Second World War are preparing a new Third World War. We should know this and we, as the children of an oppressed nation, are part of the booty. We cannot consent to this! Enough imperialist exploitation! We must finish with them! We are of the third world and the third world is the base of the world proletarian revolution, with one condition, that the Communist Parties brandish and lead! That is what we must do!

We believe the following. Next year will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Chairman Mao. We must celebrate these 100 years! We are organizing it with the Communist Parties. We want a new manner, a celebration which will be the conscious comprehension of the importance of Chairman Mao in the world revolution and we shall begin the celebration this year and we shall finish it the next. It will be a grand process of celebration. I want to take advantage of this opportunity to salute the international proletariat, the oppressed nations of the world and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.



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

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

**WE SALUTE FROM HERE THE FUTURE BIRTH OF THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF PERU!**

We say: **GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!**

And finally we say:

**HONOR AND GLORY TO THE PERUVIAN PEOPLE!**