

TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ UN MUNDO QUE GANAR जीतने के लिए सारा विश्व जीतना

A WORLD

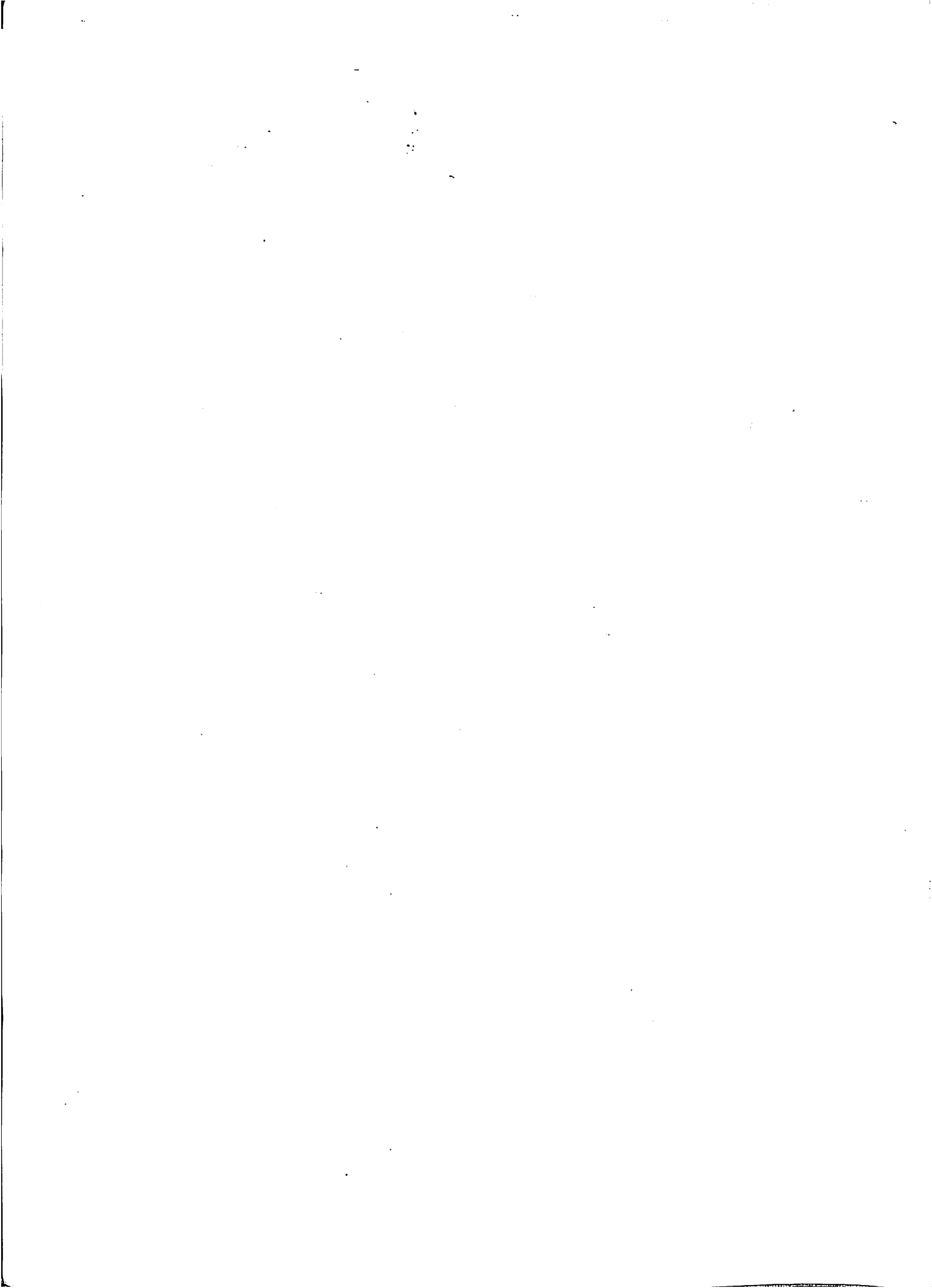
عالم نربحہ عالم نربحہ عالم نربحہ

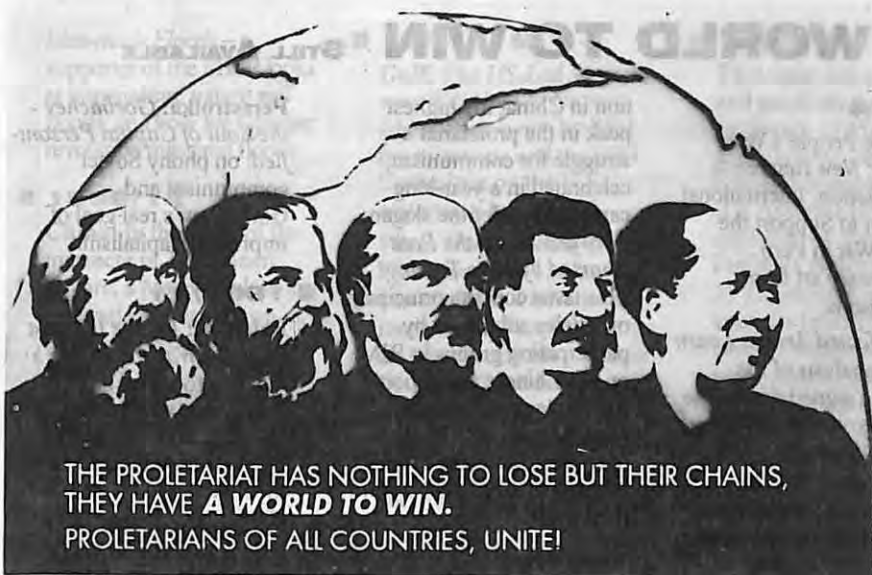
UN MUNDO QUE GANAR जीतने के लिए सारा विश्व जीतना

# Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru!



عالم نربحہ EINE WELT ZU GEWINNEN विश्व जीतना





1995/21

## Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru!

Two years ago, after having already received a dramatic blow with the capture of Chairman Gonzalo, the Communist Party of Peru saw the eruption of a major two-line struggle within its ranks. A line arose calling for peace negotiations with the US-backed Fujimori regime and for abandoning the People's War led by the PCP. This line based itself on claims that the international conditions for revolution today are bleak, and that the difficulties posed by the capture of Chairman Gonzalo and changes in the situation in Peru are unsolvable. This Right Opportunist Line is an attempt to re-route the revolution in Peru onto the well-travelled dead-end path of reformism and capitulation. The attention of the world's revolutionaries has been focussed on this two-line struggle, which raises basic questions on the assessment of the current situation in Peru and internationally, of the capacity of the Party to maintain and advance the People's War, and of the very process by which revolution will advance through twists and turns to achieve final victory. The major documents of this struggle are gathered here so as to help turn this battle into a great school of revolution and to render the greatest support possible to the PCP and the People's War it is continuing to lead, as part of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement's worldwide campaign to "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru!"

October 1995 ISSN 0269 9141 RNI 55096/91 Vol. 1 No. 6

### Editorial

Carry the Two-Line Struggle  
Through to the End! 6

### Call by RIM Committee

Rally to the Defence of Our Red  
Flag Flying in Peru! 11



7 October 1993  
PCP Central Committee  
Declaration 18

Report by the PCP Central  
Committee:  
Reaffirm Our Party Basis of  
Unity and Build the Seizure of  
Power 20



On Negotiations and  
Turning Points:  
Let the Lessons of the Past  
Fire the Way Forward! 23

It Is Right to Rebel!  
Article by the Union of  
Communists of Iran  
(Sarbedaran) 28



Our Red Flag Is Still Flying  
in Peru! 34

Reprints from the PCP:  
Reports From the  
Battlefield! 44

PCP Chairman Gonzalo:  
The Fight to  
End the Isolation 52



Two Documents from the  
Right Opportunist Line  
Take Up and Fight for the  
New Decision and  
the New Definition! 60

"Outline for a  
Basic Document" 64



RIM Committee  
May Day 1995:  
Two Opposing Roads of  
Accommodation  
vs. Revolution 56

Save the Life of Mumia  
Abu-Jamal! 59

■ 1985/1

**Peru:** *When the Andes Roar.* Examines the June 1984 offensive of the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), including the history and aims of the revolution.

**India:** *Surface Cracks and the Tremors from the Depths.* "If you're talking about world revolution then you're talking about India."

Analyzing the question of when, not if, these "wretched of the earth" will rise up.

**Homage to Yilmaz Guney:** *Revolutionary Film-maker from Turkey.*

■ 1985/2

**Peru:** Analysis of the advancing People's War. Historic PCP document: *On the Shining Path of Mariategui.*

**Iran:** *The forging of a weak link,* examines the developments in Iran and internationally that led to the Shah's overthrow in 1979.

**Political Economy:** *On the Dynamism of Imperialism and the Fettering of Social Development,* by Raymond Lotta.

■ 1985/3

**Peru:** PCP document: *Don't Vote - Step Up Guerrilla Warfare!*, and an historic May First message from the PCP to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM).

**South Africa:** *Summoned by Revolution - The Political Economy of Apartheid.* Including an interview: *Growing Up in Azania Means You Are Always Angry.*

**Ibrahim Kaypakkaya on armed struggle:** Excerpts from his polemic against the Shafak revisionists completed two months after he led the formation of the Communist Party of Turkey (ML) in 1972.

**Reggae:** Jamaica's rebel music.

■ 1985/4

**Peru:** The People's War continues. *New Regime - Same Reaction.* International Campaign to Support the People's War in Peru. Revolutionary art from Peru's prisons.

**Iran:** *Defeated Armies Learn Well* - an analysis of the experience gained during the aborted revolution, including the Amol uprising.

**South Africa:** *The Revolutionary Crisis Deepens* - analysis of the rebellions then shaking South Africa.

**Europe:** *The False Path of the Western European "Urban Guerrilla"* - a polemic with forces like Germany's Red Army Faction and Italy's Red Brigades.

■ 1986/5

**Kurdistan:** Sharp refutation of how nationalism is not sufficient for all the way revolution, *Kurdistan and the Prospects for Red Political Power.* Including *Ibrahim Kaypakkaya on the Kurdish National Question.*

**Bangladesh:** An analysis of the growing political ferment and the political forces in the field in this *Tinderbox.*

■ 1986/6

**Peru:** *"This Blood That Has Been Spilt Shall Never Be Forgotten"* - the heroism of hundreds of revolutionary prisoners of war in the face of the massacre at El Fronton prison reverberated throughout the world. Including statements by the PCP Central Committee and the RIM Committee.

**Haiti:** *"The Dechoukage Has Only Just Begun"*. The rebellion then shaking Haiti and the need to uproot relations with imperialism.

■ 1986/7

**Special Issue:** On the 20th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

in China, the highest peak in the proletariat's struggle for communism, celebrated in a year-long campaign under the slogan, *Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao Tsetung!*

This issue consists principally of articles submitted by participating groups in RIM on the Chinese revolution and the lessons learned from Mao Tsetung, and is a key document for understanding the science of revolution and RIM itself.

■ 1987/8

**Peru:** PCP document: *Develop People's War to Serve the World Revolution* - Part 1.

**Philippines:** *An Open Letter to the Communist Party of the Philippines from the Committee of RIM,* expressing RIM's deep concern over developments in the line of the CPP and the danger this poses to the revolutionary character of the party and the People's War it is leading.

**France:** *December 1986 - Student Upsurge in Imperialist France.*

■ 1987/9

**India:** *Naxalbari - 20 years since the clap of spring thunder,* the armed revolt of peasants in the area of Naxalbari, ushering in a new chapter in the struggle of the masses in India.

**Peru:** PCP document: *Develop People's War to Serve the World Revolution* - Part 2.

■ 1988/10

**The Gulf Fulcrum:** Focus on the Iran-Iraq war, with a *Call to Fill up the Gulf with the Crowns of Imperialists and Tyrants!*

On the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution: *The Winds of October Still Blow!*

**Burkina Faso:** *Why You Can't Make Revolution without the Masses.*

**Perestroika:** *Gorbachev - the Soul of Capital Personified:* on phony Soviet communism and Gorbachev's real goal of improving capitalism.

■ 1988/11

**Palestine:** *Let the Intifada Pave the Way for People's War!* - a focus on the Palestinian youths' heroic uprising, and a look at who are their friends and who are their enemies.

**Sri Lanka:** On the Indo-Lanka accords: how a peace agreement conceals an attack on the Tamil liberation struggle.

**Peru:** PCP documents From the First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru, including "On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" and "On Gonzalo Thought".

■ 1989/12

**The 1960s in the Imperialist Citadels:** a look 20 years later at the eruptions that shook the US and Europe, and some lessons for revolutionaries today.

**Philippines:** *The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the False Friends of the Filipino Revolution.* A critique of a major statement by the CPP Chairman.

**Colombia:** *The Strategy of Insurrection vs People's War:* the lessons of Mao Tsetung and the Chinese revolution for Colombia.

**Soviet Union:** *Trouble Brewing in the USSR:* a first-hand account.

■ 1989/13

A special issue to: Celebrate the 5th Anniversary of the Formation of RIM! With a photo essay.

**Peru:** *People's War Prepares a New Stage:* an account of the recent resounding advances by the PCP-led revolutionary war.

**Bangladesh:** *Masses Will End*

*Man-made Floods* – a supporter of the PBSP looks at imperialism, nature and floods; and how the Chinese revolution mastered floods.

#### ■ 1988/14

**China:** In the wake of the massacre in Tienanmen Square, a Maoist look at the restoration of capitalism in China and lessons from the pre-1976 period of proletarian rule. Including important analyses written under Mao's leadership.

**Cuba:** *Notes on the Political Economy of Cuba: Burn Down the Cane Fields!* The title provocatively reflects the Maoist conclusion that Castro failed to carry out agrarian revolution and rupture with imperialism – Part 1.

*The War on Drugs is a War on the People:* An exposure of the US imperialists' so-called war on drugs, and how this covers for its counter-insurgency against the People's War in Peru.

#### ■ 1990/15

In the wake of the **Collaps of Revisionism in the East**, a fresh look at what is meant by socialism, with important reprints from Mao and the Chinese Communists, commentaries by RIM organizations, first-hand accounts.

Speech by PCP Chairman Gonzalo: *On the 40th Anniversary of the Chinese Revolution.*

**Cuba:** Part 2 of *Notes on the Political Economy of Cuba.*

#### ■ 1991 /16

**Gulf:** *The US-Led Aggressors Will Not Go Unpunished!* Statements by RIM organizations and the RIM Committee on the U.S aggression in the Gulf.

**Peru:** *Our Red Flag Is Flying in Peru* – an important analysis of advances made by the People's War, and the worldwide "Yankee Go Home!" solidarity campaign.

Document by the Revolutionary Communists of Afghanistan on **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.**

#### ■ 1992/17

The worldwide imperialist offensive proclaiming the "death of communism" saw the outbreak of a fierce two-line struggle within RIM. Here Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, USA, affirms the right of the proletariat and oppressed masses to rise up in revolution, wielding **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, in Democracy: More than Ever We Can and Must Do Better than That.** A polemic against a social-democratic revision of Marxism by K Venu of the former Communist Party of India (ML), entitled *On Proletarian Democracy.*

**Peru:** *People's War Reaches Strategic Equilibrium – Communism Marches Forward in Peru.* Latest developments in the revolutionary war.

#### ■ 1992/18

This issue focuses on Peru, and particularly on the campaign to Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo (Dr Abimael Guzman), captured by the US-backed Fujimori regime in Sept 1992, including reports and analysis from the International Emergency Campaign. Also included is the lengthy *Interview with Chairman Gonzalo* in 1988, in which he addresses a range of political and ideological questions concerning the People's War, Maoism and the fight for world proletarian revolution. Also a report on the fierce resistance to another prison massacre in Canto Grande, and excerpts from a 1991 PCP Central Committee document, *Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War.*

#### ■ 1993/19

This issue features coverage of the "Celebrate the Mao Centenary!" campaign carried out by revolutionaries worldwide. It includes a pathbreaking new survey from a Maoist viewpoint of the life of one of the main leaders of the Cultural Revolution, **Chiang Ching: The Revolutionary Ambitions of a Communist Leader.**

**Chairman Gonzalo:** Reprint of a talk by Chairman Gonzalo in conjunction with

the rectification campaign in 1991, addressing questions of philosophy, the Cultural Revolution, and the situation in Peru, the world and in the PCP.

**IEC:** A report from the founding conference of the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Dr Abimael Guzman.

#### ■ 1995/20

A major new document from RIM, as the Movement takes a leap forward by adopting MLM as its ideology: *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!* Also RIM's analysis *On the World Situation.*

**Mexico:** *The Chiapas Peasant Uprising: A Call to Arms!* Analysis of the uprising, along with a substantial look at the political economy of the Mexican countryside: *Agrarian Revolution and Semi-feudalism.*

**Peru:** Further excerpts from the PCP CC document *Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War*, analyzing the prospects for the development of the revolution, along with reports from the campaign to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, and how imperialism plunders Peru.

**South Africa:** *Changing of the Guard in South Africa.* Deals with questions raised by the recent political changes there, and poses the Maoist alternative of New Democratic Revolution.

#### ■ SPANISH EDITION

Current and most back issues available.

For details contact: Juan López Pérez, Apdo. 21-098. Coyoacan, 04021 México, D.F. México.

#### ■ OTHER LANGUAGE EDITIONS:

Most issues of *A World to Win* are available in Farsi and Turkish. Selected articles available in Arabic, Italian, French and German.

#### A WORLD TO WIN

Air mail, institution and trade rates available upon request. Please send your name, postal address, cheque and the issue number with which to begin your subscription, to one of the following addresses:

For **SOUTH ASIAN** subscriptions, Rs.80 for four issues, write to: A World to Win (Regd. Office), 39/2507, Dewans Road, Kochi-16, Kerala, India 682016 Fax (91) (484) 380113 A Fax must include the reference number A/c 214, pp 364005

For **NORTH AMERICAN** subscriptions, write to: A World to Win, North American Distributors, c/o Revolution Books, 9 West 19th Street New York, New York 10011 USA. Fax (1) (212) 645-1952

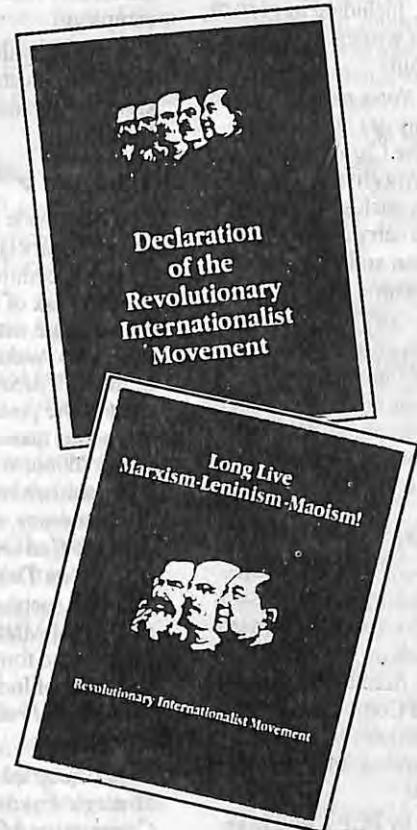
For **ALL OTHER AREAS**, £ 8 for four issues, write to: A World to Win, 27 Old Gloucester Street, London WC1N 3XX, UK. Fax: (44) (171) 831 9489, Ref W6787. A Fax must include the reference number.

**NOTE:** Send all correspondence and other materials to: A World to Win, 27 Old Gloucester Street, London WC1N 3XX, UK.

# ***The Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!***

## **Signatories of the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and Participating Organizations in RIM**

Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist)  
Communist Party of Afghanistan  
Communist Party of Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist) [BSD(ML)]  
Communist Party of Peru  
Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist [TKP/ML]  
Haitian Revolutionary Internationalist Group  
Marxist-Leninist Communist Organization of Tunisia  
Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)  
Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)  
Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP) [Bangladesh]  
RedWorker Communist Organization [Italy]  
Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia  
Revolutionary Communist Party USA  
Union of Communists of Iran (Sarbedaran)



In addition to the above list of those whose participation in the Movement has been publicly announced by the Committee, a number of other organizations work closely with the Movement to advance its cause and build and strengthen vanguard communist organizations.

The Central Reorganization Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has dissolved itself. RIM still includes in it MLM forces from India who are struggling to regroup.

The *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* has been printed in over 20 languages: Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Danish, English (2 editions, Indian and US), Farsi, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Kannada, Kurdish, Malayalam, Nepalese, Punjabi, Spanish (4 editions – Colombian, Peruvian, Spanish and US), Tamil, Turkish.

And *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!* is also available in many of the above languages.

**Order From:** BCM RIM, WC1N 3XX, London, U.K.

*Declaration* -£2.00 *Long Live MLM* - £1.00 plus £1.00 postage

TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ

A WORLD

UN MONDE A GAGNER KAZANILACAK DÜNYA عالم نزيحہ عالم نزيحہ

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR जीतनेके लिए सारा विश्व है UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE

A *World to Win* has been inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, announced on March 12th, 1984, which has regrouped many Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations from around the world. It is not an official organ of RIM. Its pages are open to all those on the same side of the barricades in the fight against imperialism and reaction.

**STEP FORWARD!**

A *World to Win* cannot accomplish its tasks without the active support of its readers. Letters, articles and criticism are needed and welcome. Manuscripts should be typed double spaced. In addition we need translators, help with distribution (including through commercial channels) to make this magazine available in as many countries as possible, art work (as well as clippings and original photos), and financial contributions from those who understand the importance of the continued publication of this magazine. This includes both individual contributions and the efforts of those who undertake the responsibility for raising funds for this magazine. Send pledges and donation cheques made out to "A World to Win".

Send all correspondence and other materials to:  
A World to Win  
27 Old Gloucester Street  
London WC1N 3XX, U.K.  
Fax: (44) (171) 831 9489 Ref: W6787  
Faxes MUST include the reference number.

EINE WELT ZU GEWINNEN विश्व विजय

Once, as he grew older, Karl Marx reflected on his lifetime in the revolutionary movement, and remarked that the battles he had fought against opportunists at close quarters had almost been as consuming as the overall struggle against the bourgeoisie itself. Indeed, since the founding of Marxism, the battle against the ideology of the bourgeoisie inside the revolutionary movement has been an inseparable part of fighting to continue to advance along the revolutionary road.

It is not surprising then that, only a few issues after *AWTW* focused on the struggle against K. Venu revision-

ism in India, this edition of the journal is devoted exclusively to the two-line struggle that erupted within the Communist Party of Peru. From October 1993, the first anniversary of the capture of PCP Chairman Gonzalo, when Peruvian President Fujimori announced that there had been a call from within the PCP for peace negotiations, a great deal of the attention of the world's revolutionaries has been centred on the struggle within the PCP. The main documents in this two-line struggle are gathered here, so that the struggle waged so far and the understanding accumulated can be put at the

service of *AWTW* readers, and this two-line struggle can become a great school of revolution.

This two-line struggle will have important consequences not only on the People's War raging in Peru today, but also on the entire world revolutionary movement. This reflects the fact that the People's War there is the most important revolutionary struggle going on in the world today. Its outcome cannot help but profoundly affect the fight to prepare for and launch People's Wars elsewhere. The most basic reason this is true, however, is that the challenge mounted by the

## Carry the Two-Line Struggle



The major two-line struggles of the Cultural Revolution became an enormous school where the masses grappled with the questions of state and society and further prepared themselves to be masters of society.

Right Opportunist Line against the PCP and the People's War is an assault on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism itself, which has been the line guiding the People's War from its beginning. It concentrates questions that are key not only for the immediate battle to maintain and advance the People's War in Peru, but also for all those who seek revolution anywhere in the world.

As Mao Tsetung summed up, the struggle and opposition of different ideas is a constant feature of the revolutionary movement. He pointed out that this reflects the contradictions between classes and between the new and

the old in society. An important textbook of the Chinese Communist Party written under Mao's leadership stated that, "Class struggle in society inevitably has its reflection inside the Party, and this appears in a concentrated fashion in the form of the two-line struggle within the Party – this is also an objective law. The reason why there can be no doubt that class struggle in society has its reflection in the Party is that our Party does not live in a vacuum, but in a society in which classes exist, and it is possible for bourgeois ideology, the force of old habits and international revisionist trends of thought

to affect and poison our Party organism.... The ten major two-line struggles which our Party has gone through in the course of its 50 year history have all been reflections inside the Party of the class struggle on the national and international levels...."

Two-line struggle between Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and revisionism is thus not something that can be prevented if the party leaders' policies are "good enough". It is not something that can be wished away, any more than can the need for People's War itself. It is an inevitable feature of the class struggle. While two-line strug-

## Through to the End!



ABOVE LEFT: Peasants criticize Lin Biao who wanted to reverse the revolution. ABOVE RIGHT: utilizing big-character posters to criticize the revisionist Deng Xiaoping.

gle is sometimes at a low tide, at other times it breaks out into a high tide and can sweep away the revolutionary party, as a revisionist headquarters emerges to fight to overthrow the revolutionary line and leadership of the party. But if the party and its leadership meet the challenge, waging this two-line struggle can lead to leaps forward in the revolutionary process. Meeting such tests of strength is part of the process Marx described as the proletariat making itself fit to rule.

All this is amply borne out by the experience of the world proletarian revolution. At the time of the First International, Marx fought the anarchist Proudhon, helping pave the way for the Paris Commune and developing principles that would later help Lenin lay the foundations of a new type of revolutionary party. But Lenin's breakthrough on the communist party only came about in the course of his own fierce two-line struggle against the reformist politics of the Mensheviks. At the time, this seemed to be an obscure struggle in a small member party of the Second International. Yet the leaps Lenin led the Bolsheviks in making — encapsulated in the pathbreaking work, *What Is To Be Done?* — were key for preparing the party to wage armed insurrection and civil war a few years later.

Another momentous struggle erupted with the outbreak of World War 1 and the wave of capitulation that swept over the 2nd International. Here too Lenin and the Bolsheviks seemed to be a small party of thousands criticizing the leaders of the more established millions-strong Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe, who said there was no choice but to “defend the fatherland”. Yet the revolutionary internationalist line the Bolsheviks fought for was indispensable to leading the masses of Russia against their own ruling class in the October Revolution which followed shortly thereafter.

Some were surprised when such struggle erupted even *after* the revolutionaries had seized power: once the old exploiters have been overthrown, what basis is there for inner party struggle, they reasoned. Yet, for example, Stalin's struggle against Trotsky was decisive for whether the Bolsheviks would go forward to build socialism in the USSR, over Trotsky's protest that this was impossible. Out of this struggle emerged a number of

vital points that are part of the core understanding of Maoists today, including the possibility of constructing a socialist society in a single country if necessary, the two-stage character of the revolution in the oppressed countries, and many others.

The understanding we have today of two-line struggle was developed by Mao Tsetung, as a key part of his development of Marxism-Leninism to a new, third and higher stage, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It was in the cauldron of the Cultural Revolution in China that this understanding was forged, and the greatest two-line struggle ever waged. Here in the introduction to this issue, it is only possible to touch briefly on the GPCR.\* Mao not only analyzed the nature of the two-line struggle in the party, as indicated above, he also showed that the masses themselves in their millions were capable of taking up and resolving the cardinal political and ideological questions facing a society. The revolutionary headquarters in the party led the workers and peasants to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to beat back the efforts of the new bourgeoisie to restore capitalism, as had happened in the USSR. They led the masses to engage in mass debates on issues of state, the organization of work and society, even questions of philosophy, science and the arts. In every sphere, struggle was waged to uproot the revisionist line and put revolutionary politics in command.

The bourgeoisie and their scholars and revisionist underlings have often tried to slander the Cultural Revolution as a power struggle between cliques at the top of the CCP. According to this view, the masses in the GPCR were cynically manipulated by Mao and the revolutionaries. This same line of attack, that the GPCR was nothing but a bourgeois power struggle at the top ranks of the party, is echoed by so-called communist critics as well. This was a hallmark of Albanian Party of Labour leader Enver Hoxha's attack on Mao after the latter's death and the reversal of proletarian rule in China. Some others, who did not agree with Hoxha's reactionary conclusions that Mao was a “nationalist”, a “populist”, and so on, still tended to share some of Hoxha's method of thinking, especially

his inability to grasp the real nature of the two-line struggle in China. They speculated out loud about why Mao did not simply dismiss the revisionists in the Party by administrative methods and be done with them.

Mao gave a remarkable interview in 1967 to the Albanian military delegation: “Mao answered the delegation's question, ‘What do you believe is the goal of the Great Cultural Revolution?’ [Voices respond, ‘to struggle against the capitalist roaders within the party’.] Mao said:

“Struggling against the capitalist roaders is the principal task, but in no way is it the goal. The goal is to resolve the problem of world outlook; it is the question of pulling up the roots of revisionism.

“The Central Committee has emphasized many times that the masses must educate and liberate themselves, the world view cannot be imposed upon them. To transform ideology it is necessary that external causes work through internal causes, although these latter are principal. What would victory in the Cultural Revolution be if it did not transform world outlook? If the world view is not transformed the 2000 capitalist roaders of today will become 4000 the next time.” (This entire article is reprinted in *A World to Win*, 1985/1.)

Thus for Mao waging two-line struggle was intimately connected not only to the immediate objective of overthrowing the revisionists who were seeking to take China back down the capitalist road (as ultimately happened, after Mao's death), but also to the more sweeping battle to dig up the roots of bourgeois ideology itself.

One of the features of the two-line struggle in the PCP has been the heavy involvement of the enemy police apparatus. It was Fujimori himself who announced the initial call for peace accords, and claimed that this call originated from Chairman Gonzalo — yet Fujimori has continued to hold Comrade Gonzalo in complete isolation. The involvement of the direct hand of the enemy in such struggles is not, however, unusual, and does not change the point that challenges on key questions of line at important junctures in the class struggle cannot go unmet, if the party is determined to persevere on the revolutionary road. Indeed, waging the two-line struggle on key questions of line is one of the most important ways that the enemy's

\* AWTW 1986/7, special issue on Mao and the GPCR is available upon request.

efforts at manipulation and its manoeuvring room can be minimized.

The documents in this issue of *AWTW* are gathered here for the purpose of carrying out the two-line struggle, in order, as the PCP CC urges, "to raise the struggle to the level of line". In this way, people around the world can more fully take part in criticizing, repudiating and defeating the Right Opportunist Line (ROL—LÖD in Spanish). This is not only an important task for those in Peru. There are many political questions involved that are matters of life and death for the world revolutionary movement as a whole. In the process of fully and energetically taking up this two-line struggle, the whole Movement can and must come to a deeper and richer understanding of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principles, particularly of the laws of People's War.

Shortly after Fujimori announced the call for a peace accord, the PCP CC issued a statement of its intention to carry forward with the People's War (page 18). In February 1994, it issued a more in-depth clarification of its stand (page 20), calling for the struggle to be raised to the level of line, explaining its decision to denounce the peace negotiations trend as a Right Opportunist Line and pointing to antecedents to this line in the Party's own history.

In December 1993, meanwhile, RIM affirmed its ongoing support of the People's War with an important resolution, adopted at the same time as the historic document, *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!* This expressed RIM's basic orientation of support for pursuing the People's War until victory (see *AWTW* 1995/20). On this basis, the parties and organizations in RIM and revolutionaries around the world undertook a campaign of intense study and investigation of the two-line struggle, a few of the documents of which are reprinted here. In March 1995, as a result of this process, the RIM Committee issued a historic statement: "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru!" (page 11). This Call makes important summations of the study and investigation carried out and concludes that there is no basis for peace negotiations of any kind today in Peru; it repudiates the Right Opportunist Line, affirms RIM's unconditional support for the PCP CC, and calls on the world revolutionary

movement to intensify support for the People's War.

One important part of the process engaged in by RIM was the summation of the experience of the International Communist Movement in handling key turning points in past revolutionary struggles. The document "Let the Lessons of the Past Fire the Way Forward" (p 23), which was distributed internally to RIM parties and organizations, applies MLM to doing just this. It focuses particularly on the experience of the Bolshevik's negotiations with the German imperialists at Brest-Litovsk in 1918, the negotiations led by Mao Tsetung with Chiang Kaishek at Chungking in 1946, and the experience of the Long March in 1935. The point was not merely to sum up past experience on negotiations, but also to understand the principles on which revolutionaries have conducted negotiations with the enemy (as Mao says, negotiations "must not damage the fundamental interests of the people") and to consider how revolutionary leaders have dealt with turning points *in other ways* as well.

The Union of Communists of Iran (Sarbedaran) wrote a seminal document refuting the major paper prepared by the Right Opportunist Line, called *Asumir*, focusing above all on the dynamics of the People's War itself (page 28). The UIC document polemicizes against the ROL point that the "People's War can only be maintained"; it elaborates on the points that any efforts to negotiate away the basic interests of the people, including the people's army and the base areas, would amount to capitulation; and it deals with the question of renewing leadership after decapitation efforts by the enemy and counters the argument that the objective situation, internationally and in Peru, makes it impossible to pursue the People's War. The UIC document represents a thorough and far-reaching refutation of the ROL, and provides a strong foundation for further study of the questions raised.

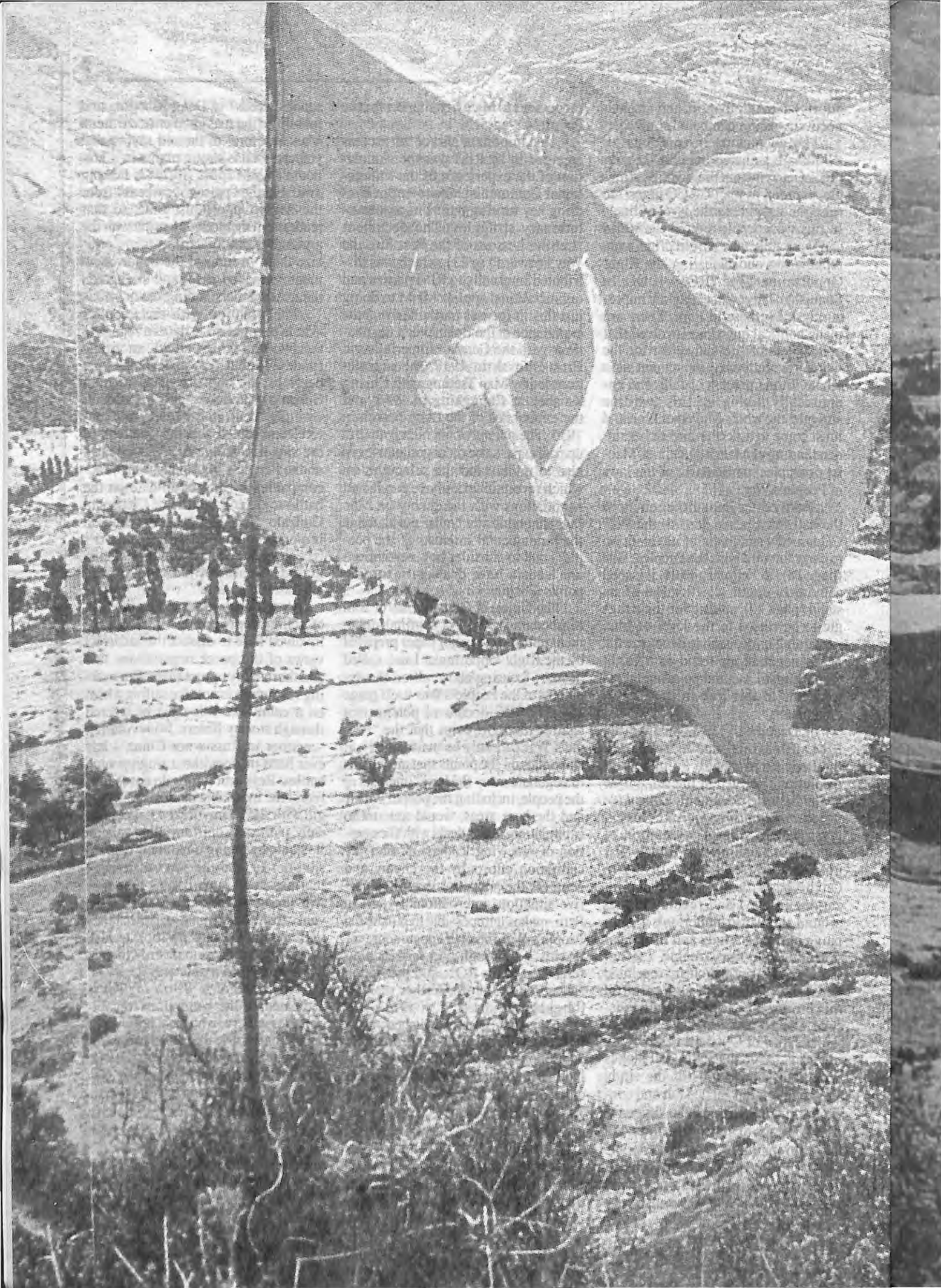
There is a long-established tradition in the ICM of making available "poisonous weeds" to the broad revolutionary movement. This tradition was carried out on a large scale by Mao Tsetung and the Chinese revolutionaries, for example, when they reprinted and distributed the documents by Khrushchev and the Soviet revisionists, and later in the Cultural Revolution, when they distributed the "poi-

sonous weeds" of Deng Xiaoping and mobilized the masses to criticize them. Mao was fond of the old saying that you can't raise strong plants in a hot-house. In this spirit, *AWTW* is making available the "poisonous weeds" from the Right Opportunist Line, so that readers can themselves wrestle with the arguments put forward in them, criticize them in light of the major documents provided here, and strengthen their own understanding.

The situation with the People's War is brought up to date in regard to the two-line struggle with an article (page 34) that traces developments prior to the capture of Chairman Gonzalo, and how the PCP has dealt with the "bend in the road" this capture represented and the outbreak of the two-line struggle, so as to carry on the People's War today. This is accompanied by a brief up-date on the battle to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo. This battle has reached an important juncture with Fujimori's recent public declaration that Chairman Gonzalo will die in prison "within three years".

Some may be daunted by the task of going deeply into the line struggle involved here to dissect the incorrect views of the peace negotiations line and thoroughly uproot them. But making revolution is not like sailing a boat on a calm lake — it must be steered through stormy waters. No revolution — neither in Russia nor China — has ever been made without waging such battles. Revolutionaries do not fear or regret the inevitable outbreak of struggle with the enemy forces — ideologically, politically or in any other sphere. It is only by facing-up to their responsibilities to find the ways of leading the masses in such battles that they will strengthen their muscles and advance their understanding, so that they will one day be in a position to lead the masses forward to destroy the old world and build a new one.

This issue of *A World to Win* is dedicated to the communist revolutionaries of Peru, who have persevered on the path of leading the people of that country forward to this new world, despite the torture chambers and genocide of the enemy, and despite the attacks launched on their revolutionary line by former members of their own ranks. The journal will also serve the international campaign of RIM to "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying In Peru!" ■



# Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru!

— A Call by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to Step Up Support for the Communist Party of Peru and the People's War

28 March 1995

For fourteen years the Communist Party of Peru, a participating party of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, has led broad masses to rise up in arms, defy the rule of the reactionary classes and their imperialist overlords, and wrest political power, bit by bit, for the proletariat and the Peruvian people as part of the whole world proletarian revolution. Those who yearn for an end to exploitation and oppression the world over have correctly seen this People's War as a beacon pointing the direction forward and as living proof of the truth, vitality and power of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, especially when wielded by a vanguard proletarian party and taken up by growing numbers of masses transforming it into a tremendous material force.

These great accomplishments of the revolutionary people of Peru, achievements wrenched from the enemy through fierce struggle and great sacrifice and blood of the communist fighters, workers and peasants of Peru, are under attack, not only from the savage efforts of the reactionary regime aided by international imperialism, but also from a line which emerged from within the PCP itself calling for the abandonment of the People's War.

We call upon the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations, class conscious proletarians and all revolutionary fighters to close ranks with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and urgently step up their activities in support of the People's War in Peru, to fight against the erroneous line, defend the revolution in Peru from all attacks, and support the Central Committee of the PCP, which has been leading the People's War, and to even better fulfill our proletarian internationalist tasks.

The great advances and the contributions of this People's War and of the PCP to the world revolution struck telling blows at the reactionary ruling class in Peru and its imperialist masters, in particular the Yankee imperialists.

The enemies reacted by intensifying their counterinsurgency against the People's War and their repression of the masses of Peru. They carried this out in genocidal dimensions — in massacres, as well as “disappearances”, of masses in the countryside and the cities and mass murders of imprisoned revolutionary fighters. Still, the People's War continued to advance, and by the early part of this decade the imperialists and reactionaries began to speak openly of the danger, for them, of this Maoist People's War actually winning complete victory and seizing nationwide power in Peru. Reacting according to their nature, the imperialists and the ruling classes in Peru, working through the Fujimori regime, carried out a coup representing a further concentration of reactionary state power in the hands of the executive and the armed forces. They stepped up the repression of the masses and their revolutionary leadership, as well as the exploitation of the workers and peasants in general. This took concentrated form in the attempt to decapitate the leadership of the PCP and the People's War. In September of 1992, this led to the capture of Chairman Gonzalo, the main leader of the PCP. A number of other important leaders of the PCP have also been captured and/or killed in the last several years. Chairman Gonzalo, in his historic and inspiring 24 September 1992 speech from the cage in which the Fujimori regime had presented him to the world media, declared that his capture was but “a bend in the road” in the revolutionary struggle and that the People's War must continue until final victory, in the interests of the masses in Peru and in the service of the world proletarian revolution. He spoke to the importance of developing Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties around the world, called particular attention to the role of RIM, and emphasized the prospect and the need for Maoism to be the commander and guide of a gathering wave of world revolution.

Despite this bend in the road, the People's War continued. Reaffirming the Party's basis of unity and reinforced by Chairman Gonzalo's speech, the Communist Party of Peru, led by its Central Committee, with firmness in principle and flexibility in tactics, beat back the enemies' efforts to crush the revolution, and developed the People's War under these new conditions, maintaining the Party, the People's Liberation Army and the core of the base areas. Internationally, RIM launched a worldwide campaign to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo which mobilized tens of thousands of revolutionaries and progressives on all continents, whose actions struck at the Fujimori regime and its U.S. masters and gave heart to the struggling people of Peru.

It was in this context that, one year later, a call was issued for negotiations to “reach a peace accord to put an end to thirteen years of People's War”, which the Fujimori regime attributed to Chairman Gonzalo. The Central Committee of the PCP pledged to carry forward the war and denounced the regime for fabricating a hoax.<sup>1</sup> A group of people historically associated with the PCP, centred mainly in the prisons but finding at least some support from PCP members and sympathizers outside of prison and abroad, called upon the whole Party to “fight for a peace accord”. It thus quickly became apparent that a crucial two-line struggle had erupted within the PCP, focusing on the question of a peace accord but involving a whole series of questions facing the revolution in Peru and the world. This initial evaluation was further reinforced by the appearance of documents with alarming arguments that went against basic Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principles and against established positions of RIM.<sup>2</sup>

Since the communist movement is always an international movement, the outbreak of the two-line struggle affecting the most important struggle in the world today could not help but have serious implications for RIM. This is all the more true since the PCP has contributed greatly to the political and ideological development of RIM itself, especially in the recently culminated struggle to adopt and unite around Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Indeed, this two-line struggle represents the most important struggle that our Movement had faced since its formation in 1984. A line struggle whose resolution not only determines the future development of the revolution in Peru but has great consequences for RIM and the whole international communist movement.

In these circumstances, it was incumbent upon RIM not only to continue its support for the People's War in Peru but also to join this two-line struggle: to undertake the necessary investigation, study, discussion and struggle to achieve a correct and comprehensive understanding of all the questions involved and on that basis render the most powerful support to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line and the comrades carrying it forward in Peru.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism had to be applied to the questions involved in the struggle. This included a study of the history of negotiations in the international communist movement — both positive and negative examples — as well as a study of ways other than negotiations through which the communist movement has responded to important twists and turns in the revolutionary struggle. It has been necessary to deeply study and apply the basic Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principles of people's war. On this basis, the Committee of RIM (CoRIM) established the two basic criteria for evaluating the call for a peace accord:

**Do the proposed negotiations serve the task of seizing political power through revolutionary warfare, regardless of what stages or turns this warfare may go through, or are they aimed at returning to the pre-war situation of 1980 — a protracted period in which no revolutionary armed struggle existed?**

**While certain compromises may prove to be necessary, do the proposed negotiations safeguard the "fundamental interests of the people" referred to by Mao, that is, the essential core of people's power and the revolutionary armed forces?<sup>3</sup>**

With these two criteria in mind, a many-sided investigation was undertaken, going as thoroughly as possible into a number of questions:

- the objective situation in Peru in the context of the world situation;
- the strengths and weaknesses of the two contending forces in Peruvian society: the masses and their revolutionary struggle taking its highest form as the People's War led by the PCP, on the one side, and the "three mountains" of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism now ruling through the Fujimori regime, on the other;
- the developments and struggle within the PCP itself;
- the actual role and position of Chairman Gonzalo in relation to the call for a peace accord, as well as his conditions of confinement and treatment at the hands of the Fujimori regime;

— the content and purpose of the call and the negotiated settlement which is its stated goal.

This investigation has aimed at determining whether any pro-negotiations position, even if it should involve some kind of temporary and partial retreat by the revolutionary forces and perhaps even some kind of formal agreement with the other side, would not give up all the hard-won gains of the People's War, would not disband the people's army and would not give up all the base areas of the People's War, even if certain areas had to be pulled back from temporarily. In short, to see if such a position would not abandon the revolutionary road but would be part of carrying forward the People's War overall, through necessary twists and turns. It has been necessary to evaluate both the subjective and objective aspects of this question: what has been the intent of those promoting the call for negotiations; and does this call in any case correspond to the objective situation, to the needs of the masses and the revolutionary struggle at this point, *and* is there any basis — in terms of the freedom and necessity of the revolutionary camp on the one hand and the reactionary camp on the other — for achieving a peace accord that would not represent abandoning the revolutionary road and compromising away the fundamental interests of the people?

Of great importance has been learning and understanding more deeply the position and analysis of the Central Committee of the PCP on the questions involved.

---

### CONCLUSIONS:

---

Through this process the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has reached the following conclusions:

1. *Objectively and irrespective of the intentions of those who are arguing for it, the call for negotiations to reach a peace accord and the arguments, or rationalizations, put forward in defence and elaboration of this call, do not represent a necessary and justified compromise but rather a compromise of the fundamental interests of the people and an abandonment of the People's War and the revolutionary road.*

2. The specific terms proposed for a peace accord, the "eleven point proposal", would lead to the disarming of the People's Liberation Army and to the dismantling of the Base Areas, effectively abandoning the fruits of the revolution and leaving the masses at the mercy of the reactionary classes and their armed forces.<sup>4</sup>

3. The argumentation, or rationalizations, put forward in defence and in elaboration of this call are arguments against the very possibility of maintaining and carrying through to victory the People's War in Peru. These arguments go against the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the need and possibility for the protracted people's war to develop and seize political power.<sup>5</sup>

4. In a fundamental sense, revolutionary warfare led by the proletariat, once embarked upon, must continue until one of the two opposing sides has been defeated. It cannot be turned on and off at will as a mere pressure tactic to achieve concessions from the reactionary state. The means and goals of Marxist-Leninist-

Maoist forces are fundamentally different than those of the warfare of other classes, for even when such warfare is opposed to the reactionary state, it does not and cannot aim for the very destruction of that reactionary state and the establishment of the rule of the masses.

The twists and turns of the revolutionary struggle, the relative strengths and weaknesses of the opposing camps, changes in the objective situation and so forth sometimes make it necessary for Communists to make substantial adjustments in their strategy and tactics, including retreats as well as advances. In some cases, these necessary adjustments have taken military expressions — such as the Long March led by Mao in the course of the Chinese Revolution. At other times, communists do not reject negotiations or even reaching possible agreements with reactionary ruling classes as tactics which may be possible and necessary as a result of concrete developments in the revolutionary struggle and in the context of a correct revolutionary strategy and perspective.<sup>6</sup>

*However, in the actual circumstances and given the relation of class forces at this stage in Peru, there is, from the standpoint of the proletariat, no need for and no correct basis for negotiations leading to the end of the People's War. There is no basis — in terms of the freedom and necessity of the revolutionary camp on the one hand and the reactionary camp on the other — for achieving a peace accord that would not represent abandoning the revolutionary road and compromising away the fundamental interests of the people. Under these circumstances, the only kind of peace accord which would be accepted by the Fujimori regime — and more generally by the ruling classes in Peru and their imperialist masters — is an agreement to end the war on a basis that could not benefit but would harm the revolutionary process in Peru. Therefore, a proposal for peace accords to end the war could only lead to opportunism and must be combatted.*

5. The present international situation is not marked by a period of world peace and the settling of conflicts. Peace agreements such as that reached in Palestine reflect the imperialists' efforts to incorporate non-proletarian forces (such as nationalists and revisionists) as gendarmes of U.S. imperialism's self-proclaimed "new world order". These types of peace accords are directed against the masses. Genuine revolutionary struggle led by Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, which represents the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, will continue to be viciously opposed by world imperialism and reaction.

The current world situation, despite contradictory features, is favourable for the initiating, developing and advancing of the revolutionary armed struggle for power. The collapse of the Soviet Union (and with it the East bloc) is the collapse of a reactionary social-imperialist power, a great enemy of the world proletarian revolution, and does not mean the people must stop or suspend their revolutionary struggle.

6. The reactionary Peruvian state represents imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in that country and is a tool of its Yankee overlords. The reactionary state has no long-term solution to the crisis it is facing and can only offer more exploitation, oppression and misery to the masses of people. Only New Democratic Revolution and the subsequent advance to socialism can save Peru.

7. Chairman Gonzalo remains in extreme conditions of confinement at the hands of the reactionary regime, denied contact with lawyers, kept in isolation, refused the visits of five distinguished international delegations and placed upon what the regime boasts is an "information diet". The Fujimori regime is notorious for its murder, lies, manipulations and physical and psychological abuse of prisoners of war. Under these circumstances, one cannot accept indirect and unverifiable communications attributed to Chairman Gonzalo as representative of his thinking, and the fight must continue for an end to his isolation.

It is clear that the negotiations line runs contrary to the basic line of the PCP which has led the People's War forward and which was forged under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo. It is important to continue to try to determine Chairman Gonzalo's current views. The key question, however, is the line, not its author.

Chairman Gonzalo's tremendous contributions in developing the PCP's line for the Peruvian revolution have taken place in the course of concentrating the experience and knowledge of the whole Party and leading it forward as part of the international communist movement. The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line forged by the PCP under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo is both a product of the struggle of the masses in their millions and, in turn, has further enabled the masses to take history into their own hands and transform the world. It is precisely this process of "from the masses, to the masses" and the Party's chain of knowledge based on its system of democratic centralism that the regime is severing through the isolation of Chairman Gonzalo. This is a major reason why the battle to gain access to him must be carried through to a victorious conclusion.

8. The CoRIM salutes the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru for its firm, vigorous and correct opposition to the right opportunist line, which would bring defeat to the People's War in Peru and a serious setback for the whole international communist movement. The Central Committee has boldly and courageously carried forward the People's War amidst the difficult conditions created by the capture of Chairman Gonzalo and other blows to the Party. The greatest difficulty facing the Party is the right opportunist line itself and the actions of those who are promoting it.

*It is the internationalist duty of our Movement as a whole, as well as of the Committee as the embryonic political centre of RIM, to contribute all we can to the waging of the two-line struggle against the right opportunist line of negotiations for a peace accord, to assisting the Central Committee of the PCP in carrying out this two-line struggle on the strongest basis and with the most powerful effect, and to helping strengthen the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist leadership and line guiding the People's War in Peru and carrying it forward on that basis, through whatever twists and turns, toward the goal of nationwide political power and the ultimate aim of communism, worldwide.*

9. Since its formation in 1984, the development of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has been inextricably linked with the Communist Party of Peru. The PCP has been leading the most important revolutionary struggle in the world today, illuminating the shining path of people's war for the whole world to see. This has had an even more resounding echo on all continents as the PCP has

carried out its struggle consciously and avowedly as part of the world proletariat's revolutionary march toward communism and has done so as a vital part of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the emerging political centre of the international communist movement.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, stands even more firmly united with its comrades of the Communist Party of Peru, reaffirming our support and determined to fulfill our responsibilities. The CoRIM calls upon the entire Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces the world over to take up the battle to defend the People's War in Peru and support the comrades of the Communist Party of Peru in the struggle to preserve the revolutionary achievements, defeat the right opportunist line and march forward toward nationwide victory as part of the world proletarian revolution.

Those who have been confused by the right opportunist line or stumbled off the revolutionary path should repudiate this line, oppose and counter the damage being caused by this line and its adherents, and retake the revolutionary road.

Let the fight against the right opportunist line serve as a fiery cauldron forging even greater unity of our movement and refining its steel to the highest quality. Let this furnace of two-line struggle also serve as a great school of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, revealing the difference between real and sham Marxism, and helping revolutionaries around the world to understand the necessities of the hour and to fulfill them.

**Support the Central Committee of the PCP!**

**Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Down with the Right Opportunist Line!**

**Support the People's War in Peru!**

**Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo, Fight to Break the Isolation!**

---

## FOOTNOTES

---

<sup>1</sup> This 7 October 1993 statement is reprinted in this issue.

<sup>2</sup> A number of articles proposing the erroneous line of fighting for a peace accord have appeared, the most notable being "Take Up and Fight for the New Decision and New Definition" ("*Asumir y Combatir por la Nueva Decisión y Nueva Definición*" in the original Spanish), reprinted in this issue.

<sup>3</sup> These two criteria are taken from the circular of June 1994 reprinted elsewhere in this issue.

<sup>4</sup> The "eleven point peace proposal" was widely distributed by pro-negotiation prisoners in Peru. It has also been reprinted in a number of Peruvian publications, and is reprinted in this issue.

<sup>5</sup> The Union of Communists of Iran (Sarbedaran) wrote an important criticism of the main arguments contained in "Take Up and Fight for the New Decision and New Definition" (*Asumir*) and other articles reflecting the same line. This criticism was prepared at the request of the CoRIM, and is reprinted in this issue.

<sup>6</sup> See the aforementioned June 1994 CoRIM circular and the UIC(S) article for a discussion both of the historical experience of using negotiations and the experience of the Long March in China.

# Workers of the World, Unite!

## Declaration by the PCP

The Communist Party of Peru, the organized vanguard of the proletariat, was reconstituted through more than fifteen years of hard-fought struggle by Chairman Gonzalo as a Party of a new type based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. Taking up its historic and inalienable role of fighting for political power for the people and the proletariat, in May 1980 it unfurled to the wind the red, flaming banner of rebellion. Thus it ignited the invincible and rising flames of the People's War that under the just and correct leadership of Chairman Gonzalo in 1991 reached the stage of strategic equilibrium and today advances powerfully in its inexorable march towards the seizure of nationwide power and the establishment of the People's Republic of Peru.

In more than thirteen years of battles and victories, the People's War has taken deep root in our country. It is the torchbearer of the World Proletarian Revolution, for it is the living expression of the validity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, that has been creatively applied to the conditions of the Peruvian revolution by Chairman Gonzalo, giving rise to Gonzalo Thought.

Amidst resounding and powerful actions, we are successfully carrying out the Fourth Strategic Plan to Develop People's War to Seize Political Power and the Sixth and penultimate military plan to Build the Seizure of Power. Having completed the first campaign of the military plan, we have powerfully initiated the second cam-

paign: In Defence of the Headquarters, Against the Genocidal Dictatorship! Thus we have further developed the democratic path that has become the road of people's liberation.

On the other hand, the bureaucratic capitalist road, which is going through the worst general crisis in the history of the Republic, and the regime headed by the murderous sell-out puppet Fujimori, Yankee imperialism's most obedient flunkey, are in an ever worsening situation. The measures adopted only provide fleeting florescence and general bankruptcy, while the regime faces more and more difficulties in applying its three counter-revolutionary tasks: revive bureaucratic capitalism, restructure the old state and wipe out the People's War. Reality has shown that accomplishing these goals is an historic and political impossibility. Of the three, restructuring has become their main task, and just as they took a step towards absolute centralization with the April 5th coup, so also are they carrying out their "referendum", through which they must get their travesty of a constitution approved any way they can and take another step in Fujimori's presidential absolutism, making the state even more reactionary. Thus the referendum takes on a crucial role for the murderous dictatorship. Even more than before, they must resort to any means necessary, including using their well known method of fraud to guarantee victory.

To serve these counter-revolutionary aims, and in desperation and im-

potence in the face of the advance of the People's War and as part of the psychological warfare that is part of the "low-intensity warfare" they are waging, they have mounted an evil and perverse hoax. On the one hand its useless aim is to slander Chairman Gonzalo and to continue with their premeditated, treacherous and demented plan to kill him. On the other hand, it is an attempt to peddle their rotten dream of "Sendero's capitulation". This is just one of the many lies that the reactionaries periodically spread, this time trotted out by that genocidal sell-out puppet who is hanging from the bayonets of the Armed Forces, advised by the traitor Montesinos and the murderer Luza [a SIN psychologist, once convicted of murder, in charge of psychological warfare — *AWTW*] under the orders of Yankee imperialism, principally through the sinister CIA. All this is a vain attempt to defeat the People's War. It is nothing but a clumsy and ridiculous hoax that nobody with an ounce of brains could take seriously. It will go up in smoke like the previous hoaxes when confronted by the unstoppable whirlwind of the People's War, which is intensifying the class struggle and whose violent sharpening can be seen in the wave of strikes and massive demonstrations. This shows that the developing revolutionary situation is getting ever stronger and will unfold into a revolutionary crisis.

Today, on the first anniversary of Chairman Gonzalo's historic and

# Central Committee

masterful speech; which shines victoriously and defiantly before the world, his powerful and relevant words strengthen even more the optimism of communists and the people, while making the reactionaries tremble with fear. Like mortally wounded beasts, they are drowning amidst their genocide, while launching furious and ridiculous attacks in an effort to cover up the fact that they are rotten to the bone and that their end is near. But we, the revolutionaries, are nearing victory, the seizure of power, because the Party always keeps its word. We are firm followers of what Chairman Gonzalo said: "We once solemnly pledged that we would not lay down our weapons until we reach communism. We must persist in the struggle for communism even if the superpowers or other powers come armed to the teeth with their powerful arsenals. We communists know what we want and what we are struggling for. Nothing should nor can keep us from fulfilling the Party's objectives to serve the people, the proletariat and the world revolution." As we celebrate our glorious Party's 65th anniversary, we reaffirm our Party's unshakable resolve to guide ourselves by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought and to continue the People's War in the service of the world revolution, as well as our pledge to give our lives for Chairman Gonzalo, the Party and the Revolution.

The People's War will inevitably be victorious, and its victory shall be a salvo that will contribute decisively to

the development of the world proletarian revolution. The People's Republic of Peru will become a base area and a trench of struggle for the working class and peoples of the world. We will develop the socialist revolution and through successive cultural revolutions we shall march to our final goal — communism. The Communist Party of Peru takes up its communist responsibility to be the torchbearer and example. But it is Chairman Gonzalo, with his inextinguishable light, all-powerful Gonzalo Thought, who has brought us to this point and who is leading us to the golden, shining goal of communism with a sure and firm hand, as continuator of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao Tsetung. He is contributing decisively to a new development of Marxism.

We are firmly convinced that the Peruvian people, a heroic people fighting under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru, led by Chairman Gonzalo, will achieve complete victory. We take as our own the profound words of our beloved, heroic and respected Chairman Gonzalo, the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist: "Firmly basing ourselves on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, confident and convinced of the triumph of the world proletarian revolution, of the unstoppable march of humanity towards communism and of the far-reaching significance of the victory of the Peruvian Revolution, we must take up with ever greater resolve the seizure of political power nationwide and boldly and firmly struggle for the com-

plete and total triumph of the new social order, socialism and then communism. We must keep in mind the experience of the world revolution and principally our own, as well as the Party's resolution on the eight possibilities and the intervention of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, whether it be direct or indirect, on their own or with allies. We must prepare ourselves in every sphere to confront them, at any time, under any conditions, upholding our unconquerable proletarian ideology and developing the invincible People's War always under the leadership of the Party. We resolve to always confront imperialism and reactionaries with a sea of armed masses to seize power, to establish the People's Republic of Peru and defend it, for the future untarnishable goal of communism. 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 the future into our own hands!"

**Long live Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the party and the revolution!**

**Down with the counterrevolutionary hoax!**

**Long live the Communist Party of Peru! The people's war will inevitably be victorious!**

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

Central Committee  
Communist Party of Peru

Peru, 7 October 1993

REPORT BY THE PCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE

# Reaffirm Our Party Basis of Unity and Build the Seizure of Power

The page numbers refer to the Spanish documents; where available, English references are given in brackets. All italics etc are as in the original. The first part of each quote in parts II and III refers to how the section to be studied begins and the last part of each quote is where the section ends. — AWTW

---

**QUOTATIONS  
FROM CHAIRMAN  
GONZALO**

---

1. "But, furthermore, and this is the basis of every headquarters, revolutions give rise to a thinking that guides them, a result of the application of the universal ideology of the international proletariat to the concrete conditions of each revolution, a guiding thought that is *indispensable to achieve victory and seize power*, and, even more, *to continue the revolution and always keep it on course to the only great goal, communism*, a guiding thought that once it takes a qualitative leap of decisive importance for the revolutionary process it leads, becomes identified with the name of the person who worked it out in theory and practice. In our situation, this phenomenon took the specific form, first of guiding thought, then of the guiding thought of Chairman Gonzalo, and later as *Gonzalo Thought*, because it is the Chairman who by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality gave rise to it, thus supplying the Party and the revolution with an in-

*dispensable arm that guarantees victory.*"

— Ist Party Congress, "On Gonzalo Thought", p 3

2. "We have held the First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru... a Marxist Congress, a Congress of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. This Congress... for the prospective seizure of power. I reiterate prospective." ["Interview with Chairman Gonzalo", p 35, AWTW 1992/18, p 47.]

3. "Finally, see that *we could not carry forward everything the Party is leading without guiding by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought*, our ideology and the starting point of the Party's Basis of Unity. We should reaffirm it today more than ever, because it's under attack, it's the object of calumnies, it's being negated; we should maintain the absolute conviction that it is all-powerful because it is true, that is the reality, but simply, but as solid as a rock, after all, all that idealist word-play will fade away and what will remain will be incontrovertible facts. True, *we are going through hard times, but it is incontrovertible that the main trend of history is revolution*, and it will win out, communism will win out and shine all over the world." — Preparatory Session for the II Plenum of the Central Committee, p 2

4. "...it's time to think deeply, since the Party's struggle, by which we mean the *People's War* it is leading, has never stopped for even a moment, the

*Party is never paralyzed, because it is clear on the road to follow, because it is united around the headquarters of Chairman Gonzalo, the Party Basis of Unity, the People's War, the Strategic Development Plan.*

"Once again strategic centralization and tactical decentralization is being given expression, we have plans made up of campaigns, and this continues. A Party united by such elements is strong. We emphasize strategic centralization and tactical decentralization because that's communist practice, and our concrete experience. *Always keep in mind the glorious toil of eleven years of People's War, the People's War cannot be halted.* We should even see it this way: *the leadership could disappear, in part, not all of it, but the leaders who remain should and can continue the plans, the struggle, the People's War; we are steeled in the understanding that the revolution cannot be stopped, cannot be paralyzed.* Chairman Mao taught us, 'We gather our dead, treat our wounded, and continue fighting.'" — "Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War", II Plenum

5. "... We have not yet experienced a big defeat, so that these minor particular circumstances, *this new phase in the war and this sinister converging attack are part of the more complicated circumstances we have to undergo until communism shines on the Earth. They are part of the unevenness, and are testing our responsibility as communists; the Party is showing that it can give rise to a leader-*

ship that corresponds to our reality, to our necessity; we are sufficiently steeled, the risks do not frighten us nor does the danger stop us; this moment is just one more trial – let it be welcome! It is part of the revolutionary process and we are handling it well, as another step in our becoming steeled. The life of communists is struggle, not pleasure. Once, when Marx's daughter asked, what is happiness?, he answered, struggle. Years later Chairman Mao taught that to work is to struggle. We hold tight to all of this; our difficulties can be conquered because we are a new force with a brilliant future."

— "Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War". II Plenum

6. "This convergence of the new revisionist counter-revolutionary offensive in collusion with imperialism dreams of the definitive destruction of Marxism, dreams of sweeping away all that revolution has done, all its achievements, all its heroic action; they want to re-enthroned the old, the rotten domination of reaction during the most obsolete and evil period of imperialism. This has its repercussions, and we see capitulation and monstrous renegacy, this is happening in the petite bourgeoisie, in the upper crust of the working class. The MRTA, for example, is the preacher of capitulation in this country; they spread 'peace', bourgeois democracy, capitulation in the face of imperialism. Capitulationism expresses itself in two aspects: capitulation in the face of Peruvian reaction, and capitulation in the face of world reaction, that's how it always is; their goal is to sell out the revolution. This is pus, which must be wiped out by blood and fire, and that requires strategy and tactics."  
— Preparatory Session for the II Plenum of the Central Committee, p 13

7. "The class, the people, the masses clamour for the development of the People's War to seize power."

"Here the key thing is that the class, the proletariat, the masses, demand the development of the People's War, the deepest interests of the proletariat, the deepest and most real interests of the masses here need People's War and we can't be deaf to the clamour of the masses, the class, the people; the masses demand, command, want, need the People's War;

and we have dared to call upon them to rebel, and we'll continue doing so today, tomorrow and forever, until we fulfill our goal, communism: we have dared to develop a People's War that is victorious, expanding, and threatening, and the masses are increasingly conscious of this necessity because there is no other in this world."

— "Under the Guidance of the Congress, Reorganize the Metropolitan Committee!"

### **I. III CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM. CENTRAL DOCUMENT.**

Reaffirmation of the III Plenum: A glorious, historic and far-reaching Plenum

- Agreement to publish the Report of the III Plenum. Central Document.
- Report (III Plenum)
- Taking a position on it and reaffirming it.

### **II. ON THE APPLICATION OF THE WORK SESSION**

1. Keep in mind the Outline Summation of the Campaign, so as to prepare summation reports on the IInd Campaign. *Outline.*

2. On Yankee imperialism's indirect intervention

- Speech by Chairman Gonzalo
- Document "Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War"

pp 14-16 "Let's pay attention to... the counter-revolutionary action of imperialism will itself generate the anti-imperialist action of the proletariat and the people of the world." [AWTW 1995/20, p 18]

p 13 On ideology as an arm of victory: "with such powerful and highly sophisticated... but they haven't achieved it even today."

p 10 "The three stages... Thus if direct imperialist action were to occur .... and at the same time international support grows and becomes more powerful." [AWTW no. 20, p 16]

- "Let Strategic Equilibrium Shake the Country Even More!"

p 36 Restudy section on low-intensity warfare.

p 43 Point 2. Psy-ops. II Plenum, p 395-407

- May document. "Elections No, People's War, Yes", p 7 (In special issue of *El Diario*)

- On U.S. imperialism's "20 Year Plan" carried out by the armed forces and the puppet Fujimori. *Oiga* magazine no. 647-648.

- Slogan: Yankees, go home! Yankees Out of Peru!

- Let us reaffirm what was laid down by the Work Session on contradictions, principal contradiction and polarization.

- TACTICS: Unite the people in defense of the Headquarters, against the genocidal and national-sellout dictatorship!

3. Report on the application of the work session.

- Introduction.

1) Communication and hook-ups.

2) Principal task. Specific measures.

3) Sending down and applying the Session.

4) Struggle against the counter-revolutionary hoax, and struggle against the main danger, revisionism.

5) Archives, publications, and finances.

6) Conclusions and perspectives.

- Approve the report and salute the fulfillment of the task.

### **III. ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY HOAX AND AGAINST THE BLACK GROUPEL THAT IS RAISING A REVISIONIST AND CAPITULATIONIST RIGHT OPPORTUNIST LINE**

"Revisionism has already lost out... those traitors who try to do so or begin to do so."

— Chairman Gonzalo; "Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p 17 [AWTW 1992/18, p 42]

1. REAFFIRM THE PARTY BASIS OF UNITY AND BUILD THE SEIZURE OF POWER AMIDST PEOPLE'S WAR!

a) "Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War" II Plenum. Introductory and final parts. Reproduce the document.

b) Our Party Basis of Unity sanctioned in the First Party Congress.

- Reaffirm it. Unleash a mass movement of reaffirmation of the Party Basis of Unity in the whole Party. People's Liberation Army and the masses of the New Political Power.

- "On the Rectification Campaign based on the study of the document, Elections, No! People's War, Yes!", p 17.

- The three elements: Party Basis of Unity sanctioned in the Congress. Reproduce the documents: Fundamental Documents.

c) Concretizations. Document.

Put out the document, "Long Live Chairman Gonzalo and his all-powerful thought."

d) The Party Basis of Unity and the two-line struggle. Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, pp 23-44 on the Party. [AWTW 1992/18, pp 43-50]

e) On the Party's history, pp 37-41 of the Congress Summary Document.

f) Document, "Under the Guidance of the Congress, Reorganize the Metropolitan Committee!"

g) Document, "Unite Around the Congress".

h) Summary Document, p 72, role played by ideology, and p 83, on Foundations of the Great Plan to Develop Base Areas for the Seizure of Power.

i) May Directives for Metropolitan Lima. p 12 on entryism and infiltration.

j) "Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War", p 22. On the People's War, it is an achievement to maintain it; but if it takes root in the masses and advances, it is a complete success; p 23 on the proportion between directly organized forces and the population.

**2. CONTINUE SMASHING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY HOAX AND TEAR TO SHREDS THE BLACK MONSTROSITIES OF YANKEE IMPERIALISM, THE GENOCIDAL AND NATIONAL-SELLOUT DICTATORSHIP AND THE BLACK GROUPEL THAT IS RAISING A REVISIONIST AND CAPITULATIONIST R.O.L.**

- Previous history.

- Where the counter-revolutionary hoax is heading.

- Tear to shreds the black monstrosities of Yankee imperialism, the genocidal and national-sellout dictatorship and the black grouplet that is raising a revisionist and capitulationist R.O.L.

### 3. CONCLUSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TWO-LINE STRUGGLE.

1) Let us reaffirm the Declaration of the Central Committee: facts have correctly and definitively confirmed the position it laid down in the face of the counter-revolutionary plot.

2) The so-called letters Fujimori presented, the so-called phone call abroad and the subsequent monstrosities are a counter-revolutionary plot cooked up there by Yankee imperialism and the genocidal and national-sellout dictatorship in combination with the evil action of the black grouplet. A hoax to win the elections, block the celebration of the Centenary in December and hide the La Cantuta case, in the short run, but its essence is to seek to annihilate the People's War and within that continue their plan to murder Chairman Gonzalo.

3) Denounce, condemn and smash the black grouplet that is raising a revisionist and capitulationist R.O.L., made up of infiltrators, traitors, capitulators and old revisionists. Grouplet directly linked to the reaction. Their monstrosities are a complete negation of the Party's Ist Congress, a Marxist Congress, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Congress, of the Party Basis of Unity, the headquarters, the Party, the People's War, and therefore they have removed themselves from the Party by their own free will.

Keep in mind that 1) What goes against principles cannot be accepted; 2) It is an international communist norm that one cannot lead from inside prison and these monstrosities are in antagonistic opposition to principles, especially all this business about the "peace agreement" .....

4) Pay attention to the two-line struggle, develop it to strengthen the Peo-

ple's War, which is the main thing and which is and will be determinate. It is necessary to go deeply into the background, the process, and the present situation to determine the level of struggle in the whole Party.....

5) .....

6) Reiterate that what is principal is People's War, and therefore centre on our plan, because the internal is decisive. It is urgent to bring the whole Party into conformity with the Party Basis of Unity.

### IV. TASKS.....

ON TWO PROBLEMS.

**I. On Democratic Centralism, discipline and two-line struggle.**

- Quotations from Chairman Mao on discipline, p 270 [English Little Red Book, p 254]

- Quotations from Chairman Mao on Criticism, pp 279-280 [LRB, p 258]

- Necessity of elevating the struggle to the level of line: Chairman Mao, Vol 5, p 561, on the dialectical method for the Party's internal unity. [SW, Vol 5, p 514]

p 553. On self-assessment. [Vol 5, p 507]

p 345. On criticism and uniting with those who criticize you. [pp 317-318]

p 379 and 477. On a simple life-style and arduous struggle. [p 349, p 438]

- Three Cardinal Rules and Eight Warnings.

**II. On how to understand personal relations subordinated to the Party Basis of Unity.**

- Selected Works of Marx and Engels, pp 533-535

- Wedding ceremony

- Quotations by Chairman Mao on women

- Point 11 of the Programme of the Communist Party of Peru

**Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Peru.**

February 1994

## On Negotiations and Turning Points

# Let the Lessons of the Past Fire the Way Forward!

By the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement – June 1994

The following document was circulated within the RIM in June 1994 as an important step in deepening the RIM's understanding of the two-line struggle in the PCP and on that basis intensifying support for the PCP Central Committee and the People's War. It was circulated more broadly thereafter, and now is being made public in *AWTW* in order to serve the campaign to Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru.—*AWTW*

Comrades,

Since October of 1993 a very important struggle has been developing in the PCP, principally focused on the question of peace negotiations but involving fundamental questions of the revolution, specifically advancing the People's War in that country in the context of the severe blows the People's War has received in the last two years, especially the capture of Chairman Gonzalo in September 1992. This struggle broke out first when the Fujimori regime attributed a call for "a struggle for peace accords" to Chairman Gonzalo. From that point onward, the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has attached great importance to these developments.

Our initial approach was to launch a necessary investigation and study of the actual situation in Peru, the positions of Chairman Gonzalo and the Central Committee of the PCP, and the political thinking of the major figures in the debate, as well as the historical experience and political principles involved. At the same time, we warned against jumping to hasty and ill-founded conclusions before all of the factors were known. We also stressed that the class enemy, in Peru and internationally, was trying to sow division, confusion and demoralization, and that it was all the more important that our Movement solidify its ranks,

confront this new situation in a unified and disciplined way, and step up its support for the People's War in Peru and to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo.

In the course of this process, we have come to better understand the complex factors and the issues involved. It has become clear that a two-line struggle has erupted in the ranks of the Communist Party of Peru. A group of people who historically had played leading roles in the PCP have been vigorously promoting a line of "peace conversations to reach a Peace Agreement, whose application brings with it a conclusion to the war that the country has been going through for thirteen years" and calling for negotiations with the Fujimori regime (in order to "arrive at peace negotiations which would bring a conclusion to the war"). This grouping seems to be concentrated within the prisons, although it also has at least some support from among PCP members and supporters outside of prison, both in Peru and abroad. This grouping claims that the call for negotiations has originated directly from Chairman Gonzalo and brands those in the PCP opposed to this line as "ultra-left".

The Central Committee of the PCP has strongly opposed this line and has condemned the letters and videos purported to be by Chairman Gonzalo as a "hoax" perpetuated by the reactionary regime. They have vigorously opposed the line of seeking a negotiated end to the war as "capitulation" and instead have called on the Party to continue the People's War along the plans previously laid down.

The People's War in Peru and its leadership, the Communist Party of Peru, have been inextricably linked to the development of RIM. The People's War has been seen, and correctly so, by the masses as a shining example, a beacon pointing the way forward for

the oppressed world over and living proof of the vitality and correctness of our revolutionary ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The PCP has not only been leading forward this great revolutionary war, it has also greatly contributed to the political and ideological development of our Movement itself, especially in the recently culminated struggle for the RIM to adopt and unite around MLM.

What affects the PCP cannot but greatly affect our Movement and the course of the world proletarian revolution. The current debate in the PCP is no mere academic dispute over the advisability of negotiations. It is a debate touching fundamental questions of the assessment of the current situation in Peru and internationally, of the capacity of the Party to maintain and advance the People's War, of the very process by which revolution will advance through twists and turns and achieve final victory.

What is the goal of our investigation, study and struggle? Our main goal must be to arrive at a firm grasp of the correct line and on that basis render the greatest possible support to the People's War in Peru and its vanguard, the Communist Party of Peru. The existence of our Movement is an extremely positive factor in this process of two-line struggle. It is a vehicle through which the experience of the international proletariat can be brought to bear on the questions at stake in the PCP and through which the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of the world can support a correct line.

Through the course of study and struggle, our whole Movement can and must come to a clear and unified understanding of the questions involved and sharpen our understanding and grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, particularly the laws of revolutionary warfare and the dynamics of the process through which the revo-

lution advances amidst twists and turns toward the seizure of power. Deepening our understanding is not a scholastic question, it is a pressing task of the class struggle.

The very weight of the stakes involved in this struggle and the crucial role that falls upon our Movement requires that we strive to reach a basic understanding of the lines involved and basic conclusions with resolution, dispatch and urgency, but not hastily or carelessly. In the case of the PCP, which has played such a vital role in the development of our Movement, the need for such an approach is all the more apparent. But this approach is not a call for a long protracted period of leisurely debate or indecision. The very fact that this struggle is taking place under conditions of warfare and that the class enemy is utilizing this situation to attack the party, the people's armed forces and the people increases our sense of urgency and determination.

We should step up our support for the revolutionary communists and the masses of Peru in their heroic People's War and maintain the Campaign to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo. We must remain vigilant against efforts of the class enemy as well as oppose the actions of opportunists or even misguided friends who are seeking to "fish in troubled waters".

---

**MARXISM-LENINISM-  
MAOISM**  
— OUR MICROSCOPE  
AND TELESCOPE

---

As our Chinese comrades used to say, MLM is our "microscope and telescope" to examine all problems of society and nature, in both its minute detail and grand outlines. This is most assuredly our great weapon in understanding the problem of the two-line struggle in the PCP. The fact that our Movement has recently taken the great step of uniting around our higher understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as our ideology lays a solid basis and high plane from which to confront the serious test before us.

In examining the questions concerning the development of the People's War in Peru, and in particular the struggle over peace accords, it is natural that comrades take the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theses on war and peace, and more specifically, Mao's

teachings and example on protracted people's war as a starting point.

Mao was able to show that in China (and later he came to hold this to be generally true of the countries oppressed by imperialism), it was possible and necessary for the proletariat to engage the reactionary classes in a lengthy war, beginning from a position of weakness and gradually developing a position of strength. In the document *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*, our Movement has united around the understanding that, in the oppressed countries, armed struggle is the main form of struggle and the people's army is the main form of mass organization.

This is based on an understanding that the objective conditions generally exist for launching, maintaining and advancing revolutionary warfare step-by-step. Specifically, it means in these types of countries *it is possible for the proletariat to establish red political power* in parts of the country while

still not being in a position to establish nationwide political power. The existence of people's political power, which takes different forms but which leads to the creation of red base areas, is the marrow of the people's war. People's power is the accomplishment of the war, gives war its revolutionary character and enables the revolutionary war to rely ever more deeply on the masses and to advance.

At the same time, it is clear that any revolutionary war will almost certainly confront sharp turns and even reversals and setbacks. Protracted people's war has never been "smooth sailing" or just going gradually from one victory to another. In fact, the Chinese revolution itself went through a number of dramatic turning points. Some of these were the result of erroneous lines in the leadership of the Communist Party of China (such as when 90% of the communist forces were defeated before the Long March was undertaken). But objective devel-

<sup>1</sup> In October 1934, the main forces of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army started a major strategic movement from their bases in southern China. In the course of the Long March, the people's army traversed eleven provinces of China, crossing perpetually snow-capped mountains and trackless grasslands, sustaining untold hardships and frustrating the enemy's repeated encirclements, pursuits, obstructions and interceptions. The Red Army covered 25,000 *li* (12,500 kilometers) and finally arrived triumphantly at the revolutionary base area in northern Shensi in October 1935. Mao wrote, "in one respect the Red Army failed (i.e. failed to maintain its original positions), but in another respect he [Chiang Kai-shek] has failed (i.e., failed to execute his plan of 'encirclement and suppression' and of 'pursuit and suppression').... The Long March is a manifesto. It has proclaimed to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes, while the imperialists and their running dogs, Chiang Kai-shek and his like, are impotent. It has proclaimed their utter failure to encircle, pursue, obstruct and intercept us. The Long March is also a propaganda force. It has announced to some 200 million people in eleven provinces that the road of the Red Army is their only road to liberation. Without the Long March, how could the broad masses have learned so quickly about the existence of the great truth which the Red Army embodies? The Long March is also a seeding-machine. In the eleven provinces it has sown many seeds which will sprout, leaf, blossom, and

bear fruit, and will yield a harvest in the future. In a word, the Long March ended in victory for us and defeat for the enemy." ("On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism", *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 161)

<sup>2</sup> Brest-Litovsk

After seizing power in the insurrection of October 1917, the Bolsheviks were confronted with the fact that the imperialist German Army was threatening to conquer Petrograd, the centre of Soviet power, and was inflicting big defeats daily on the old Russian army. Under these circumstances, Lenin felt strongly that the Bolsheviks had no alternative to accepting what he called a "humiliating peace" with Germany in which large sections of territory were ceded. As he put it, he was trying to "trade space for time" — time to consolidate the new Soviet republic and prepare for other inevitable military conflicts with the imperialist powers.

Lenin based his arguments in favour of the Brest-Litovsk agreement on a number of factors including: that the people of Russia, especially the peasantry, were extremely war-weary ("choked in blood") and demanded peace; that the old Russian army made up of unwilling soldiers conscripted by the Tsarist regime was in a state of complete collapse and incapable of putting up a fight while the new Red Army based on volunteers from the proletariat and the peasantry was only in its most initial stages of formation; and that there was no guarantee that the revolution in Germany would quickly come to their rescue (in weeks or even days) by overthrowing the reaction-

opments domestically and internationally can lead to dramatic shifts. A change in the balance of strength between the people's forces and the enemy, a shift in the alignment of class forces, or the passage to a new stage or substage of the revolution are examples of objective developments which led to changes in strategy and tactics (such as the need to build a United Front Against Japan following the Japanese invasion of China).

In other words, protracted people's war will necessarily be *protracted*, it will go through twists and turns, advances and retreats, as it advances toward its final victory. The process of war and especially key turning points will necessarily involve shifts in class alliances and changes in policy by the revolutionary forces. Mao used different strategy and tactics at key junctures based on his concrete analysis of concrete conditions and keeping in mind the overall goals of the revolution. He responded, for example, to the

near decimation of the people's armed forces in the early 1930s by organizing and leading the Long March<sup>1</sup> — a great retreat militarily which succeeded in preserving the core of the armed forces and the Party which soon after led the War Against Japan. Just as the Long March was Mao's answer to one turning point in the Chinese Revolution, so too his participation in peace negotiations in 1945 with Chiang Kai-shek was a different tactic to address a different turning point in the revolution. Historical experience has shown that sharp two-line struggles in the Party often emerge at precisely such major turning points.

### ON PEACE NEGOTIATIONS — SOME HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

There is important historical experience, both positive and negative, concerning the carrying out of peace

negotiations and even the reaching of agreements between revolutionary communist forces and the forces of a reactionary regime combating them.

The two most outstanding examples of when it has been correct for the communists to enter into peace negotiations with their enemies were the Brest-Litovsk agreement<sup>2</sup> between the newly established Soviet Union and German imperialism in 1918 and the Chungking negotiations<sup>3</sup> between Mao Tsetung and the reactionary forces led by Chiang Kai-shek following the defeat of Japan in World War 2. In both cases, there had been wrong lines from the "left" opposing any kind of compromise and/or the Right, which advocated giving up the struggle for seizure of power. These two cases of correctly using negotiations are different in many respects and must be examined in their historical circumstances. Nevertheless, certain general principles can be seen from

ary government there.

Lenin encountered very sharp opposition from some other leaders of the Bolshevik Party, especially Trotsky. The opposition argued that Lenin was "betraying" the interests of the international revolution by reaching a peace accord with German imperialism and appealed to what Lenin called "revolutionary phrase-making".

Lenin stressed that the situation had to be examined concretely, on the basis of the actual class relations (their strengths and weaknesses) and *from the perspective of advancing the revolutionary goal*. Even while Lenin was actively pursuing a peace agreement with Germany, he was appealing to the resistance of the Russian people, especially the advanced workers who formed the first units of the Red Army and rushed into the breach where the old Tsarist forces were collapsing. And he saw the prospect of a peace accord in the framework of preserving their existing strength, building up an army and preparing for the military tests of strength he saw looming.

Lenin fought particularly hard against those within the Bolsheviks who negated the tremendous accomplishment of the October Revolution. These "lefts" held that "Soviet power is becoming purely formal" and thus felt that little would be lost if the German army crushed the new Soviet republic. Lenin answered them as follows: "And, therefore, more humiliating than any harsh or even extremely harsh peace, rendered imperative owing to the lack of an army — more humiliating than any humiliating peace is humiliating despair. We shall

not perish even from a dozen-obnoxious peace treaties if we take revolt and war seriously." In other words, Lenin's approach to the humiliating but necessary compromise of Brest-Litovsk was based on the need to preserve and strengthen Soviet political power and its ability to wage war. It was the opposition, and not Lenin, who was prepared to abandon political power, had given up any serious perspective of waging war and had fallen into despair. Secondary concessions were made in order to preserve the fundamental gain of the proletarian revolution which was the red power. And the Bolsheviks had the strength to make the enemy observe it.

<sup>3</sup> The other great example of correct use of negotiations was Mao's decision to engage in discussions with Chiang Kai-shek in the months following the surrender of Japan in August 1945 (the Chungking negotiations).

At that time, the Chinese revolution had reached a great turning point with the victory of the war against Japan. Great victories had been won by the forces led by the Communist Party of China, including building a strong party of over one million members, a powerful army, and liberated areas with a population of 100 million people.

At the same time, sections of the masses were hoping for peace, and the alliance on an international scale between the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States exerted influence on public opinion. Mao's writings clearly indicate that

he had little if any hope of reaching a lasting agreement with the reactionary Kuomintang government ("The Kuomintang and the Communist Party are sure to fail in their negotiations, sure to start fighting and sure to break with each other, but that is only one aspect of the matter." *SW*, Vol IV, p. 54) But he clearly wanted to place the burden for the civil war that was looming on the horizon on Chiang Kai-shek, and thereby further isolate him. It was important that the masses, and especially some of the middle strata, realize that Mao had gone to great efforts to reach a reasonable accord with Chiang. As Mao put it, sometimes going to negotiations is fighting tit for tat, sometimes refusing to negotiate is fighting tit for tat.

In order to accomplish these goals, Mao was willing to make concessions, for example, even offering to reduce the size of the people's armed forces, withdraw from some territory, etc. "But there are limits to such concessions; the principle is that they must not damage the fundamental interests of the people." (*SW*, Vol IV, p. 49).

While Mao's participation in the Chungking negotiations was based on a perspective of preparing the people's forces for renewed fighting with Chiang Kai-shek, there were others in the Communist Party of China such as Liu Shao-chi who argued that, "China had entered a new stage of peace and democracy" and these forces were willing to abort the further development of the revolution in return for a definitive agreement with the Kuomintang.

the way in which Lenin and Mao addressed these situations.

On the other hand, there have been important cases in the history of the international communist movement where communist parties have incorrectly sought to achieve some kind of agreement with the reactionary classes which objectively compromised the interests of the revolution. This was the case, for example, in France, Italy and Greece<sup>4</sup> in the period after World War 2 when the Communist parties of those countries agreed to disarm the armed forces of the proletariat and enter into reactionary governments.

In more recent history, there are a great many examples of revisionist and opportunist forces trafficking in the blood of the people — using their struggle and sacrifice as a means for the revisionist or opportunist forces themselves to seek an agreement with the reactionary classes (and ultimately to try to incorporate themselves into these classes), while the basic oppression and exploitation of the people remain unchanged. This was the recent case in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Today it is being replayed in South Africa and Palestine.

The policy of “negotiating in order to fight” sometimes used by the revolutionary communists, which may under certain circumstances be part of a strategy for advancing the armed revolutionary struggle for power, is the opposite of the revisionist and bourgeois reformist strategy of “fighting in order to negotiate”.

Peaceful forms can only be *preliminary* or *supplementary* to the armed struggle for political power. Once a war

has begun, the laws that govern it are qualitatively different than those which govern peaceful struggle. The *protracted* nature of warfare in the oppressed countries makes it likely that revolutionary warfare will go through different stages and twists and turns between its initiation and the final victory of the people's forces (and negotiations and different types of agreements may be part of this process). But it is not possible to stop a revolutionary war and simply return to the situation that existed prior to the outbreak of the war with hopes of “starting again”. The very dynamic of war, which leads toward the destruction of one side by the other, will not allow this.

In short, under certain circumstances negotiations can be carried out and concessions given, but as Chairman Mao said, “there are limits to such concessions; the principle is that they must not damage the fundamental interests of the people” (*SW*, Vol. IV, p. 49). Although necessary compromises and adjustments may have to be made at certain stages, the fundamental gains of the people, such as the essential core of the people's army and red political power, the base areas, etc., must be preserved. Mao stressed, “without a people's army the people have nothing.”

Furthermore, negotiations are only one possible approach to a dramatic change in the revolutionary process. Whether this is correct at a given time can only be assessed on the basis of the concrete analysis of concrete conditions, including, for example, whether the people's forces have adequate strength to successfully use such a tactic, whether other changes in military and political approach may be more correct for addressing the new situation, and so forth. As pointed out above, there were important experiences especially in the long history of protracted people's war in China led by Mao when the People's War faced severe blows, even big defeats, and crossed through extreme difficulties, but the problems of the revolution were resolved through the means of war, i.e., by creative though painful use of the laws of war instead of by using the tactics of negotiation. Mao also stressed that “sometimes not negotiating is fighting tit-for-tat”.

The experience of the international communist movement in the recent decades in which revolutionary armed struggle has been launched has shown

the great importance of striving to “keep the red flag flying”, that is, maintaining the revolutionary struggle even under difficult conditions and in the face of setbacks.

## THE TWO-LINE STRUGGLE

The point of reviewing the history and principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is to be armed to correctly understand and evaluate the debate currently under way in the Communist Party of Peru. While it is not yet possible to fully understand all of the factors currently under discussion in the PCP, it is possible and necessary to use historical experience and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to critically examine the arguments and proposals being advanced by the principal exponents of different lines in this struggle.

Marxist-Leninist-Maoists do not rule out *a priori* the possible need for a dramatic and sudden change in the policies of the revolutionary forces. Such changes can sometimes be required by the change in the relation of class forces domestically and on a world scale, and history has shown that such changes often lead to a certain confusion in the revolutionary ranks.

But the fact that negotiations are permissible as a tactic or that a dramatic change in strategy and tactics may at times be required does not in any way prove that the particular negotiations which are proposed in Peru and the proposed policy of “fighting for a peace accord” are correct. In order to examine this, the guiding principles involved are:

**Do the proposed negotiations serve the task of seizing political power through revolutionary warfare, regardless of what stages or turns this warfare may go through, or are they aimed at returning to the pre-war situation of 1980 — a protracted period in which no revolutionary armed struggle existed?**

**While certain compromises may prove to be necessary, do the proposed negotiations safeguard the “fundamental interests of the people” referred to by Mao, that is, the essential core of people's power and the revolutionary armed forces?**

Under the circumstances where most of the information concerning the “negotiation/peace” policy is com-

<sup>4</sup> During World War 2, the Communist Parties led significant armed forces, partisan units, in a number of the European countries occupied by Nazi Germany and in Italy. As the war drew to a close, the question of the future state in those countries came into sharp relief. The bourgeoisie in these countries, aided by U.S. and British imperialism and their armed forces, were determined that the end of Nazi occupation would mark the return of their own reactionary dictatorship, and they made the disarming of the workers and popular masses a top priority. Unfortunately, the main line of the Communist Parties was to liquidate the people's armed forces in return for a legal role in the post-war regime, including in some cases, such as France, joining in reactionary bourgeois-led governments.

ing from the class enemy, it is necessary to be doubly prudent. But it is possible and necessary to use the above criteria as a standard against which to judge any call for an agreement or any agreement itself.

In earlier stages of this struggle, little was known of the actual content of the proposal for a peace accord or the political arguments of those proposing this strategy. However, the publication of the article "Take Up and Fight for the New Definition and the New Decision" (called in Spanish *Asumir*) in the reactionary Lima newspaper, *La Republica*, and its endorsement by the main exponents of the negotiations line abroad helps bring the questions involved in this struggle into sharper focus. We would again encourage comrades to carefully study this article along with some other articles arguing the same positions which have been recently obtained and to apply the standards and criteria which we have indicated here to understand and evaluate the line proposed by the *Asumir* article. The Committee has serious concerns that the arguments made in *Asumir* and other documents do not meet the above criteria. Specifically, does the line of *Asumir* safeguard the fundamental interests of the people? Does it enable the forces of the proletariat, through whatever twists and turns, to advance their struggle for nationwide power? A criticism is being prepared by one of the participants of the Movement of the main aspects of *Asumir*.

One of the important, if secondary, elements in the two-line struggle in the Communist Party of Peru involves the evaluation of the international situation. This is particularly the case with the *Asumir* article, which relies heavily on its analysis of an allegedly unfavourable international situation to justify reaching a peace accord.

As pointed out previously, this analysis runs contrary to the understanding achieved by our Movement and reflected in the Resolution adopted by RIM, "On the World Situation". While the questions concerning peace negotiations in Peru must be decided primarily in the context of the development of the war and the struggle for power, questions concerning the international situation inevitably affect the assessment of the revolutionary possibilities in Peru and elsewhere in today's world. Specifically,

is the international situation, with the collapse of the social-imperialist USSR and its bloc, now such that conditions in the oppressed countries are basically unfavourable for launching, maintaining and advancing the revolutionary warfare of the masses?

---

#### WHAT ARE THE VIEWS OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO?

---

From the beginning, one question has been if or to what extent the call for a peace accord reflects the position of Chairman Gonzalo. While the Fujimori regime and supporters of the negotiations have insisted that Chairman Gonzalo is the author of the call for the peace accords, opponents of this line — specifically the CC of the PCP — have strenuously argued that the letters and videos purporting to be from Chairman Gonzalo have been fabricated by the enemy.

Chairman Gonzalo is still denied access to the outside world and there is no basis to know with certainty what his views are or what information he has access to. Also, conditions of his treatment by the reactionary regime are extreme. We must continue to fight to end the conditions of isolation of Chairman Gonzalo. As long as his isolation continues, we must consider all alleged communications from him with the utmost prudence. Whatever Chairman Gonzalo may or may not be saying, what is certain is that the reactionary regime is utilizing his isolation to spread speculation and demoralization, and these efforts should be vigorously combatted.

In any event, the central question of debate is not over the authenticity of the alleged communications. While comrades in Peru and elsewhere naturally attach great importance to the position of Chairman Gonzalo, the debate must focus on the policy itself, not the identity of its author, because in any case line is decisive. This is all the more true in the concrete situation of today when it is impossible to know with certainty the views of Chairman Gonzalo.

---

#### FORWARD TO A UNITED, MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST POSITION!

---

It is imperative that the Committee and the parties and organizations of our Movement devote the necessary

attention to understanding and acting upon the two-line struggle in Peru. As stated earlier, we consider the question to be the most important question facing our Movement, one which demands to be treated urgently but methodically.

As we stressed previously, it is necessary to carry out this very important two-line struggle in order to solidify our support to the People's War, which is our only proud red flag flying in the world at present, to defend it from attacks of any kind of harmful line, and at the same time through this two-line struggle to develop and deepen our collective understanding and consciousness on the lines involved and to strengthen our grasp of the correct Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line. And we have to carry this out in such a way as to safeguard the unity and integrity of our Movement. This is particularly difficult to do under the current circumstances in which the line struggle in the PCP is public knowledge, but it is all the more imperative and urgent.

It is understandable that comrades and friends outside of our Movement are also deeply concerned by the questions under debate and are anxious to hear the opinions of our Movement as well as to contribute their own thinking. We must try to organize the participation of others in this discussion in such a way that they contribute to the process of our Movement reaching a correct conclusion and not in such a way that the central role of the Movement and its embryonic democratic centralism are denigrated and weakened.

It is also imperative that the current discussion not undermine the important ongoing task to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo! and Support the People's War in Peru! We should continue to support and assist the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzman and especially its efforts to win the battle to win access to Chairman Gonzalo.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, our all-powerful ideology, will enable our Movement to rise to the challenges before us, and render even greater support to the comrades of the Communist Party of Peru and the historic struggle they are waging. ■

# Marxism Consists of One Thousand Truths, But in the It Is Right

By the Leading Committee of the Union of Communists of Iran (Sarbedaran) (UICS)

"This people's war has served the world proletarian revolution from the very start and will continue to do so; it enjoys the support of the international working class and the world's peoples, of the genuine revolutionaries and communists, and very especially of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to which the party belongs..." ("Develop People's War to Serve the World Revolution", Communist Party of Peru (PCP) Central Committee, August 1986, in *AWTW* 1987/8)

*Comrades:*

It is with a deep sense of responsibility towards our internationalist duty and our class brothers and sisters in Peru, in the memory of our fallen heroes there — the valiant members and fighters of the PCP — and with the commitment and determination that we must safeguard the red flag they dyed with their blood and passed on to us, that we take part in this crucial two-line struggle that has erupted.

We are honoured to present this document which has been prepared in response to the request made by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (CoRIM) and hope that this small step will serve the task that has been called for.

The general orientation set by the CoRIM has guided this undertaking. Contributions of parties of the RIM have helped to deepen our understanding of the issue. We believe CoRIM's assessment of the importance of this two-line struggle, what is at stake, the responsibility and role of our Movement in the face of it, and the line of approach that it has formulated, are all important and correct.

This struggle is inextricably linked to the development of our Movement and the whole course of the world proletarian revolution. This is not only because the communist movement has always been an international movement, but also specifically because of the role that the PCP and the People's

War under its leadership has played in the development of our Movement and the World Proletarian Revolution at this stage. In the days when the reactionary Islamic Republic of Iran with the aid of Yankee imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists were drowning the revolution in the blood of the best sons and daughters of our people, the initiation of the People's War in Peru gave us heart. In the process of its ideological, political and organizational restructuring in the aftermath of the defeat of the revolution, and suffering severe blows at the hands of the comprador-feudal Islamic Republic of Iran, the UICS has learned tremendously from the experience of the PCP.

The CoRIM and our Movement have the responsibility of rendering the full political and ideological assistance of the international communist movement (ICM) to the PCP and the People's War. Our Movement has recently arrived at higher unity, and our glorious *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!* document, and other resolutions of the Movement, such as the one on the world situation, are invaluable aids in carrying out this task.

The goal of this two-line struggle is to help keep our red flag flying in Peru and open the way even further for other red flags to be raised by other parties of our Movement. We must arrive at a deep grasp of the nature of different alternatives which are presented as the future course for the PCP and the People's War under its leadership and give support to the correct line and fight the wrong line. If the wrong line comes to dominate the process of revolution in Peru, it will be a serious setback not only for the People's War but also for our Movement. On the other hand, if the correct line can win out and continue to determine the course of the Peruvian revolution, it will be a great advance. In order to ensure a correct outcome, it is essential to develop a two-line struggle, establish what is correct and

what is wrong, and give unwavering support to the correct line and those forces who represent the correct line.

Under the guidance of the CoRIM, we have carefully studied different documents and reexamined the proletariat's historical experiences, reviewing available PCP documents, and deepening our own understanding of MLM principles on relevant issues, while once again looking back at our own experience. Within the limits of our abilities, we have been following the objective situation in Peru in order to increase our knowledge of the objective realities there — in this, we believe the PCP comrades have a central role to play; without their efforts it will not be possible to investigate the objective situation in such a way as to enable us to arrive at a complete understanding of what is a correct analysis of the specific situation there and on that basis what is a correct line — not just what is a correct strategic orientation overall but, more concretely, for waging the People's War successfully under present conditions.

As a contribution to this process, we have taken up a critical evaluation of a pro-peace negotiations line mainly reflected in an article which is called, "Take Up and Fight for the New Decision and the New Definition" [*Asumir — Combatir por la Nueva Decision y Nueva Definicion*, or *Asumir*; in Spanish]<sup>1</sup>. This was the first major document that came to our attention which attempted to elaborate on the "peace negotiations" line coming out of the prisons. We will also refer to another document signed by the "Prisoners of the shining trenches of combat" (for short we will call it "the prison article") as a complementary source for this line<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The *Asumir* article first appeared in the bourgeois press, so we did not rule out some distortion. But since it has been upheld by the pro-negotiations line forces, we will accept it at face value.

Final Analysis They All Boil Down to One:

# to Rebel!

— Mao Tsetung

In addition to the task of criticizing the line reflected in these articles, we have looked upon this as an opportunity to dig more deeply into some of the important questions of revolution and deepen our understanding of them.

## I. IN PERU TODAY REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS MEANS REVOLUTIONARY WAR

*Asumir* touches upon many important points, lists many correct principles and tries to address some real factors in the present situation. Its completely different line on the world situation and bureaucrat capitalism than what we know to have been the PCP's analysis is striking. But the bone marrow of this document is its approach to the question of revolutionary warfare in general and the People's War in Peru in particular. This exposes its disturbing nature.

*Asumir* gives us a "new" reading of Chairman Mao's theories on war and peace; it twists the relationship between war and politics and between different forms of the class struggle in order to convince its audience that it is permissible to slip back from armed struggle to political struggle, with the expressed hope of "repeating" the People's War later. This article claims that the whole process of the counter-revolutionary war has succeeded and holds that under present conditions the People's War can at best only be "maintained". The prison article takes the line of *Asumir* to its logical conclusion, that the People's War should be terminated; it claims that in order to save the People's War from complete defeat and the party from collapse, the PCP should shift back to "politics without bloodshed" and attend to

the problem of leadership that has been created by the capture of Chairman Gonzalo and other top leaders. The fight for a "peace accord" is meant to facilitate this "general pull back", as *Asumir* puts it. This is the principal aspect of the line and program of these documents. Other arguments, including *Asumir's* seemingly profound analysis of the world situation, dubbed the "General Political Ebb" (stressing that it is strategic and global), serve this aim. We also believe that its analysis of the partial economic growth which is being experienced by Peru now is meant to conclude that the material underpinnings for continuing the People's War no longer exist.

Even if these documents repeat one thousand times that MLM is universal or how great the achievements of the People's War in Peru are, their unfortunate nature will not go away.

## THE CENTRALITY OF ARMS IN FULFILLING THE PROLETARIAT'S MISSION

Revolutionary violence is the highest form of struggle in seizing power; this has been a decisive question in the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. Not grasping this firmly will help the revisionists. Revisionism holds that power could be seized non-violently or that it can be reformed bit by bit in the interests of the people, and if violence is to be used, it is not to destroy the existing state power and establish the state (revolutionary dictatorship) of the proletariat and the oppressed, but rather as one means to pressure the existing state to reach an agreement for sharing power.

The proletariat and the people cannot seize power without the use of organized violence, that is, revolutionary war. Because the class enemy *rules by organized violence* (the reactionary state), this is true in both openly dictatorial states and in the most "democratic" bourgeois republic. The state (the

army, the police force, the courts, etc.) exist to enforce the system of exploitation and oppression, and this reality is felt daily by the masses in their millions. Further, history has shown again and again that the ruling classes will use the full power of their state to crush the people whenever they feel their fundamental interests (their right to rule over the people and exploit them) are threatened.

That is why our great leaders, especially Comrade Mao, paid special attention to developing the military strategy of the proletarian revolution. To emphasize this cardinal question, Lenin said, "An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves." ("Military program of the proletarian revolution", *CW*, v 23, pp. 77-83)

The People's War in Peru led by the PCP has demonstrated strong support for this principle in its practice of 13 years of revolutionary war.

## ECCLECTICISM ON THE QUESTION OF WAR AND POLITICS

*Asumir* says: "The class struggle is a great and constant class war directed by political leaders. It has two forms: bloodless... and bloody. Both are forms of the great political war", "politics is war without bloodshed, just as war is politics with bloodshed"; "...and if it breaks out, to oppose unjust war with just war, whenever possible". "War is initiated and develops according to concrete conditions, and as these change, the forms of struggle must change."

*Asumir* of course does not refrain from throwing in some correct statements without elaborating or showing their connections to other ones. For example, it says, "If the obstacle is not completely swept away, the war will have to continue." The question is, when is that, and how does this apply today? Does *Asumir* mean this People's War which is going on, or some unknown and non-existent one? One of the chief charac-

<sup>2</sup> Translated as "Struggle for a Peace Accord and Lay the Bases for the Second Congress!", reprinted by Comité Sol Peru, Paris, France.

teristics of eclecticism is to hide its rightist nature by throwing some correct statements into the pot.

*Asumir's* statement on war and politics — one bloody, the other bloodless — is similar in appearance to what Chairman Mao has said. But any similarities end right there. In essence, the difference is that Comrade Mao is stressing the historical and social necessity of the oppressed class to wage its political struggle through revolutionary violence, while *Asumir* is trying to undermine this necessity by equating the place and value of both violent and non-violent forms in the struggle of the proletariat to advance towards communist society.

Let us look at *Asumir's* line on war and politics up close.

#### A. REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS MUST BE IN COMMAND OF A REVOLUTIONARY WAR

In "On Protracted War", Comrade Mao clearly states that all wars have a political character, and he explains the dialectical relationship between war and politics. Chairman Mao said: "When politics develops to a certain stage beyond which it cannot proceed by the usual means, war breaks out to sweep the obstacles from the way... But if the obstacle is not completely swept away, the war will have to continue till the aim is fully accomplished." ("On Protracted War", "On War and Politics", *SW*, v 2, p 153, Foreign Languages Press)

Every war is waged to achieve a definite political objective and will need to continue until this objective is achieved. At the same time, the relationship between war and politics is highly dynamic — the two aspects constantly interpenetrate and influence each other. In class struggle, only revolutionary politics could lead to a revolutionary war, and once it is started only revolutionary politics could maintain and develop it as such. Class collaborationist reformist politics will neither lead to nor serve a revolutionary war.

From this interplay between war and politics, it follows that the position of the oppressed classes and the political objective of a revolutionary war decide the depth and scope of the war, how it should be conducted in terms of strategy and tactics, and even its macro and micro policies (politi-

cal, economic, etc.), manoeuvres, formations, and so on. For example, Comrade Mao pointed out that the victory of the anti-Japanese war of resistance was not separable from its political objective (to oust the Japanese invaders and form a new China), nor was it separable from the general directive of perseverance in the war of resistance, the united front, mobilizing the whole people, the concept that people, not weapons, are decisive, and so on. This is crucial to grasp, because on this basis we should proceed to examine whether *Asumir's* policy of a "peace accord" serves revolutionary war and revolutionary politics in Peru or is antagonistic to both. In short, either reformist policies will be renounced by revolutionary war or, if reformism prevails, it will bring about defeats and finally will transform the revolutionary nature of the war. From this dynamic relationship between war and politics follows the great importance of a correct ideological, political and military line for revolutionary warfare. The history of our class has proven that at times the outcome of an important two-line struggle can have a crucial impact on a revolutionary war.

Looking at the pattern of some more recent counter-insurgency strategies, we can observe that the imperialists have been using this interplay of war and politics in wearing down the guerilla movements and in finally dealing death blows to them: alternating between striking them militarily, and on that basis trying to "mellow them down politically", followed by dealing them further military blows. Today in Peru, the reactionaries are trying to use this same policy. They have intensified their operations against the base areas, and they are trying hard to turn their success in capturing Comrade Gonzalo and dealing other blows to the party structure into a political victory in order, in turn, to fortify their military plans aimed against the People's War.

#### B. ASUMIR SAYS BOTH WAR AND POLITICS ARE FORMS OF THE GREAT POLITICAL WAR

Mao emphasized that war is the *highest form of struggle* and that *seizing power through revolutionary violence is the central task of the communists everywhere*. To eliminate

these crucial points (*highest* and *central*) in the relationship between the two forms of struggle is pure eclecticism, that is, slick opportunism. In the dialectical relationship between politics and war, in the overall sense, it is politics which is the principal aspect — that is; it is the political objective of the war which determines the nature and circumstances of the war, and the way that it should be conducted. From here it flows that politics should command the gun and the party should command the army. But when we are talking about the measures that must be taken by the proletariat and the people to seize power, we must not forget that between the two *forms of struggle* (political and armed struggle), armed struggle is principal and all other forms should serve to prepare it, and when the war is launched, they must serve to develop it and bring it to victory.

This principle has been born out of objective reality, not simply out of anyone's mind. The underlying basis for this profound truth is that class antagonisms throughout the world overall have reached a point where they can only be solved through war, in particular in the oppressed nations where the conditions are generally already ripe for starting revolutionary warfare. This basis has been further strengthened in the era of imperialism and is continuously being reinforced by the very workings of imperialism on a daily basis. The fact that the struggles of the oppressed masses continuously break into armed struggle is testimony to this truth. The fact that the political forces of the revolutionary movements have been slaughtered and are continuously chased and violently suppressed by the reactionary states even before laying their hands on a gun has been and is strong evidence that revolutionary warfare is on the agenda. The fact that reactionary states in the oppressed nations rule by open violence against the people and utilize short intervals of "openings" and "peace" to temporarily calm down the oppressed and lure the revolutionaries and their party structures into the daylight in order to hunt them down even more savagely — and this story goes on and on — all this cries out to say that war is on the agenda, and this is forcing itself to the fore to be seen and recognized and acted upon consciously by the revolutionaries.

### C. DIFFERENT LAWS GOVERN WAR AND POLITICS

*Asumir* says, "politics is war without bloodshed, just as war is politics with bloodshed... both are forms of the great political war that is the class struggle, and the latter is the development of the contradiction between revolution and counter-revolution..." "War is initiated and develops according to concrete conditions and as these change, the forms of struggle must change..."

We already demonstrated how *Asumir* distorts the relationship between war and politics and how it muddies the centrality of armed struggle in the struggle of the proletariat and the people for emancipation. *Asumir* also does another thing: it treats the two forms of struggle as though going over from political struggle to war does not constitute a leap; therefore, for *Asumir* it is possible and permissible to end the war before the basic contradictions which gave rise to it in the first place are resolved or considerably mitigated.

War exists to accomplish political goals, and, for revolutionary communists, this means the seizure of political power. But war has its own laws of development and its own dynamics. Mao discusses this problem at length in "On Protracted War", and says that "war has its own particular characteristics and in this sense it cannot be equated with politics in general."

The fundamental law of all wars is to preserve one's own forces and destroy those of the other side. To meet this end (preserve-destroy), the hostile parties in all wars try to use strategy and tactics that are favourable for them and unfavourable for the enemy. Mao explained this to the representative of the PLO in these words: all military logic comes down to "you fight your way, I'll fight my way." (*Mao Tsetung Unrehearsed [UK edition]/Chairman Mao Talks to the People [US edition]*, ed Stuart Schram)

Not only does war have its own laws of development and its own dynamics, but these laws take particular forms in particular contexts. Thus, revolutionary war has its own particular laws. The fundamental principles of war are applied with strategy and tactics which are specific to the na-

ture and conditions of the revolutionary class and its enemies. For example, in revolutionary warfare, relying on the masses is the key to victory. And in addition to the general laws of revolutionary war, in the two types of countries (imperialist countries and semi-feudal semi-colonial countries dominated by imperialism) revolutionary warfare has its own particular laws. By applying these general laws, the particularities of revolutionary war in each country must be explored by the proletarian party that leads the war.

It was Chairman Mao who in a comprehensive way formulated the military strategy of the proletariat and especially the military strategy for the oppressed countries. Its cardinal points are, briefly: people's war is necessarily protracted; this road follows an approach of surrounding the cities from the countryside, which gives rise to the step by step seizure of power, in particular through building rural base areas in which the party leads the masses of peasants (principally the poor peasants) to exercise political power, and from there the red army draws its recruits, its supplies and its superior intelligence, and is able to lure the enemy into an arena of war that is more favourable than in the white areas.

Along with this, Mao's military thought contains a treasure house of rich tactical doctrines that enable a numerically and materially inferior force to prolong the war and in the context of a protracted war to chop up its enemy by making maximum use of the conscious dynamism of its troops and commanders and of other tactics such as mobility, flexibility, superior intelligence, and so on. All these points have been utilized skillfully in 13 years of the MLM-led People's War in Peru, and the invincibility of the strategy of people's war has once again been proven.

To go from revolutionary politics to revolutionary war requires a qualitative leap in the existence of the party (this headquarters of the war) and in the intensity and scope of the struggle, as well as a qualitative change in the means being used. The specific features of war lead to the creation of a series of specific organizations and methods and a specific process of war. These organizations make up the army and all that relates to it. The methods

include the strategy and tactics required for leading the war.

When war starts, a new life starts. It is metaphysical to assume that the previous stage can be resurrected and replayed.

Once the war starts, anyone who wants to get into politics must get engaged in this war and take a stand on it. From here on politics is the war; it is subjected to certain rules, rules which when neglected will bring about the ruin of the party neglecting them.

---

#### PEOPLE'S WAR IS LED TO VICTORY THROUGH TWISTS AND TURNS

---

How does *Asumir* see the present situation of the war going on in the country and what does it propose?

"We are facing new problems, resolve them by applying Gonzalo Thought... fight for the New Decision and the New Definition."

"The principle is not in question. The question is its application according to concrete conditions (keep in mind the experience of the 1960s and 1970s)."

"War is initiated and develops according to concrete conditions and as these change, the forms of struggle must change... 'whenever possible' also applies to us when we face an unjust war as a reply to a just war (including as a reply to our actions...)"

"Policy to be carried out: 1) No confrontations, neutralize and respond measure for measure...."

"...(T)he party is strong in politics, but we are willing to have it that only a few remain; we will be the most tested...."

"The other hill has the objective that... the people's war is never *repeated*" [our emphasis - UICS].

"Let us trade a present of uncertain possibilities for a future with real and certain perspectives."

"The PCP wants peace, no more repression."

"Who represents the people in the elections? No one...."

Even though *Asumir* does not explicitly say that at this stage the People's War should be terminated, it certainly implies it, especially by saying that, "(T)he whole process of the counter-revolutionary war led it to be successful." It is well-known that the goal of the counter-revolutionary war is to put an end to the People's War. *Asumir*

gives a clear impression that the People's War has been defeated, and what is left should be traded for a "future" and for the possibility to "repeat" the People's War later, when there is a "certain perspective". This should be done by fighting for the "Great Decision" — to arrive at a peace with the Armed Forces. From the section on "Slogans", one can conclude that in exchange for terminating the People's War the author is asking for "no more repression"! And how does *Asumir* want to use this "no repression" situation? *Asumir* is proposing that the Party should return to political struggle, which also includes elections!

The "prison article" is more explicit in calling for ending the People's War: "The Peace Accord that we propose... will serve to maintain the ideological, political and organizational independence of the party... it is a class pledge..." And the article pledges that they will fight "to conclude the war which has endured more than 13 years and to establish the peace which has become a necessity for the people, the nation, and society."

In short, in the face of the enemy's offensive and the setbacks that the PCP and the People's War have suffered, a line has emerged that claims the People's War has been defeated, the conditions for carrying out the People's War do not exist, the Party should be saved through a peace accord which will lead to terminating the People's War (accepting formal defeat), winning a legal position ("no more repression") for the Party in return.

This line is wrong on many accounts, but we have focused on the main ones, leading us to conclude that if this line is put into practice it will have tragic results for the revolution in Peru and will be a setback for the world proletarian revolution.

#### A. "CONCRETE CONDITIONS" AND THE PCP'S EXPERIENCE OF THE 1960s AND 1970s

*Asumir* suggests that with fluctuations in "concrete conditions", the proletariat can slip back and forth between these two forms of class struggle.

Contrary to what *Asumir* wants to imply, war does not erupt according to "concrete conditions", by which it means immediate, punctual and surface conditions, but according to the deep-rooted structural and determi-

nant conditions flowing from strategic contradictions. Here *Asumir* takes a correct concept — Lenin's insistence that concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the living soul of Marxism — and reduces it to simple pragmatism in the service of opportunism, as reformists and revisionists have been doing for decades.

As far as "concrete conditions" are concerned, in the lifetime of a people's war, they will change many times, because in the course of war both sides of the war go through transformations. Furthermore, the People's War takes place in the context of a changing world situation<sup>3</sup>. Changes in concrete conditions do require a new appraisal of the concrete conditions and may require changes in the tactics and strategies of conducting the war, but *Asumir* is proposing to stop and start it each time!

When *Asumir* says, "keep in mind the experience of the 1960s and 1970s", it is trying to get support from the party's history at a time when it was not waging armed struggle. *Asumir* implies that the reason for not starting the war during that period was because the "concrete conditions" had not arisen. "War is initiated and develops according to concrete conditions, and as these change, the forms of struggle must change."

We believe this is a distortion of the PCP's history. We do not think that the PCP had waited for some "concrete conditions" to arise to start the war. It had waited mainly for restructuring the party through two-line struggle and preparing it ideologically, politically and organizationally. Objectively, the contradictions based on which the PW started had been ripe for a long time, and the concrete manifestation of this was the struggles of the peasants and other sections of the masses in the region where the PW was initiated, and even beyond. Choosing the best possi-

<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, *Asumir* tries to use the dramatic changes in the world situation in the service of its implied programme of ending the People's War. We will look into this later. But we should emphasize that these changes in the "concrete conditions" have not led to a change in the contradictions between the people and the three mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, which are the basis on which the PW has been initiated and developed.

ble moment (moment, and not decade) to start the war (when the government was changing hands) was only a tactical question, and it was neither strategic nor global. All throughout the two-line struggle in the Party, the forces led by Comrade Gonzalo had succeeded in struggling for the adoption of resolutions in the Central Committee plenums in favour of waging armed struggle — of course, the revisionists in the Party never let those resolutions materialize. So it is an outright distortion to imply that the Party did not start the war in the 1960s and 1970s because it was waiting for "concrete conditions" or "whenever possible" objectively. This goes against the correct line — which we believe the PCP firmly held and still holds — that revolutionary conditions develop unevenly in the oppressed countries, making it generally possible to initiate the war in one or another part of the country. We have never seen or heard a summation by the PCP that it was objectively not possible to initiate a revolutionary war during the 1960s and 1970s. The PCP never raised disagreements with the profound truth in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* that, in the oppressed countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, a revolutionary situation generally exists — of course, with ebbs and flows, and not in a straight line. (see *Declaration*, p. 34). When in 1965 the MIR (a focoist pro-Cuba group) started a kind of armed struggle in Peru, the previous leadership of the PCP condemned it as adventurist; but summing up those years, Chairman Gonzalo affirmed that if the proletariat does not lead the armed struggle, others will; and that it is not enough just to condemn such forces for their mistakes, we have to take up our responsibility.

#### B. PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED IN THE MIDST OF WAR

Let us take a brief look at how the revolution and counter-revolution have confronted each other since the beginning of the People's War in Peru, and especially during difficult periods in the life of this war.

The beginning was modest, almost without arms. Based on a correct strategy and tactics, with a correct appraisal of the situation, plans were drawn up to "initiate" the People's War. An initially weak fire grew to be-

come great, turbulent, raging fires through protracted war. This was an extremely important achievement for the proletariat and the oppressed in Peru and worldwide. What did the counter-revolution do in the face of the People's War in Peru? They opened up their hell and let loose their demons, plagues and horsemen of the apocalypse against it.

First they tried to minimize the problem. They sent in their police force; and they committed tremendous crimes against the people, but suffered humiliating defeats, while the first People's Committees arose. In the face of the advance of the new state power, the regime sent in the Armed Forces — the backbone of the state. A state of emergency was imposed at various times, putting millions of people under military authority. This was a new situation in the war. The Party had to analyze the new situation and solve the problems. The Armed Forces began to implement the policy of pitting the masses against each other by forming vigilante bands and unleashing white terror in the countryside. When this failed to check the People's War, they resorted to the most evil crimes. They began to wipe out the peasants along with their communities and small towns in Ayacucho. In 1984 this genocide reached its height.

The regime trumpeted that the People's War had been smashed or held back. "Senderologists", opportunists, and even some vacillating revolutionaries said it was impossible for the People's War to sustain its bastion in those three states which were under assault, and they proposed that the revolutionary forces leave those areas and come back later at an "opportune moment". But the PCP said, "we are convinced of the great truth of what Chairman Mao said about how an area should not be abandoned until it has been repeatedly proven impossible to defend." ("Develop People's War", PCP CC, 1986 in *AWTW* 8 and 9) The People's War proved to be superior to the enemy's strategy and savagery. The People's Guerrilla Army and the masses under the leadership of the PCP proved to be capable of confronting persistent offensives and genocides. 1983 and 1984 were years of struggle centring around restoration and counter-restoration, that is, counter-revolutionary war to smash the new political power and to restore the old, and revolution-

ary war to defend, develop and build the newly rising people's power. *This was only possible through the People's Guerrilla Army waging a series of hard-fought contests against the reactionary Armed Forces.* The People's War developed unevenly, that is, it was marked with fluidity, with restorations and counter-restorations, retreats and advances, and consolidations and expansions.

In the course of these years, the PGA under the leadership of the PCP came to grips with the laws governing these encounters, became steeled and spread roots among the masses. At each step of its development the People's War was guided by plans that were based on an appraisal of the two sides, the "two hills" of the war. Each plan had defined political and military objectives and dealt with the problems of the consolidation and advance of the war.

As the People's War advanced, the US imperialists stepped up their hidden intervention in the form of more aid to the Armed Forces, setting up bases and so on, as well as preparing public opinion under the pretext of the "war on drugs". But the US did not intervene openly. They continued with their "low intensity warfare", one objective of which was to cut the head off the People's War through utilizing complicated covert activities.

In 1990, they clearly saw the People's War as a "national security threat" to US imperialism; they came up with elaborate plans to restructure and tighten up the Peruvian state's repressive institutions in order to carry out an all-round suppression campaign. This campaign resulted in victories for the enemy: most importantly, the capture of Chairman Gonzalo and the blows to the Party's structure. This was the most important military victory that the old state achieved in its counter-revolutionary war against the People's War. But what is to be done? It has never been smooth sailing for the People's War in Peru. In 13 years it has confronted difficulties, twists and turns and new situations. But all were looked at and solved in the context of defending and developing the People's War. In short, everything was solved and built around the centre of combat guided by correct strategy and tactics plus tenacity, striving and giving blood. This kind of orientation can only flow from a Marxist-Leninist-

Maoist ideological and political line. It becomes a strategic orientation for people's war once it is launched.

### C. THE PEOPLE'S WAR IS FAR FROM OVER. PARTIAL DEFEAT IS NOT ABSOLUTE DEFEAT

*Asumir's* claim that the whole process of counter-revolutionary war has succeeded is, to be polite, unfounded. Don't count chickens before they hatch. Even the "Senderologists" and Yankee analysts do not make such a claim of success; and if this were the case, why is the reactionary Fujimori making desperate noises about this "peace" business, trying to use it for "pacification"? Against whom is he launching the "little Vietnam" operation? Why are they bombing the villages, why are they desperately kidnapping students and lawyers and killing them? How can anyone deny the resounding operations of the People's War, even under the most difficult circumstances, carried out under the leadership of the PCP CC? We think the capture of Chairman Gonzalo and other leaders and cadres of the PCP and the blows to the Party structures have been a setback for the People's War, but however great that setback was, it cannot negate the whole process of the People's War. It failed to deal the death blow to the People's War. It is *extremely* difficult for the enemy to root out a 13-year-old people's war led by a Maoist force. This has been a profound People's War reflecting the masses' deep class hatred and their yearning for liberation led by a thoroughgoing proletarian force. And the People's War has many favourable factors in reserve to use in order to beat back this offensive, defend itself, and on that basis develop.

For example, in Peru today there is an aroused peasantry. This is an undeniable *military factor* that the Peruvian regime and its Yankee boss cannot afford to overlook. This aroused peasantry and people have turned into a material force for people's war. The PCP has been successful in arousing the women to break their chains and join the revolution; it has been able to incorporate a great number of women fighters into all levels and aspects of the People's War. The PCP has also succeeded in mobilizing impressive sections of

*Continued on page 66*

The People's War in Peru has shown a resiliency, a flexibility in the face of difficulties, an ability to overcome problems and a selfless revolutionary stubbornness that has shocked the reaction almost as much as the apparent prospect of imminent revolutionary victory did a few years ago. This is all the more inspiring to the masses around the world given the serious blows that the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) has confronted and has been striving to overcome in the past period.

The most important factor is the firm stand taken by the Central Committee of the PCP. Under their leadership, the Party members, the combatants in the People's Liberation Army it leads and the people who follow the Party, including the many thousands of peasants and others who exercise revolutionary political power in the base areas, will never willingly give up their guns or their power and are determined to fight on until nationwide victory. One important source of that stubbornness is their understanding of the role of the People's War in Peru as standard-bearer of the red flag of the world revolution, and of the international support that it rightfully enjoys for that reason. Never before has that international support been so strongly felt as it is today in Peru — and never before has it been as necessary.

The capture of Chairman Gonzalo on 12 September 1992 was a cruel blow. But on 24 September 1992, from a cage where the regime had hoped to humiliate him before the media, Chairman Gonzalo gave a speech that was heard literally around the world. Most importantly and memorably, he proclaimed that his imprisonment was "merely a bend in the road".

### **A RIGHT OPPORTUNIST LINE EMERGES**

#### **THE CRUELEST CUT**

Another serious blow came a year later, not from the strength of the reaction but from the emergence of a capitulationist line within the PCP's own ranks. This line became the main disorganizing factor, especially in the capital and other cities, and created a climate in which many people rose to the occasion and were tempered, while some others lost their bearings.

# Our Red Flag



Peasants and guerrillas of an open People's Committee.

On 1 October 1993, at the United Nations in New York, Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori read a letter that he attributed to Chairman Gonzalo, calling for "conversations to end the war". He claimed that a second and third letter by Chairman Gonzalo also existed.

The PCP Central Committee put out a Declaration on 7 October 1993, on the occasion of the anniversary of the Party's original founding in 1928 (See page 18). It warned that the gov-

ernment would resort to any means necessary to win a pending referendum scheduled to legitimize Fujimori's coup, including by using a hoax to discredit Chairman Gonzalo and promote capitulation, as part of government psychological warfare operations and the overall U.S. doctrine of low-intensity warfare. Without arguing against conversations or negotiations in the abstract, it unequivocally declared that the Party would never abandon the People's War.

# Is Still Flying in Peru!



Later the regime released another letter signed by several CC members and other prominent imprisoned Party members as well. It called for vigilance against "provocations" by Party members opposed to these conversations and demanded that such people be "exposed", by implication, to the enemy. Along with this statement, the regime circulated a photograph of the purported signatories together with Chairman Gonzalo and Elena Iparraguirre (Comrade Miriam, said

to be a member of the Party's highest leadership.) It was made into a leaflet, thrown from Armed Forces helicopters into the air over shantytowns in the cities and battle zones in the countryside, with a headline proclaiming "Your leaders have given up, so you should too."

The regime's claim that these communications came from Chairman Gonzalo himself was — and continues to be — in obvious contradiction with the continuing total isolation it

has imposed on him. This isolation makes it impossible to verify whether or not it is just a complete fabrication, or exactly what Chairman Gonzalo's thinking is. It has also made it impossible for Chairman Gonzalo to function as part of the Party's chain of information and collectivity that had served as the basis for his leadership. Supporters of the People's War and progressive people all over the world have responded to this situation by continuing the campaign to defend his

life, and stepping up their efforts to break the isolation. Fujimori's often-stated threats to kill Comrade Gonzalo were repeated on 21 May 1995, when the Peruvian president told a Brazilian TV reporter that, considering the conditions of confinement, he expected Chairman Gonzalo to die "within three years" from his psoriasis, a disease that is not life-threatening with proper medical treatment.

### FAKE "HISTORICAL BREADTH"

The content of the proposed peace accords was to become increasingly clear in the coming months as documents came out of prison, especially "Take Up and Fight for the New Decision and the New Definition" (known in Spanish as *Asumir*). This long-winded essay expounds a whole analysis of world history and the current world situation in an effort to justify the claim that the People's War cannot "advance but only maintain itself" and that it should not even try because of the danger that the Party would be wiped out. (Reprinted on page 60. See the article by the Union of Iran Communists [Sarbedaran] starting on page 28 for a detailed analysis of this thoroughly reactionary document.) However, all the false pomposity of *Asumir*'s fake "historical breadth" and real pessimism and cowardice was made very clear in the "11 point programme" (see page 64) that prison officials permitted pro-negotiations prisoners' family members to bring out along with *Asumir*. The essence of this "peace plan" — the bottom line of this line — is an offer to disband the revolutionary army, dismantle the revolutionary base areas and betray the revolutionary masses who have made the revolution theirs, leaving them unarmed, unorganized and at the mercy of the enemy's vengeance, in exchange for a release of prisoners and amnesty. By the end of 1993 and early 1994, the authorities were allowing ringleaders of this line to meet with other prisoners in order to win them over (while brutally suppressing the supporters of the revolutionary line), and releasing some individuals to spread this poison outside.

Two things have become unmistakably clear. First, this line goes completely against the line developed by the PCP under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo in the course of the re-

building of the Party and the People's War, and against the basic precepts of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as well. Second, while this line was not just concocted by the enemy and it has won adherents from the Party's ranks, the active support of the enemy is an indispensable condition of this line, and it leads not only to capitulation but collaboration with the enemy.

*Asumir* asserts that revolution in the world has entered a stage of ebb, a claim whose refutation is beyond the scope of this article (for RIM's views, see "On the World Situation" in *AWTW* 1995/20). But this is simply meant to justify a complete reversal of judgement on what Mao labelled bureaucrat capitalism, the system in Peru and other oppressed countries, where a disarticulated and distorted capitalism is emerging on the basis of imperialist domination and the persistence of semi-feudalism. According to *Asumir*, "the bureaucrat road has become viable". It holds that this growth of capitalism has already put an end to semi-feudalism, with the implication that there is no longer any need for New Democratic Revolution. The conclusion is, firstly, that the growth of bureaucrat capitalism has made it impossible for the peasant war now being led by the Party to continue, and, secondly, that bureaucrat capitalism will inevitably collapse amidst general crisis in the coming decades, making the protracted warfare led by the Party unnecessary and the dangers not worth the risk.

In addition to this contention dressed in the garb of "theoretical" assertions about the objective conditions, *Asumir* also bases itself on the more immediate claim that it is impossible and wrong to continue the People's War because of the subjective conditions, that is, the situation among the communists themselves, above all because Chairman Gonzalo has been imprisoned. This argument is hollow, a circular argument whose conclusions are smuggled in at its starting point. Why can't the Party's Central Committee lead under current circumstances? The only reason given for the claim that "the problem of leadership cannot be resolved" is exactly because the present Party leadership are continuing the People's War, in opposition to the forces that are seeking to stop it. But the real question about the Central Committee as it is

now constituted — and even at its most delirious — the regime has never claimed to have captured all the Party's leaders — is the political and ideological line they are carrying out. The present leadership have already proved more than "competent" enough to have determined that the People's War must be sustained and advanced, and that those "veterans" or anyone else who calls for its abandonment are going against the interests of the people.

The contention that "leadership is decisive" is wrong when what is meant is that individuals and not line is decisive. There is more than a little stench of feudalism about such a conception of leadership, which puts loyalty to individuals above loyalty to the revolutionary interests of the world proletariat and the masses, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Maoists judge any proposed negotiations from the point of view of the basic interests of the people. Mao pointed out, at a time when he himself had proposed negotiations during the revolutionary war, that these interests meant maintaining the revolutionary army and the masses' revolutionary political power. While Marxists can and have used negotiations and other tactics in the revolutionary struggle, no tactic can replace the Marxist central task — to seize revolutionary political power through revolutionary war as the first and necessary step on the road towards communism. There is no other way that the oppressed can transform the world in their image, and any other path can only lead to accommodation with the old world that defends itself with the most brutal reactionary violence. In Peru today, giving up the people's army and revolutionary political power would mean giving up everything — everything the Party has achieved and the very basis for the revolution to advance. The idea that the Party should sell out the present revolution so that it can save its cadres for some future revolution amounts to selling out the people for the advantage of a few. This kind of capitulation, if carried out, could only make revolution all the more difficult in the future.

It should be no surprise that this line implicitly calls for participating in elections, by claiming that "no one represented the people" in Fujimori's 1993 referendum — as if the PCP, instead of continuing the People's War,

carrying out armed actions against the elections and calling for what proved to be a widely supported electoral boycott, should have participated in that farcè. It should also be no surprise that by the time of the April 1995 presidential elections, representatives of this line abroad were brought by limousine to the Peruvian embassy to publicly cast their ballots for Fujimori. This is the result of a line that argues that "the People's War cannot advance but only maintain itself and that entails growing dangers".

---

### THE FEBRUARY, 1994 CC MEETING

---

In February 1994, at an historic CC meeting held in a revolutionary base area, the Party concluded that a Right Opportunist Line (in Spanish, LOD) had emerged from within its ranks. It reaffirmed the basic line developed under Chairman Gonzalo and put forward in the Party's First Congress held in 1988-1989. It said that the Party could never go against these principles and that no one could be a Party member who did not accept the basic line of the Party as formulated in these Congress documents. It declared that although the "evil grouplet" of LOD ring-leaders had "placed themselves outside the Party" by their own stand and actions, the struggle against the LOD had to continue and be "raised to the level of a line struggle" in order to sweep away a line and wrong ideas that stood in the way of the revolution's triumph. (See page 20.)

Actually, as the PCP analyzes, this struggle had already broken out in the Party even before Chairman Gonzalo's capture, in the face of the objective necessity that the revolution take a qualitative leap. The very progress the People's War had made posed the question of moving forward toward country-wide victory. Meanwhile, the enemy continued to attack the Party in different ways and, most importantly, was able to capture Chairman Gonzalo and some other Party leaders. All this had the effect of focusing up a line struggle whose roots go back much further.

The LOD has features in common (including some common adherents) with the two-line struggle about whether or not it was possible to go forward that had broken out within the Central Committee on the eve of the

launching of the People's War. While this question was settled decisively at that time — through organizational measures as well as by the development of the People's War itself — it is the nature of two-line struggle in all parties that it develops in waves, with ebbs and flows, as well as twists and turns. It exists constantly, but undergoes a qualitative leap into open antagonism at certain key points, in conjunction with decisive moments and turning points in the class struggle in society as a whole, which pose new questions or give renewed life to old questions.

At its February 1994 meeting, the PCP Central Committee said, "It is necessary to go deeply into the antecedents, process and current situation in order to define the current level of struggle throughout the Party." This means examining the objective situation in which the LOD emerged and the various series of political problems that arose in this context and posed questions regarding the road of the Peruvian revolution itself.

---

### BACKGROUND TO TODAY'S TWO-LINE STRUGGLE

---



---

#### THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION

---

By mid-1992, the advancing People's War launched 12 years earlier had brought the country to a rolling boil. The Party analyzed that the People's War had entered the stage of strategic equilibrium. In this stage, the PCP held, the revolution would go all-out to prepare for a strategic offensive and the reaction would go all-out to recover its lost positions. The guerrilla army was developing mobile warfare (larger, better-armed units in more highly coordinated, larger-scale actions) and stepping up preparations for insurrection in the cities. The Party's centre of gravity remained in the countryside, where Open People's Committees had flourished since 1990, but the urban masses of poor were acquiring armed strength in preparation for the final battle for the country's liberation. At that point, the Party held, the centre of gravity would shift to the cities. In the shantytown of Raucana, seeds of a whole new kind of society ruled by the workers and peasants and based on cooperation sprouted only five kilometers from the Lima presidential palace.

Faced with the prospect of a tri-

umphant People's Republic of Peru, it was inevitable that the Peruvian ruling classes would react with all the desperate fury of cornered beasts, and that imperialism, too, would bring into play more of its deadly resources.

The possibility of a full-scale U.S. invasion was openly discussed in the U.S. Congress in the early 1990s. But the U.S. sought to avoid "another Vietnam" by focusing its intervention on low-intensity warfare and especially counterintelligence. Starting in 1988, the U.S. encouraged and assisted the formation of a unit called the GEIN (Special Intelligence Group) whose specific mission was to hunt down the top PCP leadership.

Constant squabbling and conflicts within Peru's ruling classes had proved to be a serious obstacle to the prosecution of the reactionary war. On 5 April 1992, Fujimori carried out a military coup against the parliament and courts in an effort to unite the various factions by force and implement centralism under bayonets. In doing this, he had the backing of the United States, including the approving presence of the U.S. ambassador at the time of the coup, and a level of financial and military support that continues to be by far the highest in South America. The naked repression Fujimori unsheathed, the measures taken to restore conditions for profitable foreign investment, by plunging many millions of people deeper into hunger, and the campaign to decapitate the Party leading the masses, all served one common purpose: to ensure that Peru did not slip out of the clutches of imperialism.

Fujimori sought to resolve contradictions between the police and Armed Forces by putting the police under Armed Forces leadership. Having brought the prisons under direct military control, on 6 May Fujimori unleashed his troops to massacre Party leaders held in Canto Grande prison. U.S. intervention stepped up and climaxed in the 12 September 1992 capture of PCP Chairman Gonzalo.

---

### EVENTS POSE OLD AND NEW QUESTIONS

---

Events themselves were posing the question of the stage and main tasks of the revolution. The PCP held that the principal contradiction in Peruvian

society was between the masses of people and semi-feudalism, but that this contradiction would shift to one between the Peruvian people and a massive foreign invasion, either by the U.S. directly or acting through Peru's neighbours, whether this came before or after the nationwide seizure of power.

In his cage speech, Chairman Gonzalo called for the Party to organize a People's Liberation Front and turn the People's Guerrilla Army into a People's Liberation Army, an approach discussed at the Third Plenum of the Party's Central Committee earlier that year. The CC would later write in an August 1993 document that this did not mean that the principal contradiction in the country had changed, since U.S. intervention was still occurring mainly — though not exclusively — through the Peruvian Armed Forces, but rather that the increasing polarization of society itself would allow the Party to form a broader united front, with a more active role for the national bourgeoisie (that section of the bourgeoisie whose development is blocked by imperialism and semi-feudalism, including capitalist rich peasants). Proponents of the LOD, however, argued that the peasant war had come to an end, that the centre of gravity of the Party's work had shifted to the cities, and that "Peruvian society as a whole", specifically, the two sides in the civil war, had to come together to "save the Republic" from dismemberment at the hands of a U.S. imperialism that was seen as somehow external to this situation. In this view, the fundamental alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry that had served as the cornerstone of the revolutionary united front should be replaced by an alliance with the regime through which imperialism rules Peru — a regime which is itself the foremost representative of the system of subordinated capitalism and persistent semi-feudalism upon which imperialist domination rests.

Mao developed the understanding that national liberation in oppressed countries is essentially a peasant question. The mobilization of the peasants under the leadership of the Party by means of agrarian revolution is in no way a threat to the Party's ability to lead a broad united front against the country's domination. Rather, it is the very basis of the proletariat's ability

to lead and win the New Democratic Revolution. After nationwide victory in the New Democratic Revolution, it is the alliance with the peasants, and especially the poor peasants, who in Peru as in most oppressed countries make up the majority, that allows the proletariat to go over to and persist in socialist revolution and move forward towards communism.

As the 1993 RIM document *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!* put it, the revolutionary road Mao charted for the countries dominated by imperialism is "protracted People's War, surrounding the cities from the countryside, with armed struggle as the main form of struggle and the army led by the Party as the main form of organization of the masses, mobilizing the peasantry, principally the poor peasants, carrying out the agrarian revolution, building a united front under the leadership of the Communist Party to carry out the New Democratic Revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and establishing the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes led by the proletariat as the necessary prelude to the socialist revolution which must immediately follow the victory of the first stage of the revolution." The *Declaration* which serves as the founding document of RIM points out that the negation of these points has long been a hallmark of revisionism in such countries. The LOD's approach adds up to a one-stage, urban-centred view of the revolution in Peru that is very similar to the "traditional" revisionist views that once dominated the PCP and that Chairman Gonzalo led the struggle against in rebuilding the Party in the 1960s and 1970s. This is true of both the "parliamentarist" and "Guevarist" variants of revisionism (the latter, as represented today in Peru by the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement [MRTA], for example, sometimes envisions the countryside as the main theatre of revolutionary warfare but does not see the peasants as its main protagonists).

During the PCP's First Congress, held during 1988-89, an extremely important issue arose. After discussion, the Congress resolved that the most important point of what the PCP calls Gonzalo Thought, "a product of the application of the universal ideology of the international proletariat to the concrete conditions of [the Peru-

vian] revolution", as that meeting defined it, is the recognition of Maoism as a third and higher stage of Marxism, as opposed to the contention that the most important point was the thesis of the militarization of the Party. The development of this understanding represented a far-reaching advance in demarcating with the view that would reduce Maoism to its military dimension.

That Congress was also the occasion for struggle against tendencies to negate the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution. One form such tendencies took was negating the need for the peasants to free themselves and smash feudal barriers to progress, and thus refusing to implement the basic slogan "land to the tiller". Another was to make an absolute separation between the New Democratic Revolution and the immediate passage to socialist revolution by advocating "interrupted revolution".

Documents of the Central Committee's Third Plenum, held during the first half of 1992, speak once again of tendencies to negate the existence of semi-feudalism and the need to mobilize the peasants against it. Among other ways, this manifested itself in practice in the position that land seized from the landlords should not be turned over to the peasants. Such a move would have meant the risk that local Party leaders would take the place of the landlords instead of leading the peasants themselves to overthrow semi-feudal relations.

In its third session, in 1989, the Congress called for fighting revisionism as the main danger. The PCP CC's Second Plenum, held in the latter part of 1991 and early 1992, issued a warning to fight capitulationism and called for learning from the campaign conducted during China's Cultural Revolution to criticize the Chinese classical novel *Water Margin*. The novel's hero leads the peasants in an uprising against the emperor's corrupt officials but finally turns against those who want to go "too far" and oppose the system itself. Instead, he ends up accepting the emperor's call for amnesty and for enlisting the rebel troops in the imperial army.

The LOD's negation of peasant war is a basic pillar of its capitulationist line, exactly because that is the war the Party is leading. It was inevitable that the two-line struggle today, like the

two-line struggle of 1979, would eventually focus on the war itself, since this is the Party's main task.

---

**FROM BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATS  
TO BUREAUCRAT-CAPITALIST  
ROADERS**

---

The emergence of the LOD with the call for peace negotiations represented a qualitative leap from wrong tendencies previously existing in the Party to a complete political and ideological line in antagonistic opposition to that of the Party. Coupled with this was the mounting of an organized "evil grouplet" operating in open opposition to the Party's highest leading body, its Central Committee.

The advance of the People's War and the difficulties it has encountered have conditioned the form that this LOD has taken, but these were the external conditions, not the internal cause, of this development. Mao taught that two-line struggle within the party is a reflection of the struggle between classes in society overall.

The negation of the revolution's democratic tasks — and especially the opposition to peasant war — can represent the interests and outlook of bourgeois or petit-bourgeois forces who oppose the restrictions imperialist domination places on them but are reluctant to accept a society ruled by the workers and peasants. In the long run, New Democracy and socialism represent liberation for them too, since in the real world there is no viable alternative to the dictatorship of the reactionary classes aligned with imperialism other than the dictatorship of the revolutionary classes led by the proletariat. But some people whose outlook reflects or is influenced by those classes may "get on the bus" of revolution, only to seek to get off when it passes their "stop" — when they feel it impossible or undesirable, whether in circumstances of difficulty or of victory, to accept the proletariat's line of relying on the poorest and most oppressed of the masses and above all the poor peasants to go through the interlinked stages necessary to thoroughly abolish the old society. This phenomenon of "bourgeois democrats turning into capitalist roaders" was seen — and combatted — in Mao's China as well, during the Cultural Revolution, when some long-standing Party leaders (in-

cluding Deng Xiaoping) became representatives of those who opposed deepening the socialist revolution and sought to drag China down a different road, that of the restoration of capitalism. The LOD are not capitalist roaders in exactly that sense, but they certainly are advocates of the bureaucrat capitalist road.

---

**TWO ROADS**

---



---

**"SO MUCH SACRIFICE  
FOR NOTHING?"**

---

Even without accepting the regime's claims about the stand of every specific Party leader in prison, it is clear that what the CC correctly emphasizes is only a handful of people have turned against the revolution. It also seems that this handful has been able to confuse some and win over others, especially in the prisons where they have the collaboration of the authorities. There have been several contradictory reports in Peru's reactionary press about the number of prisoners who have signed a statement in support of the proposed "peace negotiations". It seems that several hundred have done so, especially in Canto Grande, where the authorities have transferred pro-LOD leaders from other prisons and given them the necessary freedom of movement, while the revolutionary line is suppressed and many prisoners may know very little about it. The mother of one slain revolutionary son visited her daughter in Canto Grande. When the mother was told about the LOD, she cried, "Has there been so much sacrifice for nothing?" The police promptly threw her out. Even in Canto Grande, however, there are apparently substantial numbers of prisoners who have refused to sign, which is even more significant given the pressure on pro-CC prisoners and efforts to make the prisoners of war believe that Chairman Gonzalo is behind the call for negotiations.

Outside of the prisons, the LOD has failed to organize a rival party, despite its efforts. But while some LOD leaders might dream of building a legal party apparatus to fool some people and use it as capital to serve themselves, the LOD doesn't have to succeed in this to serve the interests of the counterrevolution. Many of those arrested in the course

of 1994 were followers of the LOD or influenced by it. At least in some cases, it seems that these arrests were due to disputes between the government's intelligence services. One clear manifestation of how the regime is manipulating the situation came in mid-1994, when it boasted that it had captured a series of important pro-CC cadre. When these prisoners were presented to the press, they could actually be heard chanting pro-peace negotiations slogans. According to reports, these people were in fact either pro-LOD or people influenced and demoralized by that line.

In other words, during a first phase one important effect of the LOD was to demoralize and demobilize its adherents and those influenced by it. This often led to arrest because capitulationist views had taken the form of underestimating the viciousness of the enemy and failing to act according to the necessities of clandestinity. But soon this was leading to another form of capitulationism: the open collaboration with the enemy that leading LOD figures had practiced since the beginning and that the enemy demanded as the price for avoiding life imprisonment, torture or death. This line has its own logic, and the enemy is more than willing to enforce it. Once embarked upon, those caught up by this line find themselves trapped in a vicious cycle from which there is no easy escape.

---

**TWO-LINE STRUGGLE DECISIVE**

---

Part of the LOD's approach was to "democratically" and disingenuously demand that the People's War stop for a debate, in which everything would be debatable, including the colour of the Party itself. Such people have little to do but write documents, while the CC must lead the war and wage two-line struggle in that context. The Party members, fighters, the masses who live in the base areas, and so on have been informed about this struggle, studied documents and taken a stand for the CC's position. This two-line struggle is vital, not only for defeating the LOD's attempts to hijack the Party, against which the CC has dealt a resounding blow, but also to raise the level of understanding and unity to that required by the situation.

It has to be grasped that once a people's war has been launched, there



is no turning back. The reactionary armed forces and the regime will not allow it. This can be seen most clearly in the countryside, where the peasants are "caught between two fires" in a way very different to what is imagined by those who use this term to argue that the Armed Forces and the revolution are equally bad. It is dangerous to support the People's War even in the smallest way, such as, for instance, feeding passing guerrilla fighters, let alone taking up arms against the government. Tens of thousands of peasants have died for their real or suspected support. But even in cases where the peasants of a particular village or area might not actively aid the People's War, then the Armed Forces still come in and force them to act against the revolution and their own interests — and may torture and kill them anyway out of distrust and hatred for the exploited. Caught between the "fire" of the enemy directed against the revolution and the "fire" of everyday exploitation and oppression, the poorest in society find that revolution is the only way out. A few renegades may possibly be allowed to change sides — although the regime may seek to crush them all the same as a lesson to others. But for the masses there can be no "amnesty and enlistment", as the protagonist in *Water Margin* called for.

It is not Party policy to punish those who ask to leave the revolutionary army or the base areas. But it is Armed Forces policy to track down such people and offer them an alternative: help locate and murder comrades, or face torture and death. In contested areas under Armed Forces control, all the peasants must register with the authorities, and all are expected to do whatever is asked of them, unless they want to be considered "terrorists".

Still, despite these harsh, repressive conditions in which weaker elements are bound to drift away, just as they drifted in during higher tide, the regime has not been able to find a sufficient number of takers for its reactionary bargain. Its vaunted reports of up to six thousand repentant guerrillas have been repeatedly ridiculed, even by some of the legal press in Lima, for being highly exaggerated and yet not very many. TV channels broadcast elaborately staged reactionary ceremonies, deliberately patterned on the Inquisition, in which "repentants" don the medieval hats and hoods made infamous by the Ku Klux Klan in the U.S., kiss the regime's flag, and abjure the "devil's" red flag of revolution. In Armed Forces-controlled areas, ordinary peasants are forced to participate. Reporters have interviewed people who have played the "repentant" repeat-

edly, sometimes under different names. Some of them are active-duty soldiers or recently-demobilized draftees who have been obliged to do so by their superiors. Others are released prisoners re-arrested and forced to publicly curse the revolution time after time, as if in a never-ending nightmare.

This is the stage on which the two-line struggle is taking place. These are the conditions that the LOD is counting on to be more "persuasive" than any documents in promoting capitulation. Even a few can cause great damage if they turn traitor. Thus the two lines express themselves very sharply, not only in documents and written ideas, but especially in the deeds that flow from ideas, written or not. This underlines the decisiveness of the political and ideological line of the Party and its ability to train a section of the masses in those ideas as one vital part of turning them into a material force.

### **"A BEND IN THE ROAD"**

What Chairman Gonzalo declared in September 1992 about the revolution taking a "bend in the road" is far from disproved. No informed observer, reactionary or not, disputes that the revolution is holding out, especially in important areas of the countryside.



LEFT: Mass political meeting in a revolutionary base area.

Most importantly, because the Party has maintained the revolutionary army and the People's War, it has been able to preserve revolutionary base areas, the masses' New Power, which Chairman Gonzalo once described as the essence of people's war. They are not only its greatest achievement, but also its bone marrow, providing sustenance, military intelligence, and new forces to the revolutionary army, enabling the revolution to attain the goal of protractedness, which can only favour the people and disadvantage the enemy. It is exactly this protractedness that the LOD has turned against and that opportunism often opposes, in good times or bad, seeking some quicker and easier solution. Protractedness is what enables the proletariat, through the leadership of its party, to build up revolutionary strength and transform itself and other class forces in the furnace of warfare, in a process that has always been full of twists and turns in any country where it has ever occurred.

#### BONE MARROW OF REVOLUTION

These base areas exist in Ayacucho, in the highlands that have been a stronghold of revolution since the beginning, in the provinces of Cangallo and Victor Fajardo in the



eastern part of the department, and in northern Ayacucho, in the densely populated mountains of Huanta and in La Mar from the mountains north through the jungle along the Apurimac river (see map). They exist extensively in the Huallaga river valley, from Tingo María to north of Tarapoto, according to the enemy, along an axis stretching some 400 kilometers. They also exist in the North, in Piura and northern

Cajamarca. The regime is building new counter-insurgency bases in the departments of La Libertad and San Martín to cut off links with the Huallaga. They are building similar bases in the southern department of Puno and in Arequipa, where that department borders Huancavelica and Apurimac. In addition to these base areas characterized by "open People's Committees", where the red flag flies defiantly 24 hours a day, there are also

more clandestine forms of political power in many other places where the enemy doesn't want to admit it and the Party doesn't want to advertise.

These base areas are not isolated hideouts — just the opposite. Because they are places which the enemy may be able to penetrate, occasionally and at great cost, but not hold, it is there that the revolution can openly mobilize the masses and rely on them most fully. Nor are these areas impregnable fortresses to be held at all cost. The PCP follows the Maoist policy of never giving up a base area that can be held while avoiding battles that cannot be won. Above all, the revolutionary spirit of the fighters and the support of the masses has given the People's Liberation Army a tremendous mobility that enables them to outflank and outmanoeuvre the enemy, and thus retain or regain the initiative. The areas where the PLA operates are vast, and the country itself is large and geographically very favourable for People's War. The same backward production relations and forces that constitute such an obstacle to the country's emancipation also provide excellent conditions for these relatively autonomous base areas to sustain themselves and make it impossible for the regime to impose its control everywhere.

### **"KNOCKED BACK TO 1984"?**

Some "Senderologists" (professional "PCP-watchers" for the enemy, who call the PCP "Sendero Luminoso" or "Shining Path") like to claim that the People's War has been knocked back to the level of the early or mid-1980s. They base this on a quantitative assessment of government reports of engagements and actions. Of course, it would be ridiculous to blindly accept the regime's figures, especially in a situation where the Fujimori regime has blatantly striven to shackle and intimidate the press more than ever before. An Ecuadoran newspaper reported that in April 1995, during an upsurge, there were 178 revolutionary armed actions in Peru, taking place in 16 of the country's 24 departments. However, the number of actions has decreased, and for now guerrilla warfare is taking precedence over mobile warfare in the People's War. For instance, in terms of the size of units and degree of coordination of the revolutionary troops, and the level

of engagements, successful actions now generally involve the ambushing and wiping out of Armed Forces patrols, one or two platoons at a time, and there have been few recent reports of the kind of massive assaults on enemy fortified positions that, while never common, did occur repeatedly and spectacularly at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s.

Still, 15 years of people's war have brought about great changes in the masses of Peru and in the Party. An aroused peasantry exists in vast areas of the country. Hundreds of thousands of people have been trained in waging revolutionary war and exercising political power and are not willing to settle for less. The Party itself has been transformed in the course of the People's War, filling its ranks with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist workers and peasants, and the aroused masses are an inexhaustible source of replenishment. The trained and experienced cadres who have never stopped fighting are enormously important for drawing on those resources. Here, again, the decisiveness of political and ideological line is evident.

There is something else that must be said about this claim that the People's War has been "knocked back to 1984". That was an extremely hard period for the masses and the revolution, when the Armed Forces first came in and directly attacked, replacing the more ineffective police and carrying out a policy of wanton genocide. The revolution faced difficulties and setbacks, which were not overcome overnight, but they were finally and triumphantly overcome, leading to the great advance of the revolution in the latter part of that decade. The strengths enjoyed by the PCP today that did not exist in that period, and the fact that a real two-line struggle against opportunism can only make the Party immensely stronger, provide even more reason to consider the difficulties of the recent period as but a "bend in the road", as Chairman Gonzalo put it.

### **THE CURRENT SITUATION**

#### **THE MILITARY SITUATION**

In the week before the inauguration of Fujimori's second term on 28 July 1995, the date by which he had sworn

he would completely "wipe out Sendero", the People's Liberation Army ambushed Armed Forces patrols and attacked police barracks and other military targets in the departments of La Libertad, Ucayali, San Martín, Huánuco, Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Lima. As part of this, the town of Nuevo Progreso in the Upper Huallaga valley was seized and a mass mobilization of townspeople and peasants held.

This fighting, however, was not just a sudden and unexpected "flare-up", as extremely unhappy reactionary commentators called it, but rather indicated a deeper pattern. Campaigns of encirclement and suppression and counter-campaigns — in which the enemy attacks and the revolutionary army resists and strives to outflank the enemy and seize the initiative — continue to be the basic pattern of this war.

Throughout 1994 and the first half of 1995, the regime carried out major operations in a number of areas, including: the valleys of the Ene and Apurímac rivers in the department of Ayacucho and bordering departments; the central jungle area of the departments of Pasco and Junín, in the valley of the Mantaro River in the Peruvian central mountain region; and the hills and forests of the Huallaga River valley in the departments of Huánuco and San Martín. The Armed Forces have organized several thousand troops and helicopter gunships for deployment along these three main fronts: what they call the Huamanga Front (based in northern Ayacucho), the Huallaga Front, and the Junín Front in the centre of the country, which is used both to attack there and in conjunction with the other two fronts.

Ayacucho has always been the most fiercely contested area of the country, by both sides. The seriousness of the situation there for the reaction was brought out by a spectacular action in December 1992. The city of Ayacucho, which is the department's capital, was seized and held for some 40 minutes by the revolutionary forces, who did not seek to permanently hold it at that time. Police headquarters, army barracks and the Republican Guard were pinned down with mortar and rocket fire as fighters drove through the town in cars and trucks, throwing bombs at reactionary targets and giving out leaflets. The enemy

didn't show its face until the guerrillas started to retreat. This forced the reaction to concentrate forces and speed up their plans for an encirclement and suppression campaign in the region.

In March 1994, the Armed Forces attacked the Ene river valley and the Huanta area as well in a campaign under the personal leadership of General Nicolás de Bari. In stereotypical reactionary style, it was labelled "the final offensive", as, of course, were all the ones that followed. In August 1994, two helicopters carrying Bari and other military chiefs were attacked and had to turn back and land. Since then, enemy offensives in the region have been hit with several successful large-scale ambushes, including one in which a colonel was killed, and another in December 1994 in which an enemy unit of several dozen men was wiped out.

In both the Ene and Ayacucho, as well as elsewhere, Fujimori has developed the standing practice of using "ronderos" (paramilitary groups of civilians directed by the Armed Forces) and strategic hamlets (settlements in which the peasants are regrouped so as to be subject to direct military observation and control). These "ronderos" have a social basis for existence besides pure Armed Forces terrorism, since they are often led by landlords, "gamonillos" (small-time local feudal tyrants), cattle and sheep thieves (a plague upon the peasants and a target of the new revolutionary political power), retired Armed Forces personnel and others whose interests are with counter-revolution. But Armed Forces occupation makes it easier to force some peasants to participate in the ronderos as human shields for the reactionaries.

In the Ene, their favourite battle formation is peasants in front, ronderos behind them, and the army behind them both. Then the Armed Forces put out communiqués emphasizing the number of Asháninkas killed or found in common graves, as if the PCP and not the Armed Forces were responsible.

The Asháninkas are a tribal people in the isolated jungles of eastern Junín and the Ene valley. The Armed Forces have long worked in the area through missionary settlements and other "charitable projects" enforced by strategic hamlets and ronderos. They

follow a dual policy of trying to use the contradictions between the tribal people and land-seeking colonists from other areas to isolate the Asháninkas from "outsiders" and keep them under paternalistic control, while at the same time basically favouring the big colonist plantation owners against the native people. Thus Armed Forces "aid" to the Asháninkas is coupled with massacres of those who rebel and even those who try to flee exploitation by heading deeper into the jungle — massacres that the Armed Forces turn around and blame on the PCP. PCP policy is to target the regime and big exploiters, and many Asháninkas have become revolutionary fighters and Party members.

Ronderos have been used against the revolution in Ayacucho for many years. The PCP's method for dealing with them is to mobilize masses against them. One of the most outstanding examples was in 1990, when 700 to 1,000 peasants were organized to march through a large swath of Ayacucho and the two adjoining departments to wipe out rondero bands. Though the open People's Committees have been overthrown by the Armed Forces in some areas here, they have persisted in other areas and have been rebuilt where formerly defeated. The seizure of the Ayacucho town of San Juan de Lucanas in April 1994 by the People's Liberation Army, in the area of Cangallo-Victor Fajardo where the above-mentioned march took place, was a significant step in this continuing process of what the PCP calls "restoration and counter-restoration".

The Huallaga region was the scene of a major reactionary incursion called "Operation Aries" in 1994, in which several thousand troops burned, looted, raped and murdered in dozens of villages. Helicopter gunships tried vainly to fire upon guerrilla units that retreated and suddenly reappeared, attacking where least expected. The bulk of these troops finally had to be withdrawn. Another major offensive was launched in the region in the latter part of 1994. Before it, too, was brought to a halt, an Army unit guarding and repairing a vital Armed Forces' lifeline, the road from Tingo Maria to Pulcallpa, was completely wiped out in a blow that was as serious psychologically as it was militarily and logistically. In March 1995, there was a series of

guerrilla attacks on Armed Forces units and strongholds throughout the countryside in the department of Huánuco. In mid-May 1995, amidst yet another reactionary offensive, an Armed Forces patrol was wiped out near the town of Aucayacu. This region is particularly important because it is where U.S. involvement has been most visible on the ground — Aucayacu is not far from the U.S. base at Santa Lucía, which had already been attacked at the beginning of the decade.

---

### NO "WAR AGAINST DRUGS" FOR FUJIMORI

---

It is ironic to point out that the "war against drugs" that was used as the pretext for direct U.S. involvement has now been all but forgotten, at least as far as Peru is concerned. On 9 December 1994, General Bari declared that he considered ending the narcotics trade a goal that cannot even be pursued until "after the defeat of terrorism". Under Armed Forces rules, Bari should have retired several years ago. But despite a scandal in which key Bari aides were publicly linked to the drug cartels, Fujimori intervened to change the rules and ratify Bari as continuing head of the Armed Forces Joint Command. This move apparently met with U.S. approval, indicated by the fact that it came in conjunction with a visit by the chief of the U.S. Armed Forces Southern Command in charge of Latin America and the renewal of U.S. military supplies for the regime.

The vast majority of the peasants in the Huallaga region grow coca leaves. Although most of them have their own family plots, they are hemmed in by the backwardness that makes it unprofitable to grow any cash crop but coca and by the marauding Armed Forces and drug cartels. These overlords carry on in much the same way as the semi-feudal landlords whose domination the peasants left the mountains to escape a generation or two ago. The PCP's policy is to protect the peasants against the civilian and uniformed narcotics traffickers who exploit and rob them, while encouraging them to diversify their crops. Many of them do, to a varying extent, despite the loss of cash income this represents, because they under-

*Continued on page 86*



## Raucana

The Party, firmly carrying out the approach developed by Chairman Gonzalo, proposed a further development of work in the neighbourhoods and shantytowns, mobilizing the masses and organizing them for armed actions, faithfully following Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. After a very detailed study of the area, the leadership called for land seizures in accordance with the Party's political line. The place, in Vitarte, was for sale and was to be developed as a tourist zone. It was a medium-sized land parcel, belonging to an Italian named Isola. The masses were mobilized — nearly 1,200 came from El Agustino, Granja Azul, San Gregorio, Vitarte, Nueva Esperanza, Andahuaylas, Vista Alegre, and Yerbateros. The leadership firmly united the People's Guerrilla Army around the Party programme and quotes



from Chairman Mao. The specifics of the situation called for organizing the masses into groups, each one having its leading person; thus the Barrio Workers' Movement was organized, and sharp political agitation was carried out among the mass membership, strengthening their commitment to revolutionary violence, proletarian discipline and adherence to the leadership of the Party.

The land takeover process was begun, then active defence was organized. Because the Party had warned us about this and had proposed that we should be prepared for any contingency, the masses were armed with the most rudimentary weapons: tyres, slingshots, rocks, clubs, ground chili pepper to throw in the eyes, and acid. There were three clashes. In the first, the masses beat back the reactionaries' police force, ten of them from the Santa Clara station. This occurred at 5:30 a.m. on 28 July 1990. Our joy was indescribable, and the Party led everything.

The second clash took place the same day at 6:30 a.m. There were 30 to 40 murdering thugs who opened fire with birdshot, bullets, and teargas. The masses put up fierce resistance. Slogans rang out powerfully: Murdering cops, the people will smash you! This is where *compañero* Felix Jorge Raucana was killed. There was but one watchword: to recover the body of the murdered *compañero*, and rescue the wounded who were children, old people, and mothers. Morale was at its highest pitch, and the chants rang out: Nobody surrenders here! *Compañero* Felix Raucana has been murdered! The

masses, fighting on the periphery of the confiscated lands as well as in the shantytowns of San Antonio, Amauta, Monterrey, San Gregorio, and Vitarte, put up fiery resistance, forcing the reactionaries to withdraw, unable to arrest anyone, to capture the wounded, or take the body of the murdered comrade.

The third clash took place at 8 a.m. on the same day. Reactionary police forces from several stations returned – from Santa Clara, Vitarte, the PIP [Peruvian Investigation Police], and the DOES from Barbadillo – and were unable to enter. They only got to the Esperanza/Estrella entrance, because the masses stopped them and made them back off. They didn't return.

After these battles, the number of masses decreased to about 600. The next day the people returned, and more joined them. The land seizure was a success. This was a triumph of Chairman Gonzalo and of the Party. The land was divided up into sectors. Once these were established, the workers from the central highway factory district were invited to join. There were speaking bitterness sessions, and the press was called, in order to expose the vicious and cowardly aggression against the people. Some intense agitation and propaganda was carried out. The call went out to harvest crops in Hiachipa to contribute to the people's communal kitchen. The Party leadership gave instructions to develop collective work, and in order to carry this out, land was parceled out with the help of architect *compañeros*, assigning some lots for the cultivation of grain and vegetables by the masses in order

to meet their own food needs. This involved new social relations which involved new politics, a new economy, new culture. Steps were taken so that each sector would have its dining room, its livestock area for raising guinea pigs, various kinds of fowl, and rabbits. Recreation for the masses was organized on Sundays. As part of political work with the masses, meetings were held in which the Party's position was explained. Children played games related to the People's War. Also people's justice was carried out; the masses no longer went to the government to deal with things like robbery, adultery or drug addiction, but instead followed the leadership of the Party.

In terms of active defence, walls for defence and barricades were erected, and a strict four-corner security perimeter was set up 24 hours a day. Nobody was allowed into the main entrance without knowing the password. The masses were armed with whatever was at hand, and military training was carried out. Party holidays were celebrated with profound joy. The school of a new type reflected the things that the Party has justly and correctly been developing throughout the People's War.

The Party leadership correctly called for developing an intense campaign of agitation and propaganda, speaking bitterness, and uniting the masses firmly, and strict adherence to the plan to defend what had been won. There were mass mobilizations to denounce the eviction order, visits to the trade union offices, and to the various shantytowns. The national and foreign press were called, and speaking bitter-

ness was promoted among the masses, sharply exposing the sinister plan of the reactionaries and the old state against our people. It was necessary to expose the whole sinister campaign of the media mouthpieces of the old state, who were claiming that "the Sendero Central Committee was in Raucana".

In response to this situation, a mobilization was organized involving 800 people, marching to the Vitarte city hall to demand intervention to annul the eviction order. The eviction was planned for 9 August; the Party united the people behind its politics, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, the programme, and the point about fighting in defence of land, which was raised as a slogan. Then a dress rehearsal of the battle to combat and resist the intended eviction was held. The entire Central Highway between Huachipa and Vitarte was blockaded, tyres were slashed on all the buses on the highway. Before doing this, people boarded the buses, explained what they were doing and why, and passed out leaflets. Tyres were burned and barricades were set up. At the entrance to Raucana, ditches were dug to prevent the reactionaries' vehicles from entering, and dump-truck loads of rocks were emptied at key points. The masses were completely down for the fight, and their resistance was heroic. The reactionaries were forced to retreat even though the masses had only rudimentary weapons like slingshots, Molotov cocktails, and home-made tear gas. They couldn't enter Raucana.

That evening and the next day, August 7th, representatives of

different shantytowns such as San Antonio, Monterrey, Amauta, etc., arrived, bringing written messages of support for the struggle from the masses, and a joint determination to continue fighting. Food and fruit were brought, as well as money in support of the people's struggle. Also representatives of the trade unions came, such as SEDAPAL and the CTP, who participated in a very good way, helping to appropriate electricity from the power lines. On August 9th at dawn, everybody was at their combat posts. Nobody came. Then at 9 a.m., two "firemen" from Cambio 90 [Fujimori's political party], sent by the mayor to throw water on the struggle, came as intermediaries, supposedly offering to suspend the eviction order if the people agreed to negotiate. A mass meeting was held, where people decided to continue the struggle. It was stated that Isola had a blood debt with the people, and there would be no compromise. Then an agreement was reached between Isola and the masses to postpone the eviction. There was a group vote of confidence in the collective leadership. On top of that, more masses continued to come from other shantytowns such as Marca Parado, Micaela, and Niño Jesús.

All the masses in Vitarte were on alert that night, the 9th of August. Fighters of the PGA placed a car bomb in the Isola factory to pressure Isola to withdraw the eviction order.

On August 27th the SIV [National Intelligence Service] sent three of their henchmen to photograph the masses and the security checkpoints. They were captured

and held by the masses, and when asked who they were, they said they were newspapermen and wouldn't identify themselves. They were searched and found to have documents related to the SIV, and they were armed. In their car was a map, obviously of Raucana, on which was written "Sendero Central Committee and a weapons arsenal". After being held prisoner for three days, they were presented to the national and foreign press, where their identities were exposed and their belongings returned.

On September 5th, the genocidal armed forces, numbering 1,500, under the guise of civic action, took over Raucana and set up a base; but the masses reaffirmed their faith in the Party leadership and carried out all their tasks. There was leafletting and speaking bitterness. The call went up that the armed forces must go – these troops who represented the degeneration of the old society, genocidal troops who threatened the masses with death. In September the Party called for firm unity of the Party, the PGA and masses because a battle was necessary in order to expel the armed forces. A long stretch of the Central Highway was blocked with tyres and rocks, and there was definite support from people of other shantytowns who participated actively, complementing Raucana's internal defence plan. The fight was unequal but what shone forth was the heroism and fierce resistance of the masses. Four people died as well as two soldiers, there were a number of wounded, and the heroic struggle continues. ➤

## Election Boycott

The district of Chuschi is located in the department of Ayacucho, province of Cangallo, seven hours away. It is in a hollow and is a poor area, where 90% of the people are poor peasants.

Political objective: To boycott the general elections of 1980.

Military objective: To burn the ballot boxes and the ballots.

The Party had established justly and correctly the Beginning of the Armed Struggle, ILA (Iniciar la Lucha Armada), for May 17th, 1980. It was the eve of the general elections. Applying the boycott to the elections and with the slogans, Long Live the Armed Struggle! Workers and Peasants Government!, Down With the New Government!, the new was being born in our homeland. We did not have a People's Guerrilla Army or weapons. We started empty-handed, but we had the main thing: the ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, our all-powerful and invincible weapon. The Party was gathered. The comrades of the Party apparatus of the Area Committee of Cangallo-Fajardo, under the leadership of Comrade Norah – our great heroine, example of giving your life for the Party and the revolution – embraced with solemn commitment the communist decision of ILA and [swore] to make come true the first action of the People's War in the country, putting our life on the line. Thus firmly unified, we prepared to carry it through. At that time... the activists, most of them

peasant youth, the youngest 11 years old, committed themselves to ILA with raised fists.

In that way the action of the election boycott was prepared and carried out, burning the ballots and all the election materials, after a previous reconnaissance of the site where the ballot boxes were kept, and the plan was established and the action prepared. A total of 12 compañeros participated. Two would approach the place posing as policemen and would subdue the guard. Ten more would wait outside, camouflaged as villagers. Five of them were to go in, take out all the material and carry it to the plaza. The others would be in charge of containment. One of them would have the gasoline, 3 liters, and with it they would burn all the stuff. When the action was finished, they were to withdraw to a previously established place. As far as weapons, we had knives. The action was slated for 10 am on May 17th. The Peruvian Army brought the election materials in three trucks with 36 soldiers during the morning of the 17th. They left two trucks and four soldiers. The other truck left for Cangallo and they did not leave any soldiers in the town. The action was carried out as planned.

Anecdote: When the two com-

rades approach the place, they are dressed as policemen, who because of the cold temperatures of the area wore ponchos and



ABOVE: Distribution of PCP literature among the masses.



kepis. When the guard opened the door, he greeted them but was surprised to see that they didn't have their kepis and asked, "Where is your kepi, chief?" In seconds, he was being subdued and could not utter anything else.

When the soldiers of the Peruvian Army got wind of the action, they tried to come back to town, but coincidentally their two trucks were not running. They had broken down and they had to wait for reinforcements until the following day.

Thus was successfully brought forth the boycott action, the armed detachments without arms, the new was born.

**BELOW: Hammer and sickle carved into the main highway during an armed strike in 1989.**



## 1986 Land Invasion

“In the northern region, land invasions under the slogan ‘Seize the land!’ mobilized 170,000 peasants and led to the confiscation of 320,000 hectares of land, mainly pasture land, and 12,000 head of cattle, mostly first class, which were redistributed to the peasants.” (“Develop People’s War to Serve the World Revolution.” [AWTW 1987/8])

“The land question is key, and the Party policy is applied to this question, spurring armed land invasions and seizures, and then defending them. The question is to defend and conquer the land with People’s War, and similarly, to defend and conquer the necessary conditions for a pro-

duction development that serves the people.”

The land seizures in the north took place in 1986, in two provinces of the department of La Libertad -- mainly the province of Antigo de Chuco and the province of Sánchez Carrión.

The Communist Party of Peru led with arms the seizure and the invasion of lands of cooperatives and SAIS (Agricultural Societies of Social Interest [Sociedades Agrícolas de Interés Social]), covering 320,000 hectares, mainly grazing and agricultural lands. The PCP, leading the People’s Guerrilla Army (PGA), planned the total destruction of the cooperatives’ management compounds, in order to completely and thoroughly destroy the agricultural cooperatives.

One of the main agricultural cooperatives of the area, which had received a lot of attention from the reactionaries because it was one of the largest and most productive due to its fertile lands and its grazing fields, was called San José de Porcón. The targets for annihilation were determined. Four leaders of the coop, who were the most hated by the peasant masses, were selected. These “cabezas negras” lived in the coop (in the management compound), which housed the accounting and management offices, the warehouses, as well as tractors, machinery, fertilizers, etc. The planned guerrilla action had one objective: to destroy the great associative property, pick up the crops, sabotage, carry out armed propaganda and agitation, and proceed to redistribute the land and animals. The action was carried out very successfully by

the main force and the local force, and base forces, mobilizing the peasant masses of the area. A large number of them came from a village called Hospital.

Our forces were divided into attack forces, support forces and security forces. The attack group was deployed to capture the diehards, who were killed in their own houses while trying to run away. Then the offices were seized. The whole place was dynamited and burned. Then they went on to confiscate the possessions of the cooperative in order to distribute these among the peasants after a political rally that called on them to join the People's War led by Chairman Gonzalo, by the Communist Party of Peru, and to Seize the Land! and defend it by force of arms. A movement of poor peasants and a Distribution Committee were formed. Two tractors were dynamited.

The news spread like wildfire. In the different farms incorporated into the cooperative (anexos), before the PGA arrived the peasants, on their own, following the example of previous actions, had organized and agreed to distribute among themselves crops and cattle. This created some problems in the distribution — some got more, others didn't get anything. The Party solved this problem by distributing the land.

Based on this huge mobilization of masses, the Party began to organize the New Power, the first People's Committees in the province of Santiago de Chuco, in the areas of Hospital, Angasmарca, Cachicaden, Santa Cruz de Mollebamba, Mollepata and surroundings, Three Rivers,

etc., for example.

In the Sánchez Carrión province, the peasant masses were also mobilized to destroy a cooperative that covered the districts of Curgos and Saña; local peasants were mobilized, such as those of the hamlet of Poc-Poc and Huagil.

An anecdote: When the comrades of the main force were going to a nearby farm incorporated into the coop in order to mobilize the masses and to organize land invasions and crop seizures, they met on the road with a group of peasants who had already seized cattle. When the comrades asked where they were coming from, the peasants answered: "Compañeros, we heard that you were in the nearby village, seeing to the land and crop seizures, so we decided to go ahead and distribute everything among ourselves. We each got a cow." The comrades verified the distribution and noticed that one pregnant woman (she was eight months) had received two cows, and she told them: "They gave me two, one for me and one for the soon-to-be born." Later they heard that she delivered without complications and was feeding herself with the milk of the cow she had gotten. Seven cooperatives were de-

stroyed. One lesson of this huge mobilization of peasant masses was that the People's Power was not organized immediately, while the iron was hot.

### *Harvest in Huaycán*

The action took place in Lima, district of Vitarte, in the slum of Huaycán, along Central Highway Km. 17, between Huaycán and Horacio Zeballos. This is an agricultural area, a large area of about 5 hectares, owned by an Italian exploiter named Poppe. Crops like potatoes, vegetables, corn, etc., are grown there. The work is done by masses hired to toil for 1 sol [2 sol = 1 USD, 1995] and some crops; it is pure misery,





**ABOVE: Fighters of the People's Guerrilla Army.**

superexploitation.

In the harvest season, after the day's work is over, the masses go at night to pick up whatever is lying in the fields, looking for the few potatoes that may have been left behind.

The Party organized the seizure of the potato harvest, launching a raid in the middle of the day, during the harvest, mobilizing the masses of Huaycán, Horacio Zeballos and other places.

A Plan was developed. Around 11 or 12 in the morning, when the sacks full of potatoes were ready to be sent to Poppe, a contingent would take over the tractor, the two trucks and the overseer's car (a man sent by Poppe). People's Guerrilla Army fighters would

seize control of the place. The masses working there along with other masses, a total of 2,000 who were waiting in the surroundings, would come in and take the sacks of potatoes for their own food. The arms of the PGA would secure the harvesting until it was over. Then the People's Guerrilla Army would withdraw to pre-established places, the arms would be centralized and a PGA force would put them in a safe location.

That day they were harvesting one or two hectares. There were two drivers and two trucks, one tractor operator, four or five assistants and a car with two foremen.

The PGA went in as part of the

labourers and in a surprise attack subdued those employees of Poppe. Then they called to the masses in the vicinity and went to the fields to harvest the crop. Agitation was done with Party slogans, banners flying, and the masses expressed a profound happiness: Long Live the Party! then they left with their produce. The news spread and more masses came; even the cars driving by stopped and people got out to join the harvest.

At the beginning of the action, when Poppe's employees were being subdued, his stooge representative was killed – a miserable human being. As the thug he was, he resisted. His death was greeted by cheers from the masses.

Meanwhile, a PGA force blocked the Carretera Central, at Km. 17. In Huaycán there was another quick agitation and propaganda action, calling on people to go harvest. That way more masses gathered and went to the place.

The police arrived three hours later and, furious at not being able to do anything, they shot the banner that was flying. Then they started their search operations, looking for the PGA fighters, but they failed. The PGA did not have any casualties. This harvesting action in Huaycán was successfully achieved. There was broad mass participation in an organized way under the leadership of the Party, through the PGA. It was a just and correct action. And the masses joined the People's War for the total Seizure of Power completely, forever, and to struggle for communism.

This action occurred during the month of February 1989. ■

## PCP Chairman Gonzalo

# The Fight to End the Isolation

More than three years after the capture of Communist Party of Peru Chairman Gonzalo, the stakes in the battle to defend his life remain very high for both the world's revolutionaries and the world's reactionaries. This battle has been tortuous, filled with unexpected twists and turns, attacks and counter-attacks, and yet the threat of execution continues to hang over his head. It was to be expected that such a battle would be difficult; winning it will require that many more people have a firm grasp of what is at stake and a spirit of persevering to the end.

Comrade Gonzalo played the central role in initiating and steadily advancing the People's War in Peru, and played an outstanding role in fighting for and strengthening Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology within the international communist movement. He became recognized as the leader of millions of people in Peru and became known internationally for his vision of a communist future. The uncompromising nature of the People's War in Peru became a beacon to revolutionaries everywhere who were daily being bombarded with the imperialists' claims that "communism is dead".

Comrade Gonzalo's role was crucial in creating the situation in Peru today, where in the face of ever-increasing repression, a genuine People's War is continuing to threaten the very existence of the old reactionary state, and the beginnings of a new state are beginning to blossom. This is the leadership the reactionaries are trying to eliminate. This is the dream they want to crush.

When Chairman Gonzalo was interviewed by *El Diario* in 1988, he was asked what it felt like to be the world's "most wanted man". He responded:

*"It feels like you're doing your job and working hard at it. What remains is to shoulder more responsibility for the revolution, the Party, Marxism-*

*Leninism-Maoism, for our class, the people and the masses. And to always understand that we carry our lives on our fingertips. If that weren't so, we couldn't be communists. So they have their reasons. Mine are those established by the Party, to which I wish to be more and more true and useful, because life can become entangled anywhere along the road, moreover it has a beginning and an end, more time, less time."*<sup>1</sup>

For more than a decade, three successive Peruvian regimes stalked Chairman Gonzalo. At the same time, the world's most sophisticated counter-revolutionary apparatus carried out an international campaign to isolate and demonize him — to create the kind of international opinion that was necessary to swiftly and efficiently kill him when he was captured.

When the Fujimori regime, led at each step by the US-CIA, finally succeeded in capturing Comrade Gonzalo on 12 September 1992, they were confident that their careful preparation would ensure their success. Fujimori announced his plans to kill Comrade Gonzalo. His date of execution was set. The firing squad was chosen.<sup>2</sup>

But all of the years of planning didn't prepare the reactionaries for the determined resistance of the PCP and the Peruvian masses, nor for the spectre of an international campaign springing up on every continent to defend a revolutionary leader they had so carefully and systematically vilified.

There is little doubt that the international battle to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo at first astounded and bewildered, and then frightened and infuriated the Fujimori regime, its US imperialist masters, and reactionaries around the world. What they were confident they had prevented, had happened. And what was more, something they hadn't even dreamed of was coming

into being. With the formation of the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Dr Abimael Guzman (IEC), the revolutionary people of Peru and Maoists around the world were joined by people with many different political views to defend Comrade Gonzalo. The reactionaries were now faced with a battle for the sentiments of many broader forces whom they had thought would either blindly agree with their lies that Comrade Gonzalo was a "bloodthirsty terrorist" who "deserved whatever he got", or would stand silently by. This new situation not only increased the risk of exposing the true nature of their regime to some who had had illusions, but risked creating increasing support for the People's War among those people who believe that a fundamental right of the oppressed is to fight against their oppressors.

But while the reactionaries have thus far been prevented from killing Comrade Gonzalo, they have never given up their plans to do so. For three years, their threat to kill him has hovered overhead, while they have employed all kinds of attacks and dirty tricks to accomplish their goal of extinguishing the life of this revolutionary leader and everything he symbolizes. In Peru, they have unleashed their arsenal of counter-revolutionary warfare against the people in an effort to crush the People's War with wave upon wave of genocidal military offensives. Reinforcement of the entire apparatus of repression. New harsher laws. Increased imperialist intervention. Psychological warfare. All wrapped up in a facade of "democratic elections" and neo-liberal economic policies. Internationally, they have resorted to the psychological warfare operations (psy-ops) familiar in every counter-revolutionary war. Yet a broad array of people



from every continent have courageously continued the uphill battle to defend Comrade Gonzalo's life.

Chairman Gonzalo has now been in the dungeons of the regime for more than three years. The regime has



Members of the sixth delegation in Lima. From right to left: Rev. M. Yasutake, Dr. P. Erlinder, Dr. J. Landinez, Lt. Gen. S. Papageorgiou, C. Hadfield.

been able to totally isolate him – including from his Party, from the People's War, from the international communist movement, and from the masses in Peru. Nonetheless, in spite of the wishful ravings of the reactionaries that his capture and that of other revolutionary leaders spelled the inevitable defeat of the People's War, the Central Committee of the PCP, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and its specific application to Peru developed by Chairman Gonzalo, has been able to surmount these serious blows and continue. In the midst of this battle (and through battle), they have also waged an uncompromising campaign to defend Comrade Gonzalo. The stakes are high. Defending Comrade Gonzalo means defending the hopes, the visions, the aspirations of millions of people in Peru and around the world who dream of one day throwing off all class divisions and imperialist domination. Defending Comrade Gonzalo is telling reactionaries everywhere that the days when they could rip off the life of such a

precious and uncompromising revolutionary communist leader with impunity are over.

### THE IEC CAMPAIGN AND THE BATTLE TO END THE ISOLATION

From the moment Chairman Gonzalo was sentenced to life in prison, one of the main demands of the IEC was that he be allowed access to lawyers, to adequate medical care, to reading materials, and to direct means of communication. So long as he is isolated, the regime has more freedom to attack him. The IEC rightly demanded that the Fujimori regime comply with internationally recognized norms regarding the treatment of political prisoners and prisoners of war, which condemn isolation as a form of torture.

In the autumn of 1993, the outbreak of the two-line struggle in the PCP posed sharp challenges to IEC activists. There was widespread speculation in the media, fuelled by the regime, about Chairman Gonzalo's "real position" on the peace negotiations line. Yet so long as Chairman Gonzalo is held in isolation by the regime, the IEC has categorically refused to accept any of the regime's representations as to what he said or thought, and it has refused to allow such speculation to induce any hesitation in its determined efforts to defend Chairman Gonzalo's life and end his isolation. The two-line struggle in the PCP stimulated IEC activists to take a fresh look at the campaign's basic points of unity. From the beginning, the campaign had taken up the defense of Chairman Gonzalo's life on the basis that he was looked to by millions of Peruvians as a leader in their struggle against an unjust, repressive regime backed by the US imperialists, and he had gained the respect of the oppressed around the world on that basis. That has not changed. Moreover, the Fujimori regime is clearly as intent as ever upon ensuring Chairman Gonzalo's isolation and carrying forward their plans to kill him. In these

circumstances, and as the PCP carries forward the People's War, the IEC reaffirmed its determination to carry the fight through to victory.

Because of the IEC's dogged persistence in pursuing its goals, tens of thousands of people signed petitions and letters demanding an end to the isolation; an Ad to End the Isolation was signed by prominent people in more than 20 countries and published in several newspapers. International lawyers and lawyers in Lima pursued the legal avenues available to them. At the same time, while the main focus was the battle to end the isolation, the IEC also continued to expose the true nature of the Fujimori regime, report on the continuing People's War, and to bring the truth about events in Peru to the light of day. International leaflets exposing the military offensives against people living in the countryside were disseminated and published in many countries and languages. On 14 March, while holding a press conference in New York City, Fujimori stood stunned and red-faced while activists from the IEC and the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru (CSRP) denounced him and demanded an end to Dr Guzman's isolation in front of the international press. Days later, hundreds of Nepali protesters "greeted" Hillary Clinton at the Kathmandu airport, raising banners and shouting "US Hands Off Peru", "Defend the Life of Comrade Gonzalo" and hurling black flags at her, a traditional form of protest in that country.

In January 1995, an attack taking advantage of the struggle around the so-called "peace accords" was launched against the international campaign. This attack specifically targeted Comrade Gonzalo's lawyers in an attempt to close down his legal defence. According to a "letter" which the Fujimori regime claimed had been authored by Comrade Gonzalo, Comrade Gonzalo was said to be critical of his legal representation and wanted to defend himself. Advocates of "peace accords" used this "letter" to allege that the lawyers were not acting as professionals, but were instead acting as advocates of the continuation of the People's War, and attempted to withdraw the right of the lawyers to represent Chairman Gonzalo.

The reaction of the IEC was swift. They refused to accept any letter re-

leased by the Fujimori regime purporting to represent Comrade Gonzalo's views. The Lima lawyers and international lawyers confirmed that Dr Abimael Guzman was their client and also rejected any representations made by the Fujimori regime regarding his wishes. If Dr Guzman wanted to dismiss them, why wouldn't the Fujimori regime allow him to speak to them directly? They began to make plans to once again go to Lima to demand to speak to their client in person.

On 4 May 1995, the regime launched another attack on the IEC campaign when a pack of reactionary lies and slanders appeared in the Peruvian press and international media claiming that two American supporters of RIM had travelled to Peru to carry out a Rambo-style "kidnapping". According to them, this "kidnapping" was part of the "international campaign in favor of Guzman to later achieve his freedom". It then confused things even further (deliberately) by saying that RIM had organized the demonstrations against Fujimori in the US (which had in fact been organized by the US-IEC and/or by the US-CSRP).

Once again the regime was trying to frighten people around the world who were demanding an end to the isolation of Dr Guzman and defence of his life. The IEC issued a refutation of their slanders that pointed out that they were trying to discredit the international campaign in order to deepen the isolation of Comrade Gonzalo and kill him. They were trying to divide the campaign and frighten away those supporters who demanded respect for the life of Comrade Gonzalo, but who have different political views than either RIM or the PCP.

Then on 21 May 1995 Fujimori issued another murderous threat: "Abimael Guzman is very sick. He will be dead within three years. He suffers from psoriasis... and is very depressed. Nobody has a long life in the prison where he is held... I believe he should remain in isolation." This announcement was nothing short of a threat of pre-meditated murder! Who can forget that this prison "where nobody has a long life" was built especially for Chairman Gonzalo? Who actually believes that death from a medically treatable disease such as psoriasis could be called "natural"? This open threat to Comrade Gonzalo's life - this boastful confirmation that the regime intends

to murder him - makes it even more important to mobilize people to energetically demand an end to the isolation of Comrade Gonzalo.

---

### 6TH IEC DELEGATION TRAVELS TO PERU

---

On 16 July, the 6th IEC delegation arrived in Lima. Their very presence in Lima put the regime on notice that all of their dirty tricks, their series of lies and innuendos, their threats and bellicose pronouncements, had failed to get the international campaign off track. Once more a delegation representing the strength and determination of thousands around the world was standing at the very gates of their palace, their courts, and their prisons to tell the regime that they couldn't do whatever they wanted with impunity, and to let the people of Peru know that the international campaign would continue to defend Dr Guzman, other political prisoners in Peru, and their lawyers.

The 6th delegation included international lawyers who had been to Lima in the past, prominent individuals known for their defence of political prisoners, an IEC activist, and a specialist physician in dermatology qualified to examine Dr Guzman and speak about his medical condition. Their presence could not be easily dismissed. Reporters crowded the delegation's first press conference. The presence of the IEC delegation made headlines in the daily papers. Television reports quoted the lawyers' demands to see their client and spotlighted the international leaflet denouncing Fujimori's threats against Dr Guzman. Radio stations disseminated news of the presence of the delegation to the furthest reaches of the Andes. News coverage about the delegation spread to dozens of countries around the world.

While in Lima, the delegates renewed the IEC's long-standing request to visit Dr Guzman. Two of the international lawyers walked right up to the gates of the prison in El Callao where Chairman Gonzalo is held. Before the eyes of a large number of Peru's press, officials from the Fujimori regime once again turned them away, revealing the terrible fear they still have of ending this man's isolation.

The delegates were also able to meet with the International Red Cross and with sympathetic members of religious and human rights organizations, and

were able to gather new and important information about the oppression of the Peruvian people.

The impact of the delegation was not lost on the regime, which scrambled to denounce their presence. Fujimori's party issued a press statement calling for the delegation's expulsion. DINCOTE agents swarmed the hotel lobby, shadowed delegates on the streets, and attempted to impede their activities. But the impact of the delegation was most powerfully evidenced by the faces and actions of the people, especially the poor. Members of the delegation reported being greeted with smiles, thumbs up signs, pats on the back, and even with hugs and gifts. A waitress asked them to go to the restaurant's kitchen so the kitchen workers could greet them; a hotel worker asked for an autograph; as they walked in one place, a band struck up "Zorba the Greek", a tune associated with Chairman Gonzalo in the minds of many Peruvians. Vendors on the street gathered eagerly around the delegation's press conference, scrambling to get their hands on delegation press statements, IEC leaflets and the Ad to End the Isolation. The support the delegates felt from the people strengthened and emboldened them, increasing their determination to overcome all of the obstacles the regime had placed before them.

Sending the 6th delegation to Peru represented a very important step in the international battle to defend Comrade Gonzalo. It occurred at a crucial time in the battle. Concrete steps were taken to end the isolation. People of Peru learned of the continuing efforts of the International Campaign. A better basis was laid for the IEC to achieve its goals. The regime was deeply stung.

---

### IEC CALLS FOR INTENSIFYING THE BATTLE TO END THE ISOLATION

---

As in any campaign, the international campaign has experienced ebbs and flows during the course of the past three years. But not even the dirtiest, most low-down tricks of the regime have been able to de-rail it. As the regime plunges to ever greater depths in its counter-revolutionary war against the People's War, it becomes





more and more exposed. Their campaigns of genocide against the people, their open presentation of political prisoners showing signs of torture, their general amnesty to all military and police personnel connected with torture, disappearances, rape and murder during the past 15 years of the People's War, all serve to expose them further. Their barbarous acts increasingly illustrate to many more people around the world – many of whom are not themselves revolutionary – the necessity for

the oppressed people to fight against this tyranny and for their own liberation. It provides further evidence of the true revolutionary role of Comrade Gonzalo in leading this fight, and provides an even greater basis for more people to step forward to defend his life and what he symbolizes.

With his statement that Chairman Gonzalo will die within three years, Fujimori has once again thrown down the gauntlet to the millions of people around the world who have defended Comrade Gonzalo's life. He has admitted that he is slowly murdering him! He has admitted that the special prison he built for him was meant to kill him. This is a very obvious threat and makes the battle to end the isolation an even

more urgent necessity. But it must be understood in a broader context. It is another component in the regime's overall plan of counter-revolutionary war. It is another attempt to demoralize people in Peru and around the world who have for three years demanded respect for the life of this revolutionary leader. It is another attempt to convince people that the regime will remain intransigent -- that no amount of protest and exposure will get them to end the isolation. As the regime steps up the repression of the Peruvian people, it wants Comrade Gonzalo and everything he symbolizes to be forgotten. They want to murder him in silence – just as they wanted to do at the beginning of the campaign.

But the political atmosphere in the world has changed since the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo. A gaping hole has been punched in the shroud of secrecy that the reactionaries had so carefully wrapped around the People's War in Peru. The battle lines have been redrawn. Tens of thousands of people who had previously been either ignorant or confused now know the truth about what is going on in Peru. They know who Comrade Gonzalo is. They've read his words. His historic 24 September 1992 speech has reached millions. To increasing numbers of people, the People's War in Peru has come to represent the right of the oppressed to fight against their oppressors. Whether or not the leader of such a struggle can be defended against all of the might of the imperialists has become an ever more crucial battle.

For three years Comrade Gonzalo has been isolated in the dungeons of the Fujimori regime. He has been isolated from the people of Peru. He has been isolated from the Communist Party of Peru. He has been isolated from the international communist movement. It is of great importance that this isolation end. This is a crucial part of the battle to defend his life.

Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo! ■

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Interview with Comrade Gonzalo, reprinted in its entirety in *AWTW* 1992/18.

<sup>2</sup> The 8 Dec 92 issue of *Le Monde* reported that the firing squad was held off by "fear of international reaction".

The IEC campaign around the world. TOP: In a bookfair in Dhaka, Bangladesh. CENTRE: Rooftop graffiti in Berlin, Germany. BOTTOM: Street theatre with Chairman Gonzalo's cage speech in San Francisco, US.

May Day 1995

Dig the Graves of the Imperialists or Make  
Peace with Them:

# Two Opposing Roads of Accommodation vs. Revolution

— Statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary  
Internationalist Movement

In the jungles and the mountains of Peru an uncompromising revolutionary war of the people led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) is challenging the old order. The decrepit state and its reactionary classes and imperialist advisors have combined their efforts to destroy it, yet the bright red flag of revolution is being energetically and courageously defended and bright red sparks of the communist future crackle in their faces, defiantly demonstrating to the tune of gunfire that for the masses of the people worldwide the road of the international proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist road, is the only way out of their swamp of misery and oppression.

Compare this bold, liberating path to the series of imperialist-sponsored so-called "peaceful settlements" trying to snuff out the masses' rebellions in many places around the world today. With the aid of capitulating leaders of reformist movements, the imperialists are actively seeking to defuse longstanding conflicts in order to stabilize their decaying world order in the midst of growing global crisis, now that their Soviet bloc has melted as a major rival. From the tiny chip of land sold as Palestine to the most ingratiating PLO bidders, who now fire rubber bullets at the masses, to colonial South Africa, where a black elite has agreed to help round the edges of raw colonial white supremacist rule, the bitter truth is that the masses have been totally sold out and sections of the people at the bottom of society are likely to be pushed down even further.

Although this road of accommodation and "peace" is sometimes perfumed with wisps of bourgeois democratic reforms to cover the stench of the exploitation and oppression the masses already know well and struggle against daily, it is *not* a new way out of the imperialist swamp. Fundamentally it offers *nothing* but further suffering for the people: it is a road for drowning in that swamp, as the disastrous situations in these explosive places graphically show more every day. Nowhere is this clearer than in crisis-ridden Mexico, where only a real *revolutionary* strategy can stop the imperialists and their client state from literally crushing the people under their heel. They are trying to sell the livelihood of millions of rural masses and others to fatten Yankee banks using the dual tactics of half-hearted "peace talks" and the sending of the brutal neocolonial army against the rebel peasants.

The revolutionary fighters of the people's army in Peru began with small forces and are

A WORLD TO WIN 1995/21

May Day 1995.

ABOVE RIGHT:  
Colombia,  
RIGHT: U.K.



armed only with a correct Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line and the weapons they have captured from the enemy or made themselves, and they are fed by the peasants and the labouring masses, yet they have been able to stand up against all odds because they are supported by and rely upon the people. They are hewing a whole different road on behalf of our class, the international proletariat. This army and the Party that leads it are *different* from the nationalists and armed revisionists who seek better terms at the bargaining table, because they are led by a different class ideology. The PCP leadership has strongly rejected the call to make peace with the ruling class, a call that

emerged within the Party's ranks after the capture of Chairman Gonzalo. This call is a dangerous and illusory path that betrays the fundamental interests of the people — in Peru and worldwide. The Central Committee of the PCP is boldly surmounting the twists and turns that this kind of revolutionary war inevitably confronts in the face of the united force of the world's dirtiest armies, its lying media, and its pro-imperialist-“peace” traps that are set to lure in former revolutionaries.

The PCP is part of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), and the People's War in Peru is the most important and far-reaching revolutionary struggle in the world today. It is based on the same vision that May Day, International Workers Day, represents to the oppressed world over — a future without wage slavery and class divisions, without imperialism and its bloodthirsty reactionary servants. In today's world, which is indeed marked by favourable revolutionary opportunities, begging mercy from the world's weakening vampire-rulers instead of going all out to overthrow them and their vicious system amounts to helping stifle the masses' revolutionary energy and greatly exaggerates the imperialists' strength. Choosing the road of revolution over that of accommodation calls for wholeheartedly supporting the PCP and the People's War they are waging, while helping to lay the groundwork to follow their example by planting the red flag of Maoist revolution, which is now flying in the Andes, amidst the turmoil and rebellions erupting throughout the world.

**Step up the Struggle for Revolution throughout the World!**  
**Rally to the Defence of our Red Flag Flying in Peru!**  
**Support the Communist Party of Peru!**  
**Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!**  
**Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**  
**Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo! Fight to Break the Isolation!**  
**Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!**



**Now Available!**  
**From Banner Press**  
**A High Caliber Weapon on the Theoretical Battlefield**

**Maoist Economics and the Revolutionary Road to Communism**  
**THE SHANGHAI TEXTBOOK**  
**Edited with an Introduction and Afterword by Raymond Lotta**

*Maoist Economics and the Revolutionary Road to Communism: The Shanghai Textbook* was originally published in China in 1975. It is one of the most complete and authoritative presentations available of Maoist socialist economic theory. It is a major work of Marxist political economy. It offers an exhilarating look at how a socialist planned economy worked — and worked in a direction that led away from the exploitation, inequality, and greed of capitalism. A Book for all Who Dream of and Struggle for a New World!

**Order today from: Banner Press, P.O. Box 21195, New York, NY 10129**  
 U.S. orders \$15 plus \$1 shipping, International orders, \$10 plus \$2 shipping.  
 U.S. and International: 40% discount off of \$15 list price for orders by individuals of 3 copies or more (plus \$1 shipping per copy).  
 Make checks payable to Banner Press. 346 pp., including index ISBN 0-916650-41-3

**SAPEM MAGAZINE**

**AFRICA**

**POLITICAL & ECONOMIC MONTHLY**



**SOUTHERN**

*SAPEM* . . . a current affairs magazine which aims at defining the scope and agenda of political and economic debate in the region.  
*SAPEM* . . . just one of the publications of the SAPES Trust.  
*SAPEM* . . . the only magazine published in Southern Africa which brings together a network of social scientists, journalists and researchers from the region and the diaspora in North America, Europe and Latin America, to provide the magazine with an international perspective.

It provides a monthly forum for debate and analysis of political, economic and social developments in Southern Africa and on the continent as a whole.

Critical areas of debate include peace and security issues in Southern Africa, problems and prospects of regional, political and economic cooperation, an assessment of the arts and media, the land question and sport.

Subscribe now for in-depth objective coverage of current affairs in the region. *SAPEM* will provide you with leading insights and analyses of political and economic trends affecting Southern Africa, from an African perspective.

| Worldwide         | British Sterling | US\$  | SA Rand | Z\$   | B Pula |
|-------------------|------------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|
| SADC              | 20,00            | 30,00 | 70,00   | -     | 35,00  |
| Zimbabwe          | -                | -     | 50,00   | 70,00 | 35,00  |
| Africa            | 34,00            | 50,00 | 100,00  | -     | -      |
| Rest of the world | 47,00            | 70,00 | -       | -     | -      |
| Europe            | 40,00            | 60,00 | -       | -     | -      |

Please send me Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly  
 I enclose a crossed cheque/postal order/bank draft of: .....

for 11 issues, beginning: .....

Name: .....

Address: .....

Send to: *SAPEM*, P.O. Box MP 111, Mount Pleasant, Harare.  
 For a free copy of our catalogue please write to SAPES Trust, 4 Deary Avenue, Belgravia, P.O. Box 111, Mt. Pleasant, Harare, Zimbabwe.

**Music Cassette Now Available!**  
 75 minutes of superb listening pleasure

*We Only  
 Want  
 the World!*

**Sounds of Revolution  
 from Around the Globe**

A music cassette comprising a variety of musical forms, expressing revolutionary sentiments of peoples around the world, produced by *A World to Win*.

The cassette includes an English translation of the lyrics. Ask for Spanish, Turkish or Farsi translations.

Unit price: Europe £ 7.00, U.S. \$10  
 Bulk rates upon request.

**Available from**  
 A World to Win, 27 Old Gloucester Street, London WC1N 3XX, U.K.

A World to Win, Regd Office, 39/2507 Dewans Road, Kochi - 16, Kerala, India, Pin 682016

A World to Win, NA Distributors  
 c/o Revolution Books, 9 West 19th Street, New York, New York 10011 USA

Or contact distributors of AWTW/UMQG in your area.



# Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!

— Statement by the Committee of the  
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

7 August 1995

*As the following statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement was being released, news came of a stay of execution for Mumia Abu-Jamal. The RIM Information Bureau welcomes this partial victory, which is the fruit of determined protest against this outrage from inside the US and around the world. But it should also be clearly stated that this is only a partial, temporary victory, and that the US ruling class will certainly hit back. The struggle to save the life of this revolutionary*

*political prisoner will also surely reach new heights.*

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement expresses its full support for the U.S. revolutionary political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, unjustly sentenced to death for allegedly killing a police officer in 1981.

Mumia Abu-Jamal, who had been a radical journalist and a member of various U.S. revolutionary organizations of Black people, was sentenced to death after a mockery of a trial in 1981. Mumia has continued to speak out for the oppressed even from prison, including taking a firm stand to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru. Now, after many years, the authorities are preparing to execute Mumia for his uncompromising revolutionary stance and as part of their overall attack on the masses and revolutionary forces in the U.S.

U.S. imperialism's exploitation and oppression within its own borders and throughout its far-flung empire ultimately rest on its arsenal of death and destruction. The U.S. imperialist state is driving this truth home by moving to carry out the first *legal* execution of a political prisoner in nearly half a century. With this brutal threat, it is spreading a message of terror to all of its victims in the U.S. and across the world who would dare expose and resist this vicious system.

People from all walks of life and in many countries are fighting to stop the blood-drenched U.S. ruling class from adding yet another name to the list of political prisoners they have executed — including John Brown, the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, and Julius and Ethyl Rosenberg. In the United States, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, a participating party in RIM, has been fighting to defend Mumia as part of its overall revolutionary work and preparations. The CoRIM salutes this struggle and joins its voice to those who demand that Mumia Abu-Jamal's life be saved and that he go free. ■

# Take Up and Fight for the New Decision and the New Definition! (Asumir)

This document was originally published in *La Republica* in Peru, January 1993 and circulated abroad by pro-negotiations forces. All underlining is from the original document, however, the notation "io", for "italics ours", has been left wherever it appeared in the *La Republica* edition. Any explanations by AWTW are given in brackets []. The translation retains the feel of the original as much as possible (abbreviations, elliptic references, etc.). — AWTW

## GUIDING IDEAS

1. MLM,GT [Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought] is invincible and untarnishable (never defeated), reason: it is the ideology of the last class in history.
2. We are communists, Maoists, soldiers of the proletariat, our essence is Maoism; wherever we may fight, we fight with the arms we have.

Very much keep in mind what Chairman Mao taught: "The next 50-100 years... new things, new problems, which must be resolved."

It is necessary to continue playing our role; there is a certain fear in the face of taking a decision.

*Those who have always fought against us are doing so now; why? (io)*

3. MLM,GT is our special weapon... Keep in mind what was agreed in the Third Plenary Session (III P.S.). We are facing new problems, resolve them by applying Gonzalo Thought (GT).
4. Take responsibility for and fight for the New Decision and the New Definition.

These guiding ideas should preside over our outlook.

## TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS

We base ourselves on our ideological outlook: Marxism. Apply it to our concrete conditions.

- \* Quotations from Chairman Mao
- \* Chapter V ("War and Peace") study and apply.
- \* "...This ML revolutionary principle is universally valid".

The principle is not in question. The question is its application according to con-

*crete conditions. (Keep in mind the experience of the 1960s and '70s). (io)*

This application is what gave rise, within the Party, to the Organized Masses and Public Opinion, to the conditions for Initiating the Armed Struggle (IAS).

Quote no 1 from Chapter 5: "*War is the highest form of struggle for resolving class contradictions...*"

War is initiated and develops according to *concrete conditions*, and as these change, the forms of struggle must change.

Quote no 3 from Chapter 5: "The division of wars into just wars and unjust wars... what should be done when an unjust war breaks out... The way to oppose it is to prevent it before it breaks out, and if it breaks out, to oppose unjust war with just war, *whenever possible*." "Whenever possible" also applies to us when we face an unjust war as a reply to a just war (including as a reply to our actions; don't read this in an abstract way, but understand its application).

\* Quote no 2 from Chapter 5: Relationship between war and politics. "If the obstacle is not completely swept away, the war will have to continue" (Text from 1934, in 1937 analyze the contradictions). Look at Chungking talks in 1945, volume IV: implies not finishing the democratic revolution.

Did Chairman Mao negate this principle? No, he applied it in a creative way to the end of the war with Japan: public opinion was for peace. Chairman Mao strove to take public opinion into account, and that led him to these talks. There were big concessions. What was the problem? After the agreement was signed by Chairman Mao in the name of the CCP, and the KMT headed by Chiang Kai-shek, the latter violated the agreement and launched a counteroffensive. *Mao didn't violate any principles. We should not read in a general way but rather see the application to reality. Thus it can be said that politics is war without bloodshed, just as war is politics with bloodshed. (io)*

*The people's law. "Struggle, fail, ...provoke, make trouble".*

*This is a Great Law of the Class Struggle, describing the laws of imperialism and reaction, and the people.*

The Class Struggle is a great and constant class war directed by political leaders. It

has two forms:

1. Bloodless: "Politics is war without bloodshed."
2. Bloody: "War is politics with bloodshed."

Both are forms of the great political war that is the class struggle, and the latter is the development of the contradiction between Revolution and Counterrevolution, whose essence is: Fight and make trouble. The two laws are a Great Law of the Class Struggle, a contradiction whose terms are: on the one side, make trouble, which inevitably leads to ruin, and on the other side, fight, which inevitably leads to victory. Both processes pass through failures; while the old leads to ruin, the new leads to victory. This is a great, inexorable Law. Do not fear failure; the problem is to struggle, and thus the importance of the great Marxist truth: "It's right to make revolution." Study it and apply it. Very important.

\* Quotes page 237.

\* Quotes page 221. Don't be subjective, one-sided, superficial. Very important.

Being subjective means not weighing the circumstances. See things in an all-around way.

\* Chapter 7, "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder": "The Communists of today are communists because *throughout all the intermediate stages and all the compromises created, not by them but by the forward march of the process of history*, they clearly and precisely see and constantly pursue their final objective; thus, the abolition of classes and the creation of a society in which there will be neither private ownership of land nor private ownership of the means of production."

## 6 SLOGANS

1. Struggle for a Peace Agreement! (principal, and political guide)
2. Uphold and Apply the Call!
3. Take Up and Fight for a New Great Decision and Great Definition!
4. Close ranks around CG and the Central Leadership!
5. Uphold the New Great Decision and Definition!
6. Glory to MLM!

## WHAT IS A COMMUNIST?

Do we or do we not grasp this historical process; are we objective or subjective? Either we deal with reality, or it will deal with us. Communist see things clearly (there can be disconcerting confusion).

"The 33 Blanquists are communists because they think they can skip intermediate stages... and that the seizure of power will begin in the next few days - they are completely certain of that - and once power is seized, that communism will be established the day after. If this proves impossible to do immediately, they are not communists."

What childish disingenuousness it is to present impatience as a convincing theoretical argument!

Naturally, very young and inexperienced revolutionaries, as well as petty-bourgeois revolutionaries who may even have attained a respectable age and accumulated much experience, consider it extremely dangerous, incomprehensible and erroneous to "grant compromises".

Many sophists, politicians, etc., think the same way, but what do they do every day? They make capitulationist compromises.

"Nevertheless, the proletarians have undergone the schooling of numerous strikes... they assimilate the profound truth."

"PHILOSOPHICAL TRUTH": In conformity with contradiction, the road is full of twists and turns.

"HISTORICAL TRUTH": In the process of development of revolutions, the class struggle is the same.

"POLITICAL TRUTH": The daily struggle for political power expresses this necessity.

"PSYCHOLOGICAL TRUTH": How to understand things from the class point of view, to see the differences that imply compromises demanded by objective conditions... compromises that in no way diminish our revolutionary abnegation, nor our determination to continue the struggle by means of the compromises obtained by the Workers. Differentiate these from subjective compromises serving private interests, from traitors pursuing their own interests....

Strikebreakers also undertake compromises! Their cowardliness, their desire to adulate the capitalists... before crumbs... they seek to flatter the capitalists.

- Not all compromises are so simple; there are international and national compromises. In our case, we should see the two situations! - that's what Lenin says, a direct application to our case. "No compromise" is absurd.

What does it mean to speak of a mature

Party of the Class, that merits the name, and leaders who deserve to be considered as such?... It means, in reality, acquiring, through prolonged efforts, all the representatives of a given class capable of thinking. Lenin: in every class there are and always will be... representatives of the class who don't think, who are incapable of thinking for themselves; if it weren't like that, imperialism would not be the class oppressor that it is. The leaders are those who have the *knowledge, the experience, and the political wisdom necessary* for a prompt and just solution to complex political problems (have commitment and enough decisiveness to do it, not just to understand, but to decide).

Volume IV - 151 CM pages 430-443

The El Diario Interview given by CG:

- Thought, lessons of the People's War, *the question of leadership*: "The forging of a leadership, clearly, can't be improvised... Leadership of the People's War". Page 8 (El Diario edition). Heads and Headquarters, there are groups, heads and headquarters. - page 11 (idem).
- Experience of the Commune. Don't strike the flag, uphold it gloriously *until victory, no matter what the cost*. Page 20 (idem).
- Page 32 (idem) on dialogue: this refers to the final part of the war, don't apply this mechanically.

## L NEW DECISION AND NEW DEFINITION.

### 1. A STAGE OF THE REVOLUTION HAS ENDED. FIGHT FOR A FUTURE WAVE OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION (WPR)!

A grandiose and indelible stage of the WPR has ended.

*There is a World Political Ebb (It is strategic and global)*; this stage has left us three great banners: Marx-Lenin-Mao, which are concretized in the fact that MLM is *unconquerable and untarnishable*.

In 1891, Engels, in the "Introduction to The Civil War in France", taught that there would be an ebb in the WPR and that it was not possible to seize power. It was necessary to resolve the problem of new forms of struggle and organization, principally military questions. He makes a summation of 50 years of the WPR: there was a general political ebb (GPE); Marx himself referred to this when he founded the First International (International Working Men's Association). There is a difference between the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and the basic argument for the International Workingmen's Association.

In 1891, imperialism was undergoing a restructuring; a new division of the world was underway. For 30 years it was not possible to seize power, nor resolve the problem of forms of struggle and organization. It is not the same today. In 1917, Lenin resolved it, and in 1949 Chairman Mao resolved the problem of the road to revolution in semifeudal, semicolonial and bureaucrat capitalist countries, and in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), he resolved the problem of the continuation of the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

- Chairman Mao: Chapter on Cadres, in the 1st quote where he speaks about training successors.

Thus, previously we held that the Strategic Offensive of the World Revolution (SOWR) began in the 1980s; today we have developed and we consider that the period 1976-1980 represents only a few years. The SOWR began with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, because it is the highest peak reached by the WPR and the National Liberation Movement (NLM) under the leadership of the proletariat. Thus Chairman Mao sought to develop and deepen the WPR.

See Chairman Mao's Quotations, chapter on imperialism, page 72: There are two winds, the east wind is prevailing. In 1957, page 77: "Imperialism will not last long."

Strive to grasp the great stages, recall Chairman Mao: "the next 50-100 years...". This means 2010 to 2060; therefore, a new wave is gestating, understand it as part of the development of the contradiction between restoration and counter-restoration. Keep in mind historical experience, the law of the development of the Class Struggle. The Bourgeois Revolution took 300 years to consolidate itself. In the sixteenth century, the revolution took place in Holland, which was smashed by Spain in the seventeenth century. In England, the triumph of the Bourgeois Revolution took place in two parts: the revolution led by O. Cromwell in 1640 failed, and in 1688 the "Glorious Revolution" triumphed, with 48 years between the two. In the eighteenth century, the emancipation of the United States occurred in 1776; the Revolution triumphed in France in 1789. England became the world's leading power after the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" (Naval Battle), so that it took England almost 90 years before the bourgeoisie won out and consolidated.

If the bourgeoisie as a class needed 300 years to consolidate its power, it cannot be demanded that the proletariat resolve it in the 66 years (2/3 of a century) that it has exercised its dictatorship in a State, leading Socialist Revolution.

There is a difference with the GPE of 1891 (Engels summed it up).

The present GPE derives from the process of restoration, from the creation of unfavourable public opinion of this whole stage of the Revolution (140 years). So far, the GPE has lasted 3 years. In the light of Marxism – and this is decisive and key in order to sketch out the strategy of the WPR in the New Great Wave – we understand why this period is a hinge between the culmination of a stage of the WPR and the future Great Wave of the WPR. This is the argument for the general political withdrawal, among other questions.

LENIN: “Karl Marx taught the analysis of the problem of tactics”. Dare to think, dare to act, dare to decide, going against the tide is a Marxist principle. Does everything we have analyzed go against what we’ve been upholding, that “Revolution is the main trend”? We must make a distinction.

1. **TENDENCY.** *From the historical point of view, it is incontrovertible and inexorable that revolution is the main trend; it's enough to invoke the process of development of the new, of contradiction; take into account the example: the Pampas River arises and through a long, zigzagging course full of bends and setbacks, it always reaches the sea. We have to understand that history cannot go backwards, development takes place in spirals and is uneven. Time is counted in decades, not years; historical steps are not so brief. See the accompanying general diagram.*
2. **REVOLUTION AS A POLITICAL TENDENCY** (Study very well). *It will take at least 5 to 6 years for the international situation and panorama to clear up. (io) How is the United States' unshared hegemony being concretized? How is the disintegration of Russia being concretized? The strengthening and role of the other powers, Japan and Germany? As for the camp of revolution, how is the General Political Ebb (GPE) of the Revolution manifesting itself? What is the opinion of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) regarding these questions? Chairman Mao teaches us that there are 100 paper communist parties. How is this manifesting itself today? See what is the situation of the proletariat's parties and organizations. What is the situation of the unions? These are realities that we must thoroughly analyze. What is the situation of the class organizations, the peasant organizations, of national and world public opinion? The key is the leadership of the Communist Parties, the question of the class, of the Anti-imperialist Movement.*

**IN SYNTHESIS,** thoroughly analyze the development of the class struggle, its laws, tendencies and perspectives. The old mole,

as Marx taught, has not disappeared, he continues his work.

*If the political tendency doesn't exist, the historical tendency doesn't exist. Today it is underground; we have to be able to understand this. (io)*

It has fallen on us, and we are carrying the rubble of the disintegrations, the restorations (USSR and China), but it exists daily within the Communist Parties, in the communists, in the class, in the anti-imperialist struggle. Socialism has existed, we've seen it, the main right is the right to seize political power: it's right to rebel! And as a consequence, it does not disappear, it is an underlying political tendency. Marx analyzed this process; he taught us about the “deep waters”, “the old mole once again [grubs] the earth”, thus it manifests itself politically as underground waters; the political question is decisive: the leadership of the Communist Parties. It's necessary to go back and study this; it is very important to reaffirm revolution as the main historical trend; politically it is operating daily. On the world level, there is a new redivision of the loot, new contradictions are gestating.

Slowly but surely imperialism is dying - Third Plenary Session (IIPS.).

How is this manifesting itself today? It continues unfolding, slowly but inexorably dying. (Keep in mind the IIPS. on the sinking of the various imperialists); but at the same time, there is a *transitory recovery*. What Lenin taught in “Imperialism Highest Stage”, “Social... and Imp...”, “Revis... and Imp...” is correct and fully valid.

How should we see the question of imperialism today? We see it in the light of MLM to resolve the new problems.

What are the material bases of this situation? The economic base that determined it was the oil, coal and steel industries. Today new sources of economic work are developing, some very advanced: there are computers, electronic communications, these are great processes of development, genetics, the monopolies are paying attention to genetic modifications (manipulation in plants and animals), even in new varieties; this is a new line of oppression and exploitation. Always see the two sides of a contradiction. All oppression gives rise to a class movement against oppression.

If we look at the question of war, the development of strategic weapons generates a greater militarization of industry, greater investments linked to electronic warfare, armament that is expensive to produce and maintain and which rapidly becomes obsolescent. Their problems with economic recession and its restrictions lead to the development of conventional weapons. The privatization of the means of produc-

tion accumulated by the state is another worldwide phenomenon. How much have the states accumulated with the means of production in their hands? All this is being passed to the monopolies, to strengthen their power. All these are questions that determine the bases for this transitory economic recovery.

If we look at the question of the state in particular, we see a tendency to decrease its social functions. Who will assume its functions? In the imperialist countries, the monopolies, for example, are taking on the organization of insurance (in this country, the AFP), health care, and educational services. A similar phenomenon is taking place in regard to security, not only in terms of armament but also to thwart or carry out industrial espionage. All this poses the question of the various situations that form the context of the process of the reactionary state of the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie (in our case, the big bourgeoisie and the landlords subjugated by imperialism). *Today their Armed Forces are being strengthened and have a greater capacity to take political decisions. (io)*

See the role being taken on by the monopolies: Yesterday they divided up the world; today they take on state functions.

Regarding the international situation, the superpowers have not changed. Russia continues to be a superpower based on its military capacity, its strategic atomic power. It has problems in terms of its influence abroad; its national problems are escalating, along with external security problems. In Japan, Yeltsin told them not to claim the four disputed islands. Russia continues to be a pole of influence. See its international policy as undergoing a process of readjustment and how it's going to back U.S. hegemony. Japan is becoming the second power – it pays growing attention to its military weakness and seeks to become more powerful, aiming to develop its own military power. Germany is sinking France (its famous ally) to strengthen its own currency.

Ideologically, they are not erecting a new ideology, they are expressing its decrepitude. They increasingly make use of the “failure of socialism”, and with this shore up their economic recovery; they say they have no ideology, but they uphold liberalism. These are old banners they are dusting off and using to manipulate public opinion.

Pay a lot of attention to and be concerned with seeing their slow agony and transitory recovery. The question of ebb – if it is not seen in this way, imperialism can't be fought. Lenin taught that imperialism overall holds back the development of the productive forces. This is a general law, it will be determinate at the end of the day. On one side we see great abundance, and

on the other side of the contradiction we see 15 million children die every year before their first birthday. Both questions can't be surmounted, they form a contradictory unity.

How are the empires sinking? (III.PS.) We analyze that this process takes place through long periods, not short ones. Under slavery, the most developed imperialism was Rome, and it sank through a process that lasted over five centuries; under feudalism, the most outstanding imperialism, Spain, also sank over the course of two centuries; under capitalism, England did the same through a long period, over a century; Yankee imperialism consolidated its position as a superpower after the second world war, in a process that lasted five decades. Consequently, one can predict that the process will be long, but obviously it will be briefer than the previous ones, though clearly these are long periods.

*Revisionism and Revolution: we have fought two revisionisms, the old one that opposed the seizure of power after the second world war, and the revisionism we are fighting now whose essence is restoration. In synthesis, we always fight revisionism. (io)*

\* **CONCLUSION.** Fight for the future wave of the World Revolution; Guide: Maoism!

## 2. THE BUREAUCRAT ROAD IS LAYING A FOUNDATION FOR ITSELF AND BECOMING VIABLE.

\* Our starting point is the analysis of how they are laying the bases and developing a coherent strategy in the face of the People's War. *Economically*, clearly they are establishing a basis, not only passing laws, but applying them.

Since 1988, there have been five years of recession. In 1993, the GDP grew by 6% after five years of growing recession. Inflation is also being reduced. If we look at '82 to '93 from a strategic perspective, the GDP fell by 26% and the population grew by 30%, so that they still need to recover by 20% even without taking the population increment into account. We must strive to see the steps being taken, the increments obtained, as objective facts.

Regarding *Politics and State*, they've elected their constitutional councils, worked out the Constitution, they won the referendum, the way is being opened for his re-election. This means establishing the basis for the restructuring of the state.

Regarding *Pacification*, their counter-subversive war, they began with civic action, then they proceeded to control the population, then the rondas, their psy

ops and intelligence operations that led to the captures.

*This whole period of bureaucrat capitalism is going in a particular direction. The concentration of political power. That's a necessity of this process: A long-term plan and long-term government to push it forward, lead it and apply it. Therefore bureaucrat capitalism is being jump-started. (io)*

\* With the capture of the Headquarters and the Central Leadership, imperialism did not consider it necessary to intervene.

\* On 24 September, Chairman Gonzalo, in his Speech, derived the Programme, the PLF, the PLA, the New State and its relative stability; regarding the people's war, the shift of the centre and all which that implies, and he laid the basis for the masterful plan for a general political withdrawal.

\* The whole process of the counter-revolutionary war led it to be successful.

\* The jump-starting of bureaucrat capitalism entrains a greater imperialist domination: "Reinsertion".

\* The border problems with Bolivia, Ecuador, Chile and Brazil are putting the Nation in peril.

In synthesis, what is the situation with bureaucrat capitalism today?

There is no powerful liberation movement, the struggle of the proletariat and the people is weakened, and consequently is neither powerful nor strong. Therefore, bureaucrat capitalism is being given a new impulse and its plan is becoming viable, political and social rights are becoming more restricted, all this is leading to the fact that the deep class struggle will nourish the old mole.

Know how to get one's bearings and deal with the laws of a process, see it in perspective, the direction things are going in.

*The strong point, the most developed aspect of the democratic road: the People's War. (io)*

3. **THE PEOPLE'S WAR CANNOT DEVELOP BUT ONLY MAINTAIN ITSELF (io)** There are six indispensable questions for victory in people's war:

1. Proletarian leadership,
2. Base amongst the masses,
3. Strategic centralization,
4. Army of a new type,
5. Protracted people's war,
6. Favourable international conditions.

Number six does not exist; it's not principal, but it is necessary. The principal question is no. 1, that it maintains a just and

correct political line, that it is capable of developing the people's war, giving it a direction and the leadership of the Class.

We have problems with numbers 1 and 3. They (the leadership outside) do not analyze the new problems, the direction; number 4 needs to be built and developed, "PLA" is not just a name; number 2 is not being taken up and led as it should be under the new conditions. Who represents the people in the elections? No one... Thus it all comes back to protracted people's war, the problem is proletarian leadership. (io)

\* What have we achieved?

- First, we worked for a long time to launch the Armed Struggle and develop the people's war, the Revolutionary Peasants' war led by the Party, relying on its own bases, forces and on the masses, with class independence - the people's war has lasted 13 years.

- We have dealt blows at the three mountains, there is more sweeping away of semifeudalism, tearing apart of the system, we've fought bureaucrat capitalism, we've shown what it means to evolutionize semifeudalism: run the Peruvian state in opposition to revolution.

- We've fought Imperialism in head-on struggle, the development of our war has been a security problem for the U.S. since 1989.

- *The People's War has generated an Army of a New Type. (io)*

- We have formed a State of a New Type, that the class can lead, which never happened before.

- Its repercussions are enormous.

- *In synthesis: the people's war has given us five successes. (io)*

1. *The people's war is the greatest revolutionary social movement in all of Peruvian history, in terms of its programme, development and duration. (io)*

2. It has served to defend Maoism as a third, new and higher stage, fundamentally for strategic development on a world level.

3. It has raised the Party's prestige to the highest level in its history, with greater impact on the world.

4. We have accumulated the most enormous revolutionary experience in Peru and Latin America and one of the greatest in today's world.

5. It is a great support to the proletarian world revolution, recognized by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) as a vanguard theatre of the World Proletarian Revolution; it is

a moment when the revolution is ending a great period. It is a hinge between two waves.

*It is an example of how to base yourself on your own efforts and it has shown that people's war is invincible. (io)*

4. **THE PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP CANNOT BE RESOLVED IN GOOD TIME.**
5. **NEW GREAT DECISION, NEW GREAT DEFINITION: STRUGGLE FOR A PEACE AGREEMENT AND LAY THE BASES FOR THE SECOND CONGRESS.**

### CONCRETE TASKS

Uphold still higher MLM,GT, struggle for a Peace Agreement and its application; define the far-reaching impact of the people's war: the great Revolutionary Social Movement in Peruvian history; *link ourselves more deeply to the broad masses*, develop proletarian internationalism more. Quote from Chairman Mao: "If a Revolutionary Party..." this is the single axis and the great strength, defend it and strengthen it against wind and tide, persist in taking the ideological-political line as decisive for the people's war.

Culminate the propaganda.

6. **AS LONG AS THERE ARE MASSES AND A PARTY, ALL MIRACLES WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED. SO LET'S DEAL WITH THE GENERAL MILITARY PULLBACK, WHICH IS A**

CONSEQUENCE OF THE GENERAL POLITICAL EBB. IT IS COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT BUT NECESSARY.

DEVELOP OTHER FORMS OF STRUGGLE UNDER NEW CONDITIONS.

### II. ROUND OF TALKS.

1. First contacts.
2. Rounds of conversations. Ceremonies, peace agreements, first letter, general outline, second letter.
3. Present situation.
4. Circulation of petition for an agreement.
5. Perspectives.

### III CONCLUSIONS AND TASKS.

1. Take up and fight for a New Great Decision and Definition... Struggle for a peace agreement and lay the basis...
2. Concrete Party tasks.
3. Specific tasks.

### BASES ON WHICH TO DEVELOP PEACE AGREEMENT.

1. Peruvian public opinion is for peace. "It has become a necessity..."
2. Public opinion is in favour of a diplomatic resolution. It is a necessity for imperialism and the other imperialist powers.
3. It is a necessity for the State and the

government, so that they can continue developing their revolutionary road. Problems of its present cost: terms, reelection and long-term plan.

4. The Party's actions: how does it take this up and carry it forward? *Its ability to put forward conditions depends on this. Commission of Delegates. (io)*

### POLICY TO BE CARRIED OUT.

1. No confrontations, neutralize and respond measure for measure.
2. *Change our language, we are involved in diplomacy*, which doesn't mean tailing it. (io)
3. *Distinguish the main target* to attack today, at this conjuncture.
4. The question is *the wise handling of the field of objective convergences*. R' [=] Rx'. (io)
5. *This is a Peace Agreement between the PCP and the Armed Forces by means of the Government. Our political positions are confirmed, we said how to resolve the contradictions between the Communist Party and the Armed Forces and that is what is happening.* (io)  
- Develop the two-line struggle, aiming to unite, fight so that there is as little dispersal as possible; the Party is strong in politics, but we are willing to have it that only a few remain; we will be the most tested, the best defence is to attack. Let the membership be seen as a relay mirror

## "Outline for a Basic Document"

The following, written in the latter part of 1993 by leaders of the Right Opportunist Line in Canto Grande prison outside Lima, strips this line down to its most shameful essence: It is an outline of their proposed agreement with the Peruvian government of Alberto Fujimori. The authorities allowed family members of pro-negotiations prisoners to bring it out, along with the document *Asumir*, to circulate among Party members and supporters around the country. It was also given to the press by the regime, which has never made any official comment. — AWTW

### I. Introduction

1. We uphold our ideology and class principles, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, as well as our Party membership.
2. Ending the people's war represents nei-

ther surrender nor abandoning the revolution, but rather continuing the struggle under new conditions.

3. We are in favour of signing a Peace Agreement as an historic step of imperious necessity that today has become a necessity for the people, the nation and Peruvian society as a whole; the people need peace, as well as democracy and development, and especially conditions that would allow them to meet their fundamental needs.
4. This basic document has as its objective the achievement of a peace agreement.
5. The two sides in this round of conversations are the two banks of a river with a common problem. Each of us, from our own respective point of view, agrees that we must achieve a goal: a peace agreement.

### II. Basic Approach

1. Sign a peace agreement whose application would lead to the ending of the war the country is experiencing.
2. End the people's war begun 17 May 1980, in all its four forms of guerrilla actions. Disband the People's Guerrilla Army, destroying its arms and combat materiel; likewise, dissolve the People's Committees and the revolutionary base areas of the People's New Democratic Republic.
3. End the military actions against the people's war by the Armed Forces and Police of the Peruvian state, as well as by secondary forces.
4. Free all prisoners of war, by groups and according to a timetable, whether or not they have been sentenced because of the people's war according to currently

in the infamous attacks of the enemy, not even the Armed Forces act like that.

- The other hill also has its clear objective: that we never raise our heads again and that the people's war is never repeated; *and it can't be denied that it is using this to win the referendum today and tomorrow win re-election, because as the Peruvian state what it needs is a long-term plan to restructure and restart.* Demarcate and be alert to alien machinations. (io)
- "Let us trade a present of uncertain possibilities for a future with real and certain perspectives."

#### QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN GONZALO

1. "We Communists struggle with absolute conviction in our goal, communism, no matter how many battles we fight nor how many setbacks and difficulties and even defeats we suffer in the twists and turns of the road to victory."
2. "Risk doesn't stop us, danger doesn't scare us. What must be done is done."
3. "We Communists expect nothing and want everything; we want nothing for ourselves as individuals and everything for humanity. Let communism shine upon the Earth."
4. "We Communists have only one interest, communism, and for it we would give the only thing we have: our lives."

5. "Outside of the Party we are nothing; inside the Party we are everything."
6. "A clear mind, a resolute will and an inextinguishable passion" (Trilogy).
7. "We Communists are free men because we deal with the laws with which we will transform reality."
8. "We Communists fight unflinchingly, even though we know that as individuals we will be ground up, and extinguished in terms of the class from which we arose."
9. "Man will be truly man when communism is established upon the Earth."
10. "We Communists are the mortar of communism."
11. "Know how to see sudden changes and take great decisions."

#### QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO

1. "Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless. We hope that all those who struggle beside us will valiantly assume their responsibilities, overcome difficulties and have no fear of setbacks or mockery, and not hesitate to criticize us communists and give us their suggestions."
2. "He who does not fear the death of a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the Emperor. This is the intrepid spirit we need in our struggle for socialism and communism."

3. "Going against the tide is a Marxist principle."
4. "Dare to think, dare to speak, and dare to act."

#### OTHER IDEAS

- "You must have the courage to look at the bitter truth in the face."
- "Tell the truth though you burst."
- "To know men and deeds, you have to know them close up and judge them from a distance" (Bolivar).
- "Men come and go but deeds remain."
- "The most effective weapon against the enemy is the unity of the leadership and the led." (io)
- "It would be easy to undertake a battle with the absolute assurance of winning it" (Marx).

#### SLOGANS TO BE USED

- "Struggle for a Peace Agreement!" (This is the principal slogan and political guide).
- "Uphold and apply the call!"
- "Assume the Responsibility and Fight for a New Great Decision and New Great Definition!"
- "Glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!"
- "The PCP wants Peace, no more repression!"

## — The 11 Point Programme for Capitulation

applicable legislation. Improvement of prison conditions for those who temporarily remain in this situation. An end to isolation. Family visits, legal defence, work, study and recreation.

5. End the repression and persecution of Party members, fighters, sympathizers and the people by anti-subversive forces in the country, as well as of persons residing abroad. Cancellation of pending trials, no new trials, annulment of judicial summons and arrest warrants.
6. End the campaign being carried out in Peru and abroad against the people's war, the Party and its members and sympathizers. Instead, carry out a campaign in favour of the necessity of peace, democracy and development.
7. Help, and in no way hinder, the reintegration into social life and every-

day life of Party members, fighters and sympathizers of the people's war, as well as of those Peruvians of similar status who return from abroad with that aim.

8. Respect for the mortal remains of the heroes of the people fallen in these years of war, return of the bodies or information as to their whereabouts. The same for the disappeared — the right of their family members and friends to visit their graves and pay them homage. This includes the remains of Comrade Norah and other sons and daughters of the people.
9. Return of the central archives of the PCP, its library and museum of the revolution, including seized video and audio recordings.
10. As peace is gradually reestablished, legislation should guarantee strict re-

spect for fundamental rights, such as individual rights, as well as economic and social rights, and should also meet the demands of the people for democracy and development, especially their fundamental needs. There should be a special plan to promote development in the areas affected by the war, principally benefitting the peasants, the poor masses of the shantytowns and the workers, giving substantial attention to those crippled, orphaned or widowed by the war.

11. A law of general amnesty for the sake of national reconciliation, without victors or vanquished, without reprisals, vengeance, persecution or personal restrictions placed on anyone, which would only complicate the arduous task of fulfilling the peace agreement to which both sides are committed. ■

## It is Right to Rebel!

*Continued from page 33*

shantytown proletarians.

The most important basis of the People's War (the people and especially the poor peasants) are far more solid than ever in the modern history of class struggle in that country, and it is not an easy thing for the enemy to do away with. As their Rand Corporation report states, "... (T)he movement is firmly entrenched in the highlands.... Sendero now enjoys a substantial base of support in the countryside and has begun actively recruiting from amongst the urban unemployed. It has also proven to be a resilient, adaptable and ruthless organization. These traits, together, have made Sendero a formidable adversary." (Rand paper, cited in *AWTW* 16, "Our Red Flag is Flying", p. 71)

After centuries of being brutally suppressed and degraded by the ruling classes, in the course of 13 years of Peru's War the oppressed masses in Peru (the workers, the peasantry, especially the poor peasantry, and intellectuals) have been boldly aroused by the PCP and have been mobilized behind a programme representing their fundamental class interests. The PCP unleashed their initiative and led them to take their destiny into their own hands and to fight for their liberation themselves. The PCP has put guns in their hands and has given them a real sense of power to fight for a new life that they could only dream of in the past. It has armed many peasants with an ideology and programme that they can wield in their interests to change the world. In addition to this, the PCP has organized many of them into the Party, the army and other mass organizations; it has taught them how to unite, isolate the enemy and fight to destroy it. All this has changed the masses remarkably, and they have the ability to bounce back from the inevitable suppression campaigns by the enemy.

The proletarian internationalist character of this People's War, the fact that it has been carried out as a war in the interests of the proletarian and oppressed masses of the world and has shown them the true road to liberation, the fact that it is the most advanced revolutionary struggle in the world today, and that the PCP is a detachment of RIM, has aroused and

inspired thousands of proletarians and oppressed masses from around the world. This is also a material force that the imperialists must deal with, and now they are trying to do so, mainly by trying to crush the People's War.

In short, to deal death blows to such a war is a very difficult job even for the Yankees who got "special Vietnamese treatment" and claim to be "seasoned".

Shortly before the capture of Comrade Gonzalo, the Yankee imperialists' counter-insurgency analysts warned that the possibility of the seizure of power by Sendero Luminoso (as the international bourgeoisie calls the PCP) had appeared on the horizon, showing the stage the People's War has reached.

And these imperialist analysts continue to suggest that this war is far from over, despite the recent setbacks suffered by the PCP, implying that they should persevere in their counter-revolutionary war.

From all this we want to conclude that there is a tremendous material basis for defending the People's War, and if it is not defended by going all out, this will be a betrayal of the masses in Peru and the oppressed masses around the world. To end the People's War would only be in the service of semi-feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism and imperialism, especially Yankee imperialism. We can see that it is not easy for the enemy to bring about a complete defeat of the People's War. In the history of class struggle, there might be cases of setbacks experienced by revolutionary forces where there would be no military strategies or tactics that could lead to a reversal in the situation. But even in that case, once in the war such an assessment should be left aside, because it cannot be an operational principle: one's operational principle can only be to do the best one can.<sup>4</sup> However, the present case is not at all one of those cases. In other words, there are great favourable factors for the PCP to turn the tide around and preserve the People's War and on that basis to develop it toward victory. As

<sup>4</sup> Even in the case of the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels made the assessment that it probably would fail, but they paid a lot of attention to it politically and militarily, and their main criticism of it was that it did not go far enough and was not ruthless enough.

Chairman Mao says, all defeats are relative and rarely is there an absolute defeat; he says that from the strategic point of view we can speak of defeat only when our operation against an "encirclement-and-suppression" campaign fails; and he adds that even this is a *partial and temporary* defeat. "For only the total destruction of the Red Army in the civil war is counted as a complete defeat." As a result of the success of Chiang Kai-shek's fifth campaign of suppression and encirclement, the People's War in China lost vast base areas, and the Red Army had to move to other parts of the county, *the members of the party, the Red Army and the size of the base areas were reduced by 90 percent*; even so, Chairman Mao says that "the loss of extensive base areas and the shift of the Red Army constituted a temporary and partial defeat, not a final and complete one." ("Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", chap. 4, p. 202)

Even if a revolutionary army faces a complete defeat, it should use maximum efforts to wrench the most political victories out of it. It must not let that military defeat turn into a political defeat by capitulating. Accepting defeat easily before all the initiative and determination of the fighters and masses are exhausted will have such an effect. These efforts, if they don't create miracles, at least will be an equivalent of a type of Paris Commune last-ditch battle, which was necessary to provide the further schooling of the masses and their training for the next struggle. However, again, we are not assigning the PCP to defeat; in fact, we strongly believe that the opposite is the case, that the difficulties can be overcome and victory is possible. The People's War can and should be preserved and developed.

### D. ASUMIR'S APPROACH CUTS AGAINST THE STRATEGY OF PROTRACTED PEOPLE'S WAR

One of the great contributions of Mao Tsetung was his development, in theory and practice, of protracted people's war. Mao was able to show that in China (and he later came to hold this to be generally true of the countries oppressed by imperialism), it was possible and necessary for the proletariat to engage the reactionary classes in a lengthy war, beginning from a position of weakness and gradually

developing to a position of strength. In the document *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*, our Movement has united around the understanding that, in the oppressed countries, armed struggle is the main form of struggle and the people's army is the main form of mass organization.

Protracted war is imperative for being able to ride out the twists and turns of the war and accumulate forces. Chairman Mao says that making the war protracted is a strategic aim.

An important quality of the People's War in Peru under the leadership of the PCP has been its success in avoiding being aborted by the enemy or becoming diseased by a wrong line; thus, preserving and developing the war, growing from small to big, from weak to strong, represents a tremendous achievement. Chairman Mao stresses that the revolutionary army must strive to gain the ability to prolong the war in order to strengthen its forces step by step and help hastening/awaiting the emergence of a favourable situation for the nationwide seizure of power. A protracted war is a disadvantage to the enemy and an advantage to the revolutionary army; it is crucial for the revolutionary army for gaining and regaining initiative and for achieving the aim of preserving-destroying. Pessimistic evaluations of the situation, like what we can see in *Asumir* and the prison article, will lead to adopting defeatist measures that are detrimental to the objective of prolonging the People's War and therefore preserving and developing the forces of revolution. When a

revolutionary army loses initiative because of any number of reasons (wrong analysis and policies, or the enemy's all-around pressure that cannot be withstood), it can only regain it through applying the laws of this revolutionary warfare.

Terminating the war in the face of difficult or even seemingly impossible conditions would go against the laws of protracted people's war, because if the objective of prolonging a people's war — through twists and turns — is not achieved, then the forces of revolution will not be able to gather enough strength and ability to defeat the enemy. As comrades from Turkey have summed up: "In this manner, there is no way to experience the accumulation of the forces of the armed struggle, the development of a social and political base! Just think about it, you build your army, your guerilla forces; then comes peaceful struggle.... Such a point of view, what will it cost the party...?"<sup>5</sup>

In order to preserve guerilla warfare and develop it, one can never underestimate the role of the base areas. This is the vitally important factor in making protracted war possible and building its armed strength. Being able to keep the flame alive so long that it gave rise to base areas (at any level) has been an invaluable achievement for the revolution in Peru. This is to be used now in order to repulse the enemy's advances and preserve the People's War and develop on that basis. Anyone concerned with preserving the revolutionary forces in Peru today must be concerned with consoli-

dating and developing the revolutionary army and the base areas. "The concrete solution depends, of course, on the circumstances", as Mao put it. ("Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War", chap. 6; p. 101) To argue that solving these problems successfully depends upon taking new conditions into account is one thing, and to argue that it is not possible to preserve the core of these achievements is quite another. The latter will go against the fundamental interests of the people.

**E: ONCE THE RED FLAG HAS BEEN  
RAISED, THERE IS NO  
BRINGING IT DOWN**

*Asumir* and the prison article treat war as though it were a plaything. Well, it is not! Especially because of its social content, a revolutionary war is a passionate and furious war. As Comrade Gonzalo pointed out, "Marx taught us you cannot play with insurrection, with revolutions; once you have raised the flag of insurrection, once you have taken up arms, there is no bringing it down; you have to hold it high until victory and never bring it down. This he taught us and it does not matter what price we have to pay." (Chairman Gonzalo, *Interview with El Diario*, 1988)

Our war is judged by its social content. The fundamental point of all wars is "to preserve your forces and destroy the forces of the enemy". But these laws operate in interaction with social content and the context in which the war is being waged. The more thoroughgoing the political goal and deep-rooted the hostilities, the more com-

<sup>5</sup> It is extremely enlightening to cite from one of the experiences of our Movement. The following is taken from a polemical document of the two-line struggle in the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) (TKP/ML) in 1985.

"Such an armed struggle, the armed struggle promoted by the CC, cannot be waged comrades!... Armed struggle, then peaceful struggle, then again armed struggle, again renewed peaceful struggle! It is not possible to carry out such an armed struggle! At least it is not possible to wage this kind of armed struggle for Marxist-Leninist targets; this runs against the very dynamics of armed struggle itself.

"The interruption or ceasing of armed struggle is a very important issue. It brings serious things onto the agenda. It brings onto the agenda collapses, important phenomena, even on a world level, tremendous events nationally, such as the disin-

tegration of the party. In other words, this kind of interruption occurs in accordance with this kind of conditions.... It is not possible to establish the continuity of armed struggle in this way. This is armed economist logic. Once it is launched, there are many kinds of tactics in waging the armed struggle. But all of them are based on carrying out armed struggle principally, to overcome difficulties in all conditions. After commencing this work, the task of the party, the task of a party waging armed struggle, is, under all circumstances to render armed struggle continuous. It is a must to maintain the continuity of the armed struggle in spite of changing conditions, to make the effort to keep its continuity as a whole and to strive for its development; if it is impossible to develop it, then to maintain it and sustain it at the current level, or, under much worse conditions, to maintain armed struggle as the

main task even if it has to be narrowed down, while still keeping it as the main activity. Let's not be confused. This is not the logic of heroic dogmatism; once you fall out of this logic, then armed struggle is ruled by the existing conditions, not by the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The circumstances keep pushing you around, here and there, to the driver's seat, to the back seat. These conditions go away, others come. Now peaceful, now armed. The end of all this is crisis. Political, ideological, organizational crisis. There is no way that the communist party will not see the initiative slip out of its hands. It definitely will!"

- From the TKP/ML (Maoist Party Centre), "On Strategy and Tactics: Armed Economism - A Caricature of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya's Views"

prehensively this principle is embraced. "As policy becomes more ambitious and vigorous, so will war, and this may reach the point where war attains its absolute form." (Clausewitz, *On War*, p. 606) For example, when the imperialists fight each other, they don't annihilate each other because this is not in the interests of their capitalist base of production. They just force capitulation and extract concessions. But when it comes to people's war, they will not rest short of annihilating it, and their activities to this end will cease only when they are defeated and their state power is overthrown. Even after a proletarian state is firmly established, the imperialists will try to overthrow it. "When we say imperialism is 'ferocious', we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never put down their butcher knives... till their doom". (Mao, *Red Book*, "War and Peace")

To seize power, the proletariat must destroy the old state, the heart of which is the army, which must be defeated and subdued by the revolutionary army. This is a sharply antagonistic war in which great social forces come into play, and the stakes are very high for both sides. If the proletariat could simply take over the old state machinery and put it into use, this war probably would have been less ferocious and intense. There are many kinds of just wars, but the social content of all the rest of them is qualitatively limited in comparison to proletarian wars. Proletarian-led wars have as their ultimate aim shattering and sweeping aside the material underpinnings of imperialism and all forms of oppression and exploitation, and they are able to unleash the full energy of the masses. The reactionary states will not stop at extracting capitulation and concessions from the proletarian-led revolutionary wars; they will use any such concessions to attain the political objective of their side of the war — to annihilate the people's war. This is only natural, because war is an instrument of policy and must necessarily reflect its character and be measured by its standards. They also judge our war by its social content.

As Comrade Mao pointed out, "Mankind's era of wars will be brought to an end by our own efforts, and beyond doubt the war we wage is part of the final battle. But also beyond doubt the war we face will be

part of the biggest and the most ruthless of all wars." (Mao, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War", "The Aim of War Is To Eliminate War", *SW*, v 1, p. 183) How could it be otherwise? Communism, as Marx said, is the most thoroughgoing rupture with the old property relations, with the social relations that arise on that basis, with the political-ideological superstructure that guards and enforces these, and with old ideas and habits. How could a war with the goal of bringing such a society into being not be the most ferocious and ruthless; how could the bourgeoisie not be fired with passionate hatred towards this war and those who wage it? No war in history has demanded so much audacity and sacrifice.

Exactly because of the nature of revolutionary warfare, once such a war is started we cannot return to mainly peaceful struggle. However, this is something that the armed revisionists and bourgeois nationalist forces often do. Why and how is it possible for them, and not for us? Because of the reformist nature of their "war"; because their strategy is not to destroy the old state but to win a place in it. This is nothing more than a kind of armed struggle or at best "minimal or limited war", which consists in merely threatening the enemy, with negotiations held in reserve. "They are not gambling high stakes but haggling petty concessions", Clausewitz remarked, and he explained this phenomenon: "When the motives and tensions of war are slight we can imagine that the very faintest prospect of defeat might be enough to cause one side to yield. If from the very start the other side feels that this is probable, it will obviously concentrate on bringing about this probability rather than take the long way round and totally defeat the enemy... Suppose one merely wants a small concession from the enemy. One will only fight until some modest quid pro quo has been acquired, and a modest effort should suffice for that. The enemy's reasoning will be much the same." (Clausewitz, *On War*, p. 604)

However, history shows that even the revisionist and bourgeois nationalist forces should not always count on this. The imperialists and their reactionary clients in the countries dominated by imperialism usually do not take chances with anything that might

become (even if its initiators do not intend it that way) a spark in the powderkeg of the masses and inflame the unquenched desire of the oppressed to take revenge against them and set their house on fire. A good example is the war led by the FLN for the independence of Algeria. At the very outbreak of the war, the FLN called for negotiations with French imperialism, and in fact in their programme they called for a negotiated settlement. But the French responded with a counter-revolutionary war that took one million Algerian lives. Only then did the French agree to negotiate.

Also, the world situation is a decisive element bearing on how the imperialists would treat a revisionist armed force. For example, during the "cold war" period the Yankee imperialists and their Western allies and clients were ruthless against any attempt on the part of the revisionist or bourgeois nationalist forces that would have opened cracks and fissures for Soviet influence in the countries dominated by the Western bloc imperialists.

**F. "KNOW YOUR ENEMY, KNOW YOURSELF" IS A CARDINAL PRINCIPLE IN REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE. IT IS OPPORTUNISM TO SPREAD DANGEROUS ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE ENEMY**

Comrade Mao stressed that the main way a revolutionary army can preserve its forces is through destroying the forces of the enemy. Destroying the forces of the enemy is central to the very idea of war. Once the war is launched, either you destroy or get destroyed. This is how the matter must be seen; anything contrary to this is a dangerous illusion. This means that if the enemy uses force without hesitation and is unfettered by the bloodshed it involves, and if you refrain from using force, the enemy will gain the upper-hand and soon destroy you. This is what the Fujimori regime is trying to do — while they take advantage of the so-called "peace talks", they are carrying out a military build-up. In war, there is interaction between the two sides. As long as the enemy is not overthrown, it can cut you in pieces. A revolutionary army must under no conditions — however difficult and impossible things may look — let itself be fooled by any illusions about the other side's intentions.

The enemy also learns. It is an illusion to think that they are going to refrain from using all of their wits and

reserves to destroy a Maoist war. For them, engaging in peace negotiations is part of and subservient to their military strategy of wiping out the revolutionaries and *potential revolutionaries* (the mass base). As much as they can, they will apply the fundamental principle of war with orthodoxy against a revolutionary war led by Maoists. This is so because the political aim of the revolutionary war is to destroy the old state and wipe out the rule of the exploitative classes forever<sup>6</sup>.

Once the matter is looked at in this way, then it is easy to see that a war — especially a revolutionary war — cannot come to its conclusion before its political objective is achieved. If before this objective is reached, one of the parties calls off the war (for the sake of argument, let's say in a revolutionary war the weaker side, the revolutionary side), it is highly unlikely that the enemy will follow suit; it might change its tactics but most likely will earnestly go for finishing the job. (This is why the revolutionary communists must never hesitate to "beat the drowning dog to death" ruthlessly.) Bitter historical examples since the time of the slave wars illustrate this amply. These rules will apply to the People's War in Peru doubly, because it is a proletarian-led revolutionary war and because it is a war that has been going on successfully for 13 years. Even though the reactionaries tried from the very beginning to nip the People's War in the bud, nonetheless, now they are going to have to work even harder because this war has changed the political landscape of the country forever. If the Peruvian state and Yankee imperialists get the chance — which the People's War in

Peru and the revolutionaries of the world should of course deny them — they will unleash a protracted campaign of blood and fire to unearth the roots that the PCP has driven deep into Peru's heartland.

#### G. DOES THIS MEAN THAT ANY COMPROMISE IS IMPERMISSIBLE?

If compromises are called forth by the course of events in the class struggle (i.e., they are necessary), they should be made with these principles in mind: the fundamental interests of the people should not be compromised. This concretely means safeguarding the People's War, which is the most important interest of the people in Peru at the moment. This includes the party, the army and the new power. None of these can be dissolved. Another point is that compromises should serve the process of development of the war, not the other way around. When two deadly hostile parties are at war, one of the rules that govern their compromises (such as peace negotiations between them) is that each looks at these as preparations for waging war again — soon. If either side of the war overlooks this and does not keep itself prepared or makes such retreats and compromises that would undercut its ability to resume the war at any moment, it will be the loser. When Chairman Mao declared that negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek were necessary, before going to Chungking he drew up an operational plan for the Red Army. Furthermore, he declared that the Red Army would not accept the dissolution of the base areas. Therefore, we do not deny the role of political ma-

noeuvres and even compromises, but whenever needed these must be subservient to the process of war. When required, diplomatic notes can be exchanged, but they cannot take the place of war<sup>7</sup>.

Does this mean that there could not be a pause in the war? War develops in ebbs and flows, advances in one area and retreats in another; it is marked with periods of tension and rest, heightened activities and preparing/waiting, as well as retreats and advances. This is especially true in protracted people's war. There might be a pause or lull in the war, but it will break out again until one side is completely swallowed by the other side and subdued. There could even be disengagement or a ceasefire, but the revolutionary forces should prepare seriously for the war to be resumed soon; as long as the reactionary army is the superior force, the revolutionary forces cannot count on the reactionaries to abide by ceasefire agreements. And the revolutionary forces must not allow the temporary and exceptional conditions of a ceasefire to undermine their fighting capacity and to spread illusions among the masses. Even when a ceasefire is a correct tactic, the revolutionary forces must calculate how the enemy is going to use it and what will be the results of it.

Nevertheless, these ebbs and flows in the state of war must not be confused with starting and stopping the war.

To end the war with the hope of "restarting" it in a better position is a pipedream and an extremely dangerous illusion. At best this means not knowing anything about war, and especially revolutionary war. Even if

<sup>6</sup> "The more powerful and inspiring the motive for war... the closer will war approach its abstract concept, the more important will be the destruction of the enemy, the more closely will the military aims and political objectives of war coincide..." (Clausewitz, *On War*, pp. 87-88)

<sup>7</sup> The line reflected in *Asumir* and the prison article is the only position arguing for negotiations that we are aware of at this time. Of course, it is possible that a different "negotiations line" could exist which envisions negotiations not as a way of bringing the People's War to a conclusion, but as a diplomatic manoeuvre with the aim of dealing with problems facing the PW. Were such a position to exist,

those arguments also would have to be examined concretely. [However, in the light of the conclusions reached through the investigation carried out by RIM, we firmly uphold the statement in the RIM Call that: "There is no basis — in terms of the freedom and necessity of the revolutionary camp on the one hand and the reactionary camp on the other — for achieving a peace accord that would not represent abandoning the revolutionary road and compromising away the fundamental interests of the people. Under these circumstances, the only kind of peace accord which would be accepted by the Fujimori regime — and more generally by the ruling classes in Peru and their imperialist masters — is an agreement to end the war on a basis

that could not benefit but would harm the revolutionary process in Peru. Therefore a proposal for peace accords to end the war could only lead to opportunism and must be combated." — UICS, May 1995]

*Asumir* does not explain what things the people's side will lose and gain in this so-called "peace accord". What are the conditions put forward? What can be compromised and what cannot? In the cases of both the Brest-Litovsk and Chungking negotiations, Lenin and then Mao put forward very clearly the conditions for the compromises and argued for them. Instead of doing this, *Asumir* has contented itself with some scattered quotations that are difficult to take seriously.

*Asumir* repeats a hundred more times that MLM is universal, it won't do; the problem is how to apply our universal scientific ideology to today's conditions: what is going to happen to the People's War, to the people's army, to the people's new power? *Asumir* is not using this ideology; this can be seen from the solution it implies for the revolution. This solution cannot even be dubbed a "strategic retreat" or "general retreat". If it is applied, it will have only one result: capitulation and surrender.

## II. PRESERVING THE ACHIEVEMENTS

Protracted people's war will necessarily be *protracted*, it will go through twists and turns, advances and retreats, as it advances toward final victory. The process of war will necessarily involve shifts in class alliances and changes in policy by the revolutionary forces. Furthermore, it is inevitable that differences in the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party will emerge, and two-line struggle will periodically develop over the life and death questions of strategy and tactics for advancing the war.

### MAINTAINING IS GOOD, NOT BAD

*Asumir* says, "The people's war cannot develop but only maintain itself. There are six indispensable questions for victory in people's war...." The prison article, which in many respects brings *Asumir's* arguments to their logical conclusions in a more explicit way, denounces the attempts by the leadership outside in persisting in people's war:

"The termination of this great and glorious stage of the World Proletarian Revolution not only means the conclusion of this step, it is at the same time the beginning and the gestation of another newer and higher stage of the era of proletarian revolution which continues and will continue the road and within which the termination of the People's War begun in May 1980 is only exchanging a present full of uncertain possibilities for a real and certain future, that is, in the world and in the country what is at stake is not only the present but the future of the class and the people, today it is not fleeting and feeble but the solid dec-

ades of new and greater and higher combats to come for every class but especially the final one: the proletariat...."; "...but in the current situation, this People's War (PW) cannot develop, triumph and still less conquer power. Even more, continuing under the current circumstances runs the increasing risk of defeat and destruction and could lead to a collapse, it would be to 'lose one's head and commit a monstrous crime' against the party, the class, the people and the revolution...."

### A. DISPELLING CONFUSION

First, there should be no confusion that the two-line struggle is over what conditions are required for "victory" (nationwide seizure of power by the PCP)<sup>8</sup>; rather, it is over whether to preserve/maintain<sup>9</sup> the PW and on that basis develop it, or to end it and become a non-warring political party because supposedly the "whole process of counter-revolutionary war has led to its success" and because "concrete conditions" do not allow the PW to be maintained and developed.

Secondly, we should dispel any confusion that there is something wrong with maintaining the struggle. It is great and must be supported. It is only through maintaining the war in the face of the assaults of the enemy and wrong lines that the basis can be laid for future leaps in the PW's development. Within the limitations that are imposed by objective conditions, we must play a dynamic role in striving for victory. Chairman Mao stressed that we must endeavour to achieve everything which, objectively and subjectively, is capable of achievement, by going all out and aiming high, "in a word, we must deal

in abstractions, too — revolutionary romanticism is a good thing." (*Mao Unrehearsed*, p 106).

The prison article is attempting to set the terms of debate at the false level that either leadership must come up with precise plans for advancing *now*, or "call off the game!". But the real question is whether to find solutions for the new problems with the objective of maintaining and advancing the PW, or to give in to the difficulties and end the war. The struggle is over whether to go all out, aim high and "direct the performance of many dramas" within the limitations imposed by the conditions, or demolish what is left and go home? Should we defend what we have achieved, or scatter it to the wind and commit a crime against our class and people in Peru and worldwide?

This line itself is a dangerous menace to the PW and the PCP today. The prison article's consolations about "bright future" and its warning against the horrors of "collapse" are low religious stuff. If this line dominates, the present and the future of the PCP will be destroyed. This is not prophecy, but a profound truth drawn from the experience of our class in more than a hundred years of tortuous and bloody class struggle.

Today the problems facing the PCP and the PW might be very complex and the conditions hard. But the approach proposed in *Asumir* is not Maoist.

### B. ON PRECISE PLANS AND QUICK DECISIONS

The prison article goes on to make the statement: "In opposition to this proletarian party position of the left and of the red faction only are the

every single plan. No. We understand that a war situation is an evolving process and must be led as such.

We are also not proposing that every single base area should be preserved. We understand that base areas — or the people's power — are themselves a reflection of the material development of the war; and it is likely that in the course of the protracted people's war, the revolutionary army would abandon some areas and deploy its forces with utmost flexibility, all in the service of preserving and developing the war. However this is totally different to voluntarily *dismantling* them.

<sup>10</sup> The whole quote reads: "But it takes

<sup>8</sup> Even though we do not know enough about the present state of the war, it is safe to assume that the final victory of the People's War or the nationwide seizure of power is a question for the future when the overall forces and abilities of the People's War have developed to a point where they can forcibly defeat and subdue the forces of the old state, and it is likely that this will require a longer and probably even bloodier process. If *Asumir* expected quicker victory, then this is a problem in *their* thinking.

<sup>9</sup> We should make clear when we are talking about "preserving" or "maintaining" that we are not talking about maintaining

rightist position of negating and abandoning the revolution ... and the simplistic, ultra-left line of 'MAINTAINING THE STRUGGLE' without clear and precise, solid political bases, lacking objectives."

*Asumir* also calls the comrades who are persevering in the People's War "blanquists". To this we recall what Comrade Mao said. "We are criticized for craving greatness and success. Well then, should we seek pettiness and failure? Should we value the past and despise the future? We must crave greatness and success. The people who say so are good people. We must indeed keep up our fighting spirit." (*Mao Unrehearsed*, p. 95) When the revisionists started to attack the Maoist cadres during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR), Chairman Mao taught us: "The revolutionary cadres must be protected and protected with full justification and boldness." ("Mao Analyzes the GPCR", appendix to Jean Daubier's *A History of the Chinese Cultural Revolution*, p. 312)

It is argued that the leadership outside of prison should come up with clear-cut plans *now* or they should be judged incapable and should give up and go home! This arrogance towards the comrades who are operating under extremely difficult conditions hurts, but we will respond with cool heads. At times the leaders are slow not because they lack dynamic brains, but because the nature of the situation is such that it requires more time. And if they act hastily without a solid basis — with a partial knowledge of essential factors — they might do the job less well. This is because the subjective factor always lags behind the objective factor, and especially so at times of important

changes in the objective situation. Comrade Mao said: "But it takes time to clarify thinking and to study policy, and we still have much to learn".<sup>10</sup>

This "clarifying of our thinking" sometimes inevitably goes through struggling things out within the party leadership itself, and this process cannot be pushed aside even under the conditions of war.

We are not arguing against the importance, and even the crucial importance, of quick decisions by the leaders, especially when we are engaged in struggle at close quarters with the enemy. Nonetheless, unfounded hasty decisions will lead to subjective errors and rash advances (or worse, "haste" in dismantling the accomplishments of the war!). We are arguing for seeing the dynamic dialectics between knowing and doing, taking into account the objective and subjective factors, and going all out and aiming high.

At times, it might be wrong to try to immediately sum up everything and to fully develop the line and policies of the coming period, because not all essential factors are known. This is materialism. We are told that either the PCP must come up with precise plans and demonstrate the capacity *right now* for developing the war, or it should stop the war! What kind of logic is this? What is the "solid political basis and objective" for this argument? With this logic, Mao should not have organized the Long March. When he started the Long March, he did not even know they were going to end up in the North. The immediate goal of the Long March was to *maintain* the struggle after the defeat that the forces of revolution suffered from the fifth suppression campaign of Chiang Kai-shek as a result of the dominance of a wrong "left" line

which did not see the protracted nature of the war. It was well into the Long March that the expanded meeting of the political bureau of the CPC CC was convened in Tsunyi; a new leadership led by Comrade Mao was established, and the meeting was limited to taking decisions on the most urgent military and organizational affairs. Only at the end of the Long March was the CC able to study and lay out precise policies. (See footnote 1, "On the Tactics of the Struggle against Japanese Imperialism", *SW*, v.1) "If you mean did we have any exact plans", Comrade Mao later told Edgar Snow, "the answer is that we had none. We intended to break out of the encirclement and join up with the other soviets. Beyond that, there was only a very deliberate desire to put ourselves in a position where we could fight the Japanese." (cited in *China's Revolutionary War*, Dick Wilson)<sup>11</sup>

So at times it is possible and necessary to *maintain* even without having a clear picture of what will be the course of developing the war towards the seizure of power — although we must have that perspective. If the PCP only maintains the PW even at a low level today, then tomorrow it will be in a better position to advance towards seizing power.

Not understanding these things means not understanding the uneven nature of development of the protracted people's war, which is full of twists and turns.

### C. THE DIALECTICS OF MAINTAINING AND DEVELOPING

Comrade Mao stressed that "holding one's ground and extending it are inseparably connected". ("After the fall of

time to clarify thinking and to study policy, and we still have much to learn. Our party is not yet sufficiently strong, not yet sufficiently united or consolidated, and so cannot yet take on greater responsibility than we now carry. From now on the problem is further to expand and consolidate our party, our army and base areas in the continued prosecution of the War of Resistance; this is the first indispensable item in our ideological and material preparation for the gigantic work of the future...." ("Our Study And The Current Situation", section II, *SW*, v 3, p. 172)

<sup>11</sup> The Long March was a necessity that had been imposed by the defeat that the

Red Army suffered at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek; Chiang had finally succeeded in carrying out a campaign that pinned down the communists, destroyed many of their achievements and all of their base areas in the mountainous region of Kiangsi province and halted their advance. But his continual inability to strike the final death blow to the communists haunted him and undermined his political power. As a result, the communists had to make a strategic retreat, the Long March, which, far from having the air of a funeral march, became one of the most celebrated military feats in modern warfare. (See Wilson)

The Long March started in October 1934. The eventual destination was un-

known initially. After travelling 6000 miles through 12 provinces, over 18 mountain ranges and crossing 24 rivers, the First Front Army arrived on the borders of the new soviet base area in Shensi, in October of 1935. Other armies would join with them a year later (the Red Army was not marching together as one whole body). By the time they reached Shensi, only 8000 men were left, one in twenty of those who started the march. Many were lost in the march and many others had been left behind deliberately to carry out guerrilla warfare and impede the movements of the Nationalist army. The survivors had travelled for 13 months an average of 15 miles a day, with one skirmish with the enemy

Shanghai and Taiyuan", *SW*, v 2, p. 68) In 1930, he said, "They [the pessimistic comrades] seem to think that, since the revolutionary high tide is still remote, it will be labour lost to attempt to establish political power by hard work." ("A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," *SW*, v 1, p. 117) Enver Hoxha tried to slander Chairman Mao's theory of protracted war as "endless", "without perspective". This was just self-serving revisionist slander. For Mao, it was clear that the people's war would necessarily be protracted and that power would be seized step by step. Also, Mao never said that armed struggle should only be initiated if the prospect of quick victory exists. No. He always said the Red Army is small and must gradually grow from weak to strong, and moreover that the final victory depends on many other national and international factors, factors which can prolong or shorten the course of the war.

The PCP in the past has correctly criticized "eternalization of the war", which leads to reformism and warlordism. On the basis of this correct understanding and firmly grasping the objective of the PW (seizure of power to establish New Democracy and Socialism), the PCP, through its plans, has systematically developed the PW towards that objective — establishing political power step by step and preparing each stage of the war in such a way as to lay the basis for advance to the next one with the perspective of the total seizure of power. However, this must not be seen as a straight-line advance. This advance has been wavelike and has involved

restoration/counter-restoration, and it cannot be otherwise. It appears that today the PW is facing a difficult offensive by the enemy, and it should not be ruled out that the counter-restoration this time will be more complex. In similar situations the revolutionary forces, basing themselves on a correct appraisal of the situation and objective possibilities, and through perseverance, can overcome the odds and advance and even reap unexpected fruit. This way is qualitatively more "certain" than the promised future of "re-starting". War is full of uncertainties, but surrendering is hopeless.

No other social activity of human beings is as full of uncertainties as war. This does not mean that we should not have strategy and tactics. Correct strategy and tactics based on a correct and precise appraisal of overall and specific situations is the basis of our success — but the only thing that can counterbalance the inevitable uncertainties of war is perseverance, courage and boldness.

Maintaining or preserving is a very dynamic process. It is not passive at all; on the contrary, in order to maintain the war, the schemes of the enemy must be defeated, the core of the gains must be consolidated, and the grounds must be laid for future leaps.

The Long March not only preserved the core of the army and the party through the measure of retreat, but it also tightened the links of the party with the masses on its way — it forged ties with the masses, was able to continuously recruit them to the main forces of the Red Army along

the march as well as to local forces, and also prepared the ground for future harvests.<sup>12</sup>

#### D. ANALYZING NEW CONDITIONS IN WAR

*Asumir* says, "... (T)hey [the leadership outside] do not analyze the new problems, the direction...".

Well of course they should! And we assume they are doing just that. We do not at all undermine the vital necessity of analysing the new conditions and new problems in order to lay out plans which correspond to objective reality. We also hold that it is wrong to insist that nothing has changed, so there is no need to think hard and adjust the plans. However, as the case of *Asumir* itself shows, the main problem is not whether the new problems and conditions should be analyzed; the main problem is how to analyze them *correctly*, avoiding subjectivism in its right and "left" forms, and on that basis develop *correct* strategy and tactics for successfully carrying out the PW under today's conditions.

In order to accomplish this, the basic line of the party should be taken as the key link. The relation between the basic line and the line for concrete measures must be handled correctly. The basic line must occupy a commanding position and guide concrete measures and policies. It is the basic principle in everything. That is why Comrade Mao said, "line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place." Without this, the revolutionaries will lose their clarity

per day, including 15 days of major battles. All in all, there were 150 days of no movement for different reasons, including for resolving leadership crises.

The Long March was a grand fighting retreat, but more than that it was a test of endurance and perseverance. It demonstrated how dedicated the fighters of the Red Army were. The remnants of the force of the Red Army who had been left behind also showed tremendous heroism: "For nearly two years... I slept with even my shoes on. So did most of our men... We were like wild men, living and fighting by instinct." (*China's Revolutionary War*, p. 62) These are all military qualities that flowed from the class character of the Red Army and the ideology leading it. Chiang's army, which was tenfold its size and possessed lots of iron, was no match for even the shadow of the Red

Army's iron will.

The Long March was like a big propaganda tour, sowing the seeds of revolution in many new areas where the struggles of the CPC had not yet reached. It was through this march that the CPC became a truly national party. In many areas the masses welcomed them as liberators. The Party worked among the minority nationalities. The Long March embodied and reinforced the intense desire of the Chinese people for change. Even though it was a retreat, it really empowered the Chinese masses, and filled them with pride and even greater power of will to go all the way.

The struggle within the leadership over the conduct and course of the march continued. In December, Comrade Mao regained his position in the political bureau, and it was in the conference of Tsunyi in January 1935 that the authority of the cor-

rect line of Chairman Mao and his leadership were established. This was a decisive victory for the People's War and the revolution.

<sup>12</sup> Here we would like to make a comment on our frequent reference to the Long March: we do not by any means intend to imply that a Long March or something like it is required for today's conditions in Peru. But we feel it is important to study it carefully, and learn its relevant lessons for today. Whether a retreat on that scale is needed or not should be determined by the Peruvian comrades themselves, based on concrete analysis. And even if something like that were necessary, it is obvious that it would not look like the Long March because of the specific features of Peru. Just as "initiating" war in Peru had its own particularities.

of thinking and orientation; they will risk having an increasingly short-sighted view of things. This, indeed, will lead to looking only at immediate interests and losing sight of the long-term interests of the party and the people.

To firmly ground oneself on the basic line in no way means to neglect concrete line for concrete conditions. Without this, indeed, the implementation of the party's basic line does not mean much.

We are not able to be sure of exactly what new analysis the leadership has made of the situation and whether any necessary adjustments have been made in the pattern of the war or not. But even if they have not done so, it does not make *Asumir's* wholesale pessimistic analysis of the conditions and its new strategy (reaching a peace accord with the Fujimori regime to end the PW with the hope of "repeating" it sometime later) any more viable. What is the basis for *Asumir's* own analysis and strategy? It is important to take into account that it is difficult for a group of people who have been torn away from the collectivity of their party and from the masses in struggle, and whose supply of information is controlled by the enemy, to develop a correct concrete analysis and on that basis correct concrete strategy and tactics for the whole party. A communist party's correct and unswerving tactics of struggle can only emerge in the course of mass struggle, that is, through actual experience.

Every comrade, even from prison, has the right to warn against mistakes and shortcomings that would lead to weakening the PW. But these shortcomings — real or imaginary — cannot be used as justification for suggesting that the PW should be shut down.

Although "left" opportunist deviations (such as those in the Communist Party of China which opposed making required adjustments in the policies and the course of the war called forth by dramatic changes in the conditions, or which opposed making necessary compromises and building united fronts with sections of the exploiting classes) have also done considerable damage on different occasions and have often helped lay the basis for or even transformed into openly rightist, capitulationist policies, experience has shown that historically the main danger is revision-

ism — abandoning the revolutionary struggle for power and the final goal of socialism and communism. *Asumir* and the prison article's "concrete line" is alien to the PCP's basic line for making revolution in Peru. Their analysis is wrong and their proposed plan is deadly wrong.

---

**IT WILL BE HELL ON EARTH  
FOR THE MASSES IN PERU  
IF THE PEOPLE'S WAR IS  
NOT MAINTAINED**

---

Both the *Asumir* article and the other document claim that, "the people want peace"!

Which people? The people are divided into classes.

Who are the author's people? Most probably the middle classes who vacillate greatly when the enemy unleashes white terror, some of whom even desert to the side of the enemy. During setbacks and unbridled attacks by the enemy, many of the middle class forces sit tight, and the opportunists and rich peasants who had joined the party will desert to the enemy ranks. Workers, peasants and shantytown dwellers have been a strong base of the PW and will continue to be; this does not rule out the possibility of some kind of war weariness among these strata. But it is also true that the enemy's assaults against the PCP have kindled the outrage of many of these masses to the point that they are going to be more determined than ever to rise to the occasion and carry the war to the end, no matter what.

We don't know the exact feeling and mood of different sections of the people (and it is remarkable how *Asumir* came to know about the desires of different strata of the people for peace through Fujimori's iron bars), but even if there is war weariness among sections of the people who are the base of the PW, the solution is not to stop the war and blow to the wind the fruits of the people's 13 years of sweat and blood. These problems have their own Marxist-Leninist-Maoist solutions. One thing is for certain: peaceful political struggle, proposed by the line under discussion, is not going to arouse and organize the millions of poor peasants in the countryside who are the main force of revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in the New Democratic Revolution.

The vanguard party initiated the war on the basis of the thirst of the enslaved to rebel against their slavery. Even if some people make compromises, this will not stop the struggle of the masses, and this struggle will break into armed struggle sooner or later. The war in Vietnam re-started in this way after the country had been divided and peace had been reached, following the defeat of the French imperialists. When the Saigon regime went wild in white areas, taking revenge on the masses, the masses could not take this and began to organize resistance, even though the party had not developed any plans to resist.

What will happen to the oppressed if "peace" is reached and they lose their PW and army? They will have more of the same misery they have always had, and, moreover, the enemy will unleash a campaign of bloody revenge against them with the aim of "teaching" them to "never touch a gun again"; such a campaign of terror and massacres will make all of the enemy's previous genocidal campaigns look innocent in comparison. This too is part of why you cannot stop the war once you have launched it.

Things have changed after 13 years of turning the society upside down, which is more than fine for the international proletariat and more than a nightmare for the international bourgeoisie. Now the proletarian party and the masses under its leadership in Peru have ascended way up the mountain towards the summit of victory, here both the opportunities and dangers are high. Remembering Mao's last letter to Comrade Chiang Ching in July 1976, we can see that to climb to the top is the only way: "In the struggle of the past ten years I have tried to reach the peak of revolution, but I was not successful. But you could reach the top. If you fail, you will plunge into a fathomless abyss. Your body will shatter. Your bones will break."

---

**WITHOUT A PEOPLE'S ARMY,  
THE PEOPLE HAVE NOTHING**

---

The existence of red political power and the ability to form and maintain a people's army are cardinal features of Mao's line of making revolution in the oppressed nations. Any proposed tactical or strategic readjustments (through negotiations or other means) must take these principles of Mao's

line into account.

Mao put it very succinctly, "without a People's Army the people have nothing". Significantly, Mao made this most important observation in his article "On Coalition Government", when he was discussing the relationship between the CPC and the Kuomintang and even the possibility of long-term cooperation.

In this section, Mao refers to Chiang's demand of the "handing over of all of the armed forces of the Liberated Areas by the Communist Party, after which it would grant the Communist Party 'legal status.'"

Mao answers: "These people tell the Communists, 'Hand over your troops and we will grant you freedom.' According to their theory, a political party that does not have any army should enjoy freedom. Yet whatever freedom the Chinese Communist Party enjoyed during 1924-1927, when it had only a small armed force, vanished with the Kuomintang government's policies of 'party purge' and massacre. And today, the China Democratic League and the democrats within the Kuomintang, who have no armed forces, have no freedom either. Let us take the workers, peasants and students and the progressively inclined people in cultural, educational and industrial circles under the Kuomintang regime — for the last eighteen years none of them have had any armed forces, and none of them have had any freedom." ("On Coalition Government", *SW*, v 3, p. 245)

It is not necessary to return to the distant early years of the Chinese revolution to find proof of Mao's point. The experience of the last few decades in the oppressed countries has shown that without armed forces, the people are not only unable to enjoy political freedom, but they are subject to policies of bloody suppression and massacre at the hands of the reactionaries. The Indonesia example of 1965, when hundreds of thousands of communists and workers and peasants were slaughtered, is a tragic and painful lesson. In Chile, tens of thousands of revolutionary-minded workers and peasants and progressive people were killed when the army overthrew the elected government of Allende in 1973. In 1981 in Iran, thousands of communists, revolutionaries and progressives were executed or imprisoned when the Khomeini regime

turned on those forces who had fought to bring down the regime of the Shah. In 1982, when the forces of the Palestinian revolution withdrew from Lebanon under the supposed "guarantee" of U.S. imperialism, hundreds of masses were massacred in the camps of Sabra and Shatila in the days that followed. In short, the ability of the people to enjoy freedom, the ability of the people to advance the revolution, and the ability of the people to defend themselves against suppression by the class enemy requires a people's army.

---

**PARTY FORCES MUST  
BE PRESERVED, BUT FIRST  
THE PARTY'S COLOUR  
MUST BE PRESERVED**

---

What are the communist parties good for? For making revolution, a revolutionary party is required. One of the chief characteristics of people's war is that it must be led by a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist party. To have a red party is crucial for starting the people's war, and it is even more crucial for developing it through tremendous difficulties to the end. In preserving a party, its quality is the principal aspect — whether it represents the interests of our class against the opposing classes and concentrates its will, or not. Chairman Mao, in a struggle against a class collaborationist tendency which had arisen in the party, asked, "is the Communist Party to sink to the level of the Kuomintang dictatorship of the landlords and bourgeoisie, to the level of partial resistance?" ("After the Fall of Shanghai and Taiyuan", 'Capitulationism Must Be Combated Both Inside the Party and Throughout the Country', *SW*, v 2, p. 65) And he stresses that, "In 1927, Chen Tu-hsiu's capitulationism led to the failure of the revolution. No member of our party should ever forget this historical lesson written in blood." (*ibid*, p. 65).

*Asumir* warns against "paper parties"<sup>13</sup>, but its line does not seem to mind them at all; its strategy is to take the PCP through a transformation that at best will turn it into a paper party.

*Asumir* says to "defend it (the Party) against wind and tide, persist taking the ideological-political line as decisive for the people's war." Generally, this is a fine statement. But to persist taking the *correct* ideological-politi-

cal line today in Peru means to defend and strengthen the people's war against wind and tide. Among the tasks of the Party, this is the main one. It is in the midst of carrying out this task, which is inseparable from fighting off the wrong lines, that the Party will be defended and strengthened.

The prison article states: "(P)osing that we put ourselves in the worst circumstances the ultra-left line of 'MAINTAINING THE STRUGGLE' to the death carries the risk of the defeat of the PW and the revolution, it would be a blind woman without political sense, the product of the most crude and monstrous subjectivism, one-sidedness and superficiality."

It is fair to say that all of these adjectives could well be applied to this article itself. Even a "blind" person has political sense; the main question is, however, political sense of which class? To divorce politics from war in a country that has been in a civil war for 13 years — such a person is neither blind nor deaf and dumb, but has a bad line. Pretending that the regime and its Yankee boss will allow the PGP to simply slip back to the pre-1980 situation and repeat the experience of the 1960s and 1970s — if this is not "the most crude and monstrous subjectivism", then what is it? Disbanding the PW and dismantling the people's armed forces will totally violate the fundamental interests of the people, undo the accomplishments of 13 years of revolutionary warfare and bring about the worst kind of setback for the proletariat in Peru — politically and ideologically as well as militarily. It is total hypocrisy to pretend that this strategy will preserve the party. Comrade Chiang Ching could

<sup>13</sup> This phrase of a "hundred paper parties" appears right after *Asumir* mentions RIM. It seems likely that it is meant to be an attack on RIM parties and organizations. Given RIM's correct analysis of the revolutionary possibilities in the world and its efforts to help MLM forces to step up their struggles to start people's wars wherever possible and as soon as possible, *Asumir*'s dislike of RIM may not come as a surprise. Today RIM is a bulwark of support internationally for the PW led by the PCP. From our own experience, we can say that our internationalist line has always met resistance from elements who are supportive of our struggle but who do not have an all-the-way revolutionary political and ideological line.

have adopted the "realistic" attitude championed by this article, but instead she "maintained the struggle to the death", along with her comrade-in-arms, Chang Chun-chao. The other two (Wang Hung-wen and Yao Wen-yuan), however, *did* choose to test this article's "wise" policy, with the result that they personally are alive and well-fed today — but can this be said to have advanced the proletarian cause in any way?

If a party is defeated militarily for standing for the basic interests of the basic masses, it can arise from its ashes again. But if it fails to take this stand and throws to the wind the principles and the fundamental interests of the masses, then it will be destroyed forever and a new party must be formed, which will be a tremendously more bitter and difficult process.

Even in the most extreme cases (and we emphasize again this is not the present situation with the war led by the PCP), "...when things have become hopeless, in the military sense, one cannot separate politics and war: political objectives would still determine whether or not to continue fighting... (C)apitulation in the face of certain strategic defeat can add political defeat to military defeat." (*Just Wars and Unjust Wars, A Maoist Study of War*, by S. Leonard, p. 7)

As the Chinese comrades said, "if the party's line is correct, even if it did not have one soldier at the beginning, it will find soldiers. However, if the line of the party is wrong, even if it has nationwide and regional powers and armies under its control, it will be crushed." (*A Basic Understanding of the Communist Party of China*, Shanghai, 1974) This is the only correct guideline for "preserving the party". Otherwise, even if the regime and its Yankee sponsors allow a party to preserve its forces physically and it is able to remain a big party quantitatively, that party will not be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party like the PCP. It might have lots of people, but these people will have different class and political allegiances and will be "reintegrated into society".

As we said, correct political-ideological line is decisive in preserving the party. A line is correct if it represents the interests, the aspirations and the worldview of our class. And the correct line in Peru today is concretely expressed in the kind of attitude which

is taken towards the People's War led by the Party.

A communist party is a product of class struggle and at the same time is its instrument. If the party loses its colour, it will cease to be an instrument of our class struggle.

### III. NEW CONDITIONS, NEW PROBLEMS

#### THE PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP

*Asumir* writes, "We have problems with numbers 1 and 3 (proletarian leadership and strategic centralization)."

It is obvious that communist parties face the "problem of leadership" when they lose their leaders in the midst of fierce class struggle, especially leaders of the stature of Chairman Gonzalo. This is not a new phenomenon, and the ICM needs to deal with it better. Undoubtedly, today the problem of leadership is one of the challenges that faces the leadership of the PCP. However, we believe the "solution" implied by *Asumir* and explicitly put forward by the prisoners' article is wrong. We believe such a "solution" would lead to temporarily putting an end to the existence of the vanguard itself or would greatly harm its ability to continue.

The experience of the ICM has shown that every time a crisis breaks out in the movements as a result of setbacks, a tendency arises in favour of liquidating the achievements. It has been especially difficult for the movements to withstand the loss of their main leaders. Perhaps our experience and some aspects of the experience of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPIML) (some of which we will examine) will help to shed light on some of the questions involved in the debate with the *Asumir* line.

#### A. UNION OF COMMUNISTS OF IRAN (SARBEDARAN) (UICS)

Recapitulating briefly here the process of restructuring the Union of Communists of Iran (UIC and later UICS) simplifies that process somewhat. But the reality is that it was complex, and in no way followed a straight line. It was a process in which every other step was paved with the blood

of our dearest comrades, every other turn witnessed desertions of fellow travellers, and all along the way numerous internal struggles were required.

We must point out that our experience was different in many important ways from the situation our comrades are facing in Peru today, and this must be taken into account. *The most important difference and, in fact, a crucial one*, is that the PCP, under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, had firmly established Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and had successfully applied MLM to the concrete conditions of Peru, thus developing a correct and comprehensive ideological and political line. But in our case, the blow of the enemy came at a time when major questions of ideological and political line were pending resolution: most important of all, our organization was suffering from a centrist line on Mao Tsetung Thought, a disease that the UIC had caught in the aftermath of the coup in China and during the traitorous attacks of Enver Hoxha against Chairman Mao.

Therefore for us it was not just restructuring our organization, its links with the masses and its practice, but ideological and political restructuring as well. Of course, we had just overthrown a right opportunist line of tailing the bourgeoisie before the blows of the enemy hit our organization. The initiation of armed struggle against the Islamic Republic (September 1981 to June 1982) under the name of the Sarbedaran Uprising (in the city of Amol) was a result of this rupture. Although this uprising was defeated, its initiation shook the whole country, drove the enemy wild, and gained the lasting love and respect of the revolutionary masses throughout Iran. This rupture established both the centrality of revolutionary warfare for the seizure of power and the decisiveness of proletarian leadership in the revolutionary process.

The defeat of the Amol uprising led to the loss of our key leadership and a major portion of our fighting force. The nationwide assaults of the enemy against the organization — which was mainly based in the major cities of the country — started several months later (in the summer of 1982). As a result of the defeat of the uprising, the right opportunist wing had gone on the offensive and the organization was in a

state of disarray when the enemy started to attack the organization. In these assaults, which had been carefully prepared through months of intelligence work, the enemy succeeded in capturing the whole leadership (which was based in the capital, Teheran) and the major portion of our cadres, dismantling most of the organizational structures and links with the masses.

This happened almost one year after the regime had purged itself from internal rival forces and had gone on a bloody nationwide campaign of capturing and executing the communists, mass activists, and revolutionaries, as well as crushing all of the mass movements and their gains in the revolution and all forms of opposition. This whole bloody episode once again glaringly demonstrated that the people have nothing without an army of their own.

After the capture of the leadership, a group of the most daring comrades (of the left) who had not been in the central leading bodies (such as the Politburo or the Standing Committee) stepped forward and took the responsibility for *leading*. Since the centre had been wiped out by the enemy and the organizational structures were disintegrated, they formed a new centre. Driven by their communist convictions and their sharp class sense of what needed to be done, they moved in, picked up and hoisted the red flag, and rallied the remaining comrades around it.

The most immediate task was to contain the blows of the enemy and save as many people as possible in a short time, and on that basis regroup. Some initial summation was done of the existing situation, and directives were issued for this.

Soon the main obstacle was liquidationism, which became rampant after some of the imprisoned UIC leaders capitulated ideologically and politically and denounced our ideals and struggles — these people were mostly from the right opportunist wing, but also included some with a better political history. While the Islamic Republic's torture chambers and dungeons were full of the heroic resistance of our comrades, the regime's propaganda machine was running full blast about "communist repentance" and totally blacked out the communist resistance. In short, in addition to direct assaults, the enemy was trying to eat away at our forces in this

way too. It put our people out of operation in two ways: first, by directly striking at us, through arrests and executions, and second, by using the capitulation of some fellow travellers and broken people to demoralize and confuse the forces of revolution. On the other hand, the perseverance and daring of the new leadership, along with the heroic "resistance until death" of many of our beloved leaders and comrades in prison, was an inspiring, driving source of strength for regrouping and restructuring — it really raised confidence and high morale among both the masses who supported us and within our forces.

To save our forces, we had to smash the liquidationist trend in theory and practice. In theory, to show the filthy bourgeois ideology and interests behind all that, and in practice, to persevere in restructuring the organization under the continuous and ruthless fire of the enemy. This quote of Lenin became our credo: "We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, precisely for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not to retreat into the adjacent cesspool... And now several among us begin to cry out: let us go into this marsh!..." (*What Is To Be Done?*, FLP p. 30) Our leadership upheld to the comrades that to keep our red flag aloft, we must nourish it with our blood.<sup>14</sup>

The liquidators in essence wanted to liquidate our right to rebel, our right to have a communist organization and persevere on the road of revolution. To do this effectively, they were mocking our communist ideology and revo-

lutionary spirit, attacking our achievements and underestimating our potential and abilities<sup>15</sup>, in order to dissuade us from re-taking the "defeated road". The defence of our revolutionary heritage and achievements was key to defeating this liquidationist trend in its right and sometimes even "left" forms; we vigorously defended our communist identity, our organization and its basically correct history, and especially the rupture with the right opportunist line and in defence of the subsequent heroic struggle of Sarbedaran. While we recognized our mistakes as much as we could grasp them at that time, we refused to go on an orgy of self-criticism in the face of the liquidationists.

The organization defeated the liquidationist trend and united around a revolutionary line and strong communist convictions. The convening of the Fourth Conference of the UICS was the culmination of this period. But this was not the end of the process of struggle for reorganization.

A whole period of revolution and our line and practice going into it had to be summed up and the way forward charted. The fact that UICS still had not settled accounts with the long overdue key questions of ideological and political line — questions of MLM and the Strategy — was compounding this process. Without uprooting ideological and political problems, neither could the task of fighting liquidationism and revisionism be completed, nor could a correct summation of our line and practice during the most tumultuous years of the country be presented, and the future course charted.

In this process, we lost new layers of our leadership two more times in "search and destroy" assaults of the

<sup>14</sup> Our Fourth Conference, which was convened in the spring of 1983 under the leadership of the provisional centre a year after these blows, declared: "Times like this, in order to keep the red flag of our principles and the cause of the working class and revolution flying, require that the most sacrificing and steadfast communists give their lives selflessly. It is in these kinds of conditions that the genuine communists and real revolutionaries and the most advanced elements of the working class and the people are tested and the real leaders of the masses are forged and steeled in the fire of unequal and bloody battles."

<sup>15</sup> For example, they moaned, "we should not have resorted to arms"; "the regime has stabilized"; "the masses are backward and do not want revolution"; "we need a protracted process of slow political work"; "we need a long period of studying and reviewing Marxism"; "we cannot trust anybody to form an organization, so we should only form circles"; "we should individually go through a process of proletarianization in factories"; "there are not enough theoreticians, leaders, etc"; "those experienced leaders were not able to succeed, so certainly you infants cannot succeed".

counter-insurgency police, who never gave up the task of totally uprooting UICS. Lack of continuity of the leadership really harmed our development — we learned the crucial necessity of preserving leadership the hard way.

Resurrecting our organization's internationalist traditions was one of the strongest points in this process. It was essential in fighting against revisionism and liquidationism and in the process of reconstruction overall. Many revisionist and bourgeois forces were trying to lure us in order to enlist the name of Sarbedaran in their fronts, and to do this they were using our liquidators too. Our response was to shut our ears to them and open them to our international comrades. Joining RIM took another internal struggle and was a very important leap. This was decisive in our ideological and political development. This brought to us the accumulated theoretical and practical experiences of our class worldwide, including the freshest experience — the PCP and the People's War under its leadership.

We carried out reorganization in close conjunction with striving hard to turn our theories into practice and to increase our material force, and this was the only way to develop an ideologically-politically correct and steeled organization.

At last we united firmly around Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the strategy of people's war — surrounding the cities from the countryside — and around building an organizational structure that was overall derived from this line and in the service of implementing it. This is the highest ideological-political and organizational unity ever arrived at in the long life of our organization. The emergence of this new organization was the greatest leap in the process of forming the proletarian party in Iran — the process which is coming to a conclusion.

## B. COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST-LENINIST)

The experience of the CPI(ML) is important to sum up in regard to the problem under discussion, and we hope the comrades from India will carry out this task. However, our current level of understanding allows us to mention some points about a liquidationist trend that arose in the aftermath of the capture and death of

Comrade Charu Mazumdar in captivity at the hands of the enemy in 1971.

The CPI(ML) split into many groupings. Different kinds of liquidationist tendencies arose. Some completely liquidated the Party's line and its achievements, saying that, "since we were defeated, everything must have been wrong"! Others, pretending to discard the errors (either real or invented ones), threw the baby out with the bathwater. Another type of revisionism was to uphold the struggle of the 1970s (Naxalbari) in name, but in reality practice reformism. Still another reaction to the loss of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and the crisis in the Party was to withdraw from the overall political and ideological struggle in India and the world and to limit themselves in a narrow nationalist way to the immediate problems of the armed struggle. Some of the groupings of the CPI(ML) did maintain and continue the armed struggle, but tended to rip it out of the proletarian internationalist context as part of the world proletarian revolution.

The experience of the ICM shows that it has been difficult to maintain what is correct and discard what must be discarded in the situations where main leaders are lost and a new situation has arisen. There have been inspiring cases of forging ahead step-by-step and even achieving new revolutionary leaps in this process. And there have been unfortunate experiences, where instead of taking whatever had been achieved and building upon it, people took a cannibalizing approach towards their own line and achievements under the guise of, "we did not succeed"; "there is no leadership, no line, etc".

We are not saying that errors should not be identified and discarded. First of all, mistakes are inevitable and, secondly, the world is changing, so there are always certain elements of the line that should be discarded. But this can only be done on the basis of defending and upholding the correct line. In class struggle it is very important to grasp the dialectic between preserving and examining the line, in order to be able to divide one into two and determine the principal aspect, and on that basis on the one hand to preserve what is correct and the achievements and build the future advances upon them, and on the other, to discard what is wrong or what does not hold any

more because of the changes in the material world.

## C. THE PCP

Undoubtedly, the current loss of leadership presents the revolutionary process in Peru and its vanguard with great difficulties. It is not easy to develop leaders. Losing experienced leaders is a setback in our revolutionary efforts. Therefore, protecting leadership from the enemy's attack is one of the most important tasks. This is crucial for maintaining the continuity of the revolution. At the same time, in class war this can happen anytime. We should prepare for it beforehand by developing strong collective leadership, Maoist successors, ready to boldly shoulder the leading responsibilities. We believe the principle that war can be learned through waging warfare applies in this problem too — leadership can be learned through leading.

Lenin says that in the face of big crises some people bend and others — the majority — become steeled. This is true in the present case too. We have confidence in the PCP and are optimistic that in this process it will become even more steeled. Our confidence and optimism has a strong material basis: generally, because the PCP is an ideologically strong party which has been steeled in 13 years of the highest form of revolution; and, specifically, the resiliency that the PCP has brought into play in the face of such a big loss has surprised both friend and foe and has greatly elated the international proletariat. The PCP has a large reservoir of experience and cadres; it has a developed line for the revolution in Peru; it has strong ideological and political ties with the ICM, and there is RIM which can concentrate the whole experience of the ICM — including the best internationalist traditions of the Comintern — and make this available to the PCP. It is disturbing that *Asumir* does not see this tremendous potential and achievement.

Now in the case of the PCP, if it were true that leadership does indeed have the problems that are claimed in the documents under discussion, even in such a case the proposal they make is not only *not* a solution, it is in fact dangerously wrong.

When main leaders are lost, it is indeed difficult and will take time to bring forward new leaders with a correct and

unswerving ideological and political line, capable of vigorously applying MLM to the ever-emerging contradictions of the revolution and leading it forward. But again, this problem can only be surmounted by taking a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist approach. Strong communist leadership can only be forged in the process of solving, in theory and practice, the problems of the revolution. Correct ideological and political line is decisive for this process. What is the key problem for the leadership of the PCP to solve today? Is it how to end the war in the most orderly fashion? No. From an MLM point of view, the key problem is how to preserve the People's War and develop it under the new conditions through twists and turns. The real leaders are the ones who rise to this occasion undauntedly. These comrades will become even more tested in the heat of surmounting new problems and advancing the revolution. They will be even more capable of leading real victories and advancing to final victory. These leading comrades must be supported and preserved. There is no other route — this is the only correct one; the rest is marshland.

The prison article says that there can be no Gonzalo Thought without the person of Gonzalo! Does this mean that without Chairman Gonzalo, the basic line for revolution in Peru that developed under his leadership can no longer be carried out? What if Comrade Gonzalo had not been arrested and had died of natural causes? Probably these people would have demanded that the war be led by "divine" sources. This is not serious; it is like a religious disorder. It goes against the materialist conception of the process of development of leaders and of their role. Chairman Gonzalo is a product of the class struggle internationally and nationally, and specifically of the PCP. This can be seen clearly in his interview with *El Diario* in 1988. This does not mean that the revolution in Peru and the ICM do not need him in their front ranks. On the contrary, they do; and it was the recognition of this vital truth that led RIM to put out an urgent and powerful call to the Maoists and revolutionary masses around the world to "Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo", and to declare the international importance of this task. Today, RIM is calling upon all Maoist parties and organizations to

persevere in this crucial campaign. But the point is that the proletariat cannot and should not become paralysed in the face of its setbacks; rather, it sums up and learns its lessons and continues the revolution.

Here we think it is useful to stress two relevant aspects of the question of leadership. On the one hand, it must be recognised that the revolution in its course gives rise to a group of party leaders and to top individual leaders. Experience has shown that it takes time and political-ideological struggle to establish such a fact. On the other hand, the relation between collectivity and individual responsibility must be seen correctly. While the role of the top leaders has been important and at times decisive in the history of our class and in the life of communist parties, they themselves are the product of collective struggle, and it is this collectivity that is the principal aspect overall.

Once again, we do admit that a difficult and complex task has fallen upon the shoulders of the PCP's leadership, but we are confident that the PCP comrades are able to overcome this difficulty and carry out this task. The fact that the recent loss does not coincide with a completely new spiral of revolution in Peru, but has occurred in the midst of the unfolding of the same one, gives ample room and time for new leadership to develop its capabilities and strengths further and to get prepared for future challenges. This does not mean that today the leadership of the Party does not need to make a correct appraisal of the new situation, to identify new contradictions and provide solutions for them; of course it does, because revolution gives rise to contradictions all the time. But contrary to the approach of *Asumir* and the prison article, this must be done by vigorously applying MLM and the Party's basic line. In short, we believe that the heart of the matter in solving the problem of leadership is to be able to preserve the proletarian class character of the People's War, to maintain it as a material force, and on that basis to develop it towards victory as a red base area for the world proletarian revolution. As Marx said, here is the rose, dance here!

### THE WORLD SITUATION

Every MLM party must be armed with a correct analysis of the world

situation. This is crucial for developing correct strategy and tactics for carrying out the revolution in every country. Because the world is the framework and context for every country, it shapes the objective situation in every country and interacts with the regional and national contradictions.

Important two-line struggles in the ICM have erupted in conjunction with dramatic changes in the world situation. These changes influence the class alignments at large, which in turn and in different times and circumstances can give rise to struggle between lines in the communist parties. One example in the more recent history of the ICM is how the shift in the world situation had influence over the alignments of the forces within the Communist Party of China. When there was a shift in the world situation from the 1960s to the 1970s, and in that context the USSR became a big threat to the People's Republic of China, Lin Piao wanted to capitulate to the Soviet social-imperialists, whereas Deng Xiaoping and Chou En-lai thought the solution lay in capitulating to the US imperialists. After the fall of the East bloc, our movement witnessed the rise of K. Venu revisionism from the CRC-CPI(ML). One of the important factors in the line of all these revisionists was their analysis of the world situation and, more importantly, their programme.

With this in mind, we should look at *Asumir's* views of the world situation.

#### A. ACCORDING TO ASUMIR, BECAUSE OF THE FALL OF THE EAST BLOC, WE CANNOT MAKE REVOLUTION!

*Asumir* says, "The present GPE (general political ebb) derives from the process of restoration, from the creation of *unfavourable public opinion* of this whole stage of the revolution (140 years). So far the GPE has lasted 3 years. In the light of Marxism, and this is decisive and key in order to sketch out the strategy of the World Proletarian Revolution in the New Great Wave, we understand why this period is a hinge between the culmination of a stage of the World Proletarian Revolution and the future Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution. This is the argument for the *general political withdrawal*, among other questions." (our emphasis - UICS)

According to *Asumir's* analysis of the world situation, there is a strategic and global ebb, and this is the grounds for its proposal for a general retreat for the world proletarian revolution.<sup>16</sup>

Why is the situation, according to *Asumir*, unfavourable for advancing the revolution? Chiefly because public opinion has become unfavourable towards communism since the fall of the East.

Public opinion, in the sense of the moods and aspirations of different classes of the people during each period, is an important factor to be taken into account by a revolutionary party in its tactics and policies. But we should ask *Asumir*: how does unfavourable "public opinion" reflect the situation of the underlying contradictions that give rise to revolution?

In contrast to the idealist approach of *Asumir*, whose appraisal of the world situation is based on "public opinion", RIM's recent resolution on the world situation is based on a study of the major contradictions in the world. Its analysis sees that the major

contradictions of the imperialist system are going through changes, and that the contradictions between the oppressed nations and the imperialist powers, and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries, are intensifying. The RIM resolution emphasizes that the crisis of the imperialist system is deepening, and that the fall of the East bloc was a resounding expression of that, even though it has temporarily mitigated the contradictions among the imperialists. It points to the upsurges of struggles in the oppressed nations, particularly the People's War in Peru, as one of the main features of the world situation. On the basis of this analysis, it calls upon all Maoist parties and organizations and the masses to step up revolution.

If important events of the world are not analyzed with this dialectical materialist method, they will not be understood correctly. For example, let us look at the mass rebellions in the East bloc countries: due to the overall lack of revolutionary consciousness, anti-

communist slogans were chanted by sections of the masses — yet the masses' rebellion was just! This situation arose partly because the masses were up against repressive revisionist states, which for a long time had wrapped themselves in filthy false "communist" flags, and also because, if we look at the depth of the rebellion, we will see that its content was anti-capitalist. It is also true that at the end of the day their rebellion was mis-used by different factions of the ruling classes for their own ends. But is it not true that whenever the workers and oppressed masses are without a vanguard, the fruits of their rebellion will be stolen and their movements will be betrayed or drowned in blood and confusion? Has not the PCP fought against a "mountain heap of garbage" among the masses to rescue them from revisionist, religious, and other bourgeois ideologies? In addition, as a result of these rebellions, the terrain in the countries of the East bloc has become more favourable than at any time since the restoration of capi-

<sup>16</sup> In order to construct an analogy to today's situation, *Asumir* makes an analysis of the ebb situation at the time of Marx and Engels and says that, "for 30 years it was not possible to seize power..." Here we are not going to delve into this, but we would like to make a couple of points.

At the time of Marx and Engels, capitalism had not reached its highest stage, the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, in which for the first time the proletarian revolution really became worldwide. Lenin says, "There had been an epoch of a comparatively 'peaceful capitalism', when it had overcome feudalism in the advanced countries of Europe and was in a position to develop comparatively tranquilly and harmoniously, 'peacefully' spreading over tremendous areas of still unoccupied lands, and of countries not yet finally drawn into the capitalist vortex. Of course, even in that epoch, marked approximately by the years 1871 and 1914, 'peaceful' capitalism created conditions of life that were far from being really peaceful both in the military and general class sense. For nine tenths of the population of the advanced countries, for hundreds of millions of peoples in the colonies and in the backward countries, this epoch was not one of 'peace' but of oppression, torture, horrors that seemed all the more terrifying since they appeared to be without end. This epoch has gone forever. It has been followed by a new epoch, comparatively more impetuous, full of abrupt changes, catastrophes, conflicts, an epoch that no

longer appears to the toiling masses as horror without end but is an end full of horrors." (Lenin, "Introduction to Bukharin, *Imperialism and World Economy*", cited in *America in Decline*, by Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon, Banner Press: Chicago, p. 168)

In the last 40 years of imperialism, there has hardly been a situation in which, if the subjective factor had been prepared, power could not have been seized in one or another oppressed nation. We believe that there has been a relative ebb in the revolutionary trend in the world in the late 1970s and 1980s, but even this has been only relative to the 1960s. And during this same period, we witnessed the revolution in Iran, which shook US imperialism even though it was eventually aborted and did not succeed. And most important of all was the initiation of the People's War in Peru. We do think that even during times of relative ebb, the revolution can and must advance, but it will advance unevenly — while in some parts of the world there is an ebb, in other parts there is a revolutionary high tide. From this we can conclude that in the era of imperialism, the ebbs are very relative, and at these times the revolutionary advances in parts of the world can help to create a more favourable situation in the world as a whole.

*Asumir* also presents us with a metaphysical interpretation of Comrade Mao's quotation on "the next 50 to 100 years", and a related diagram. First, it is clear that Comrade Mao was talking about the time

starting from the same period he himself was living in and about general features of the era of imperialism; he was dialectical materialist enough not to try to predict the next 100 years, beyond the general thrust of developments. *Asumir's* arbitrary interpretation of this quotation just cannot be taken seriously. Why can't *Asumir* understand the world without trying to force things into 50-100 year cycles? We at least know one thing: a quotation cannot be a substitute for an informed dialectical materialist analysis of the world situation. Our approach should be that which Chairman Mao taught us in "On Practice" and "On Contradiction".

We are also unable to fully understand the basis for *Asumir's* explanations on the strategic offensive of the world revolution and the corresponding periodization. Since the PCP in the past has held the position that there is a strategic offensive of the world proletarian revolution, we would like to learn more about that thesis first. But in any event one thing is clear: the world proletarian revolution has not yet gathered enough material strength to be able to go over to the offensive and seize worldwide political power. As far as *Asumir's* thesis on the general political ebb is concerned, we believe it does not correspond to the world situation at all. It is our firm view that the world proletarian revolution is advancing and that the world situation is increasingly favourable for initiating and developing people's wars and seizing power.

talism for spreading the influence of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and building Maoist parties for making genuine socialist revolution. And it is one of the important internationalist tasks of the Maoist parties and organizations united in RIM to assist the CoRIM in attending to this task.

As far as public opinion in other countries goes, we should remind *Asumir* that the Los Angeles rebellion was not an "anti-communist" rebellion either in form or in content. It was a rebellion against the US, who is the father of the world anti-communist crusade. In Iran, one year after the L.A. rebellion, a mass revolt unprecedented since 1980 rocked Mashad, one of the most religious cities in the country. There the masses in the shantytowns burned thousands of copies of the Koran in the Islamic propaganda centre of the town, along with other state symbols such as government buildings. This was a rebellion against a regime whose propaganda machine, for 2 years since the fall of the East bloc, gargled the anti-communist hysteria of BBC and CNN word for word (modified only by the opening phrase "in the name of god"). Or, more recently, the peasants of Chiapas heralded a strong message that the downtrodden masses of Latin America are not going to go along with the Yankee agenda. After the arrest of Comrade Gonzalo, the most renowned communist in the world, a worldwide mass movement in his defence was set into motion by RIM that caught the enemy by real surprise. These are very favourable grounds for revolution and communism!

But is it not true that the dominant ideas are always the ruling ideas? Hasn't religion had a major influence among the masses who need revolution? What has been the solution of the communists? Certainly not abandoning the revolution or slowing it down with the hope of a better situation in this regard. It is by going against the tide that the cause of the revolution, led by the party of the proletariat, can advance. *Asumir's* line is devoid of such a spirit altogether. If it were not the case that the dominant ideas are those of the dominant classes, making revolution would be much easier. Organizing the conscious rebellion of the masses under the leadership of a revolutionary party with a

revolutionary ideology and programme is the main solution for this problem. In Peru, along with the Party's propaganda, mainly it is the People's War which cleans the minds of the oppressed masses of the ideas and habits alien to their class interests.

Now, which classes does *Asumir* have in mind in Peru in regard to this "problem" of unfavourable public opinion? Most probably, certain strata of the intelligentsia who used to be "Marxists" in the 1960s and 1970s and today have turned away from Marxism. We are not suggesting that all of them have been or have become reactionaries. No. The fact that at times some national bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie claim to be "communist" or "Maoists" or even join the communist party arises from the bourgeois democratic nature of the revolution in the semi-feudal semi-colonial countries.

We know that the PCP always exposed Marxist imposters and today would not be disturbed by the fact these kind of people do not call themselves Marxists any more! But let us say, OK, probably the majority of the intelligentsia who used to be "Marxist" and followers of the United Left or others don't even want to hear a word about Marxism. But how about the peasants and workers of Peru? Aren't many more of them — compared to the 1960s and 1970s — eager to hear about Marxism-Leninism-Maoism? Yes, definitely. Go to the University of San Marcos! It is not like the 1960s. But also go to Ayacucho! It is not like the 1960s either. It is much better than the 1960s in terms of public opinion towards communism. *Asumir* does not take this into account. It only sees certain classes!

As long as the powerful socialist state of China existed, its prominence attracted many petit-bourgeois and even national bourgeois elements who called themselves Maoist. Other strata of the same classes, along with sections of the comprador bourgeoisie, cloaked themselves in the garb of "Marxism" because of the attraction of an imperialist superpower calling itself "socialist"; these forces wanted to rely on one imperialist power — the USSR — to fight or draw concessions from the dominant imperialist power, the US, and/or other Western powers. Now in the new conditions, it is only natural that a sizeable number of these forces have become

"ex-Marxists" — so much the better. On the other hand, with the death of false communism, a lot of people and masses have been freed from the dead weight of revisionism, and more ears have opened to real communism. In conjunction with the death of false communism, today the influence of real communism — Marxism-Leninism-Maoism — is growing in all four corners of the world as a result of the People's War in Peru and the advances of other parties and organizations of RIM as well as the work of RIM itself. In addition, as the bankruptcy of the "Western market economy" becomes obvious, even the type of "public opinion" that *Asumir* is most likely referring to will start to doubt the advisability of following the Western imperialists.

The fall of the East bloc has created some opportunities for the Western imperialists, politically, economically and militarily. But it has also created opportunities for the camp of revolution.<sup>17</sup> The red flag was not lowered by the world's Maoists in the aftermath of the fall of the East bloc; instead, they went on a counter-offensive against the international bourgeoisie's anti-communist offensive. In Peru, the People's War raged ahead with resounding victories, and RIM became even stronger and more influential among the oppressed of the world. All this showed the bankruptcy of the imperialists and reactionaries of the world. They soon focused their attacks on the Maoists and especially on the People's War in Peru and RIM. They intend to crack this "hard nut" in order to later clamp down on rebellions of the masses around the world with a freer hand. This is because they know what they are doing to the masses of the world, and that this inevitably will give rise to great resistance against them. The winds in the towers portend the storms ahead, and the imperialists and reactionaries are preparing for them in this way.

<sup>17</sup> These opportunities are analyzed in *AWTW* 15, and we will not enter into them here. But our Movement should seriously take up analysing the fall of the East bloc from different aspects — economic, political, geo-strategic, historical, etc., and draw relevant conclusions for our revolutionary work. Already too many revisionists are using this dramatic event to sow seeds of capitulation and demoralization.

The fall of the East bloc has probably caused some tactical disadvantages for the revolutionaries in some parts of the world, while creating tactical advantages in other parts. It has given some temporary room to the Yankee rulers to wield their hegemony in the imperialist world in the service of their economic and political interests, and specifically in tightening their grip on Latin America. Undoubtedly, these changes must be analyzed carefully by our Movement in the Americas, and especially by the PCP so as to help push the People's War forward. But the fall of the East bloc is strategically advantageous for the world proletarian revolution, both ideologically and also in terms of weakening tremendously one of the bulwarks of imperialism.

### B. THE IMPERIALISTS' "RECOVERY" IS PARTIAL AND SELECTIVE

*Asumir*, quoting the third plenary session of the PCP CC, says that, "Slowly but surely imperialism is dying". Then it adds, "but at the same time there is a transitory recovery.... What are the material bases of this situation? ...computers, electronic communication, these are great processes of development, genetics, ...the privatization of the means of production accumulated by the state... all these are the questions that determine the bases for this transitory economic recovery".

What is going on in the world economy can hardly be characterized as "transitory recovery". Because whatever recovery has occurred is only partial and very selective — it does not cover the whole world or even big areas of it. One example is the continent of Africa, which, after decades of being raped by imperialist economic activities, is now being left to rot. And any partial and selective recovery that does exist is due far more to the savage exploitation of cheap labour

around the world, especially in Asia and Latin America, than to computers and developments in genetics!

Moreover, these recoveries are not in contradiction with the fact that the world imperialist economy overall is gripped in a deepening crisis. To say that imperialism is undergoing a "transitory recovery" is to make an unfounded compliment to a world economy that has been in the throes of a generalized crisis since the mid-1970s, with no prospects of recovery.<sup>18</sup>

Even if there were such a transitory recovery, so what? *Asumir* tends to draw a one-to-one relation between economic boom and ebb in revolution — as if an economic boom prevents one from making revolution. This is wrong theoretically, and it goes against history. US imperialism was being rocked by Vietnam and national liberation movements as well as mass revolutionary movements in the US itself in the 1960s, when the US-led bloc was witnessing most vigorous expansion. And this was the high point of the US imperialists' economic strength inside the US and globally; it faced its most severe trial of strength in Vietnam, and this defeat marked a major turning point in the development of the imperialist crisis.

Basing itself on this economic verdict of "transitional recovery", the dramatic shifts in the world situation, some historical analogies to the cycles of revolution, as well as a theory that "history measures its steps in decades", *Asumir* predicts that the process of sinking Yankee imperialism will take a long historical period. And from there, *Asumir* proposes that the forms of struggles should correspond to this new situation: since the enemy's demise cannot be expected any time soon, why should we waste our time! Indeed, if an *Asumir* type of line becomes dominant in the revolutionary movements, the sinking of Yankee imperialism won't ever happen.

### C. ADVANCES IN ONE COUNTRY AND ADVANCES OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

*Asumir* implies that the so-called general political ebb is another reason that the People's War in Peru should be terminated, and we think it even implies that the whole revolutionary movement in the world should launch a general political withdrawal.

Even if the world situation was as bleak as *Asumir* assumes, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that the People's War will become even more protracted. That was Comrade Mao's response to Edgar Snow when he was asked how long it would take to defeat and oust the Japanese imperialists. Mao said that it would depend on several factors, and if they did not materialize the war would take longer. At that time there were people who maintained that if China continued the war of resistance, it would definitely be defeated and subjugated by Japan, because China could not hold out any longer. To this Mao replied that if such a line dominates, then the goal of the anti-Japanese war will never be accomplished.

*Asumir's* line on the relation between revolutionary advances in one country and advances of the world proletarian revolution and the world context overall is wrong. Grasping this point is a question of ideological-political line. One of the strong points of the PCP has always been its view of the revolution in Peru as a base for the world proletarian revolution. The initiation of the People's War in Peru in the aftermath of the restoration of capitalism in China has been an extremely important contribution to the ICM towards keeping the red flag of genuine Marxism (MLM) flying high and giving heart to our forces around the world.

Comrade Mao made important summations on the relationship between seizing power in China and the world context: "...we can attain our goal of strategic protractedness, which means gaining time to increase our capacity to resist while hastening or awaiting changes in the international situation and the internal collapse of the enemy, in order to be able to launch a strategic counter-offensive and drive the Japanese invaders out of China." ("Problems of Strategy in the Guerrilla War against Japan", chap. IV, *SW*,

Although the very workings of the imperialist system worldwide throw people into the field of revolution and cut against these trends, an MLM analysis is needed to both clear the field of confusion and to set out a concrete appraisal of the world situation in order to carry out our battles successfully.

commend a careful study of *America in Decline*, by Raymond Lotta with Frank Shannon, for an MLM understanding of the workings of imperialism and the nature of the present crisis. We believe this work is an extremely important contribution to the MLM movement and is indispensable for a correct grasp of the workings of imperialism and in developing a correct analysis of the world situation.

<sup>18</sup> We will not enter into this here but rec-

v 2, p. 85) Mao also dealt with the problem of the lack of international support for China, but emphasized that China could prolong the war and in this way help to hasten a favourable situation.<sup>19</sup>

To say that revolution does not exist as a political trend is closing one's eyes to the obvious expressions of it around the world. What about Chiapas, right in US imperialism's Latin American showcase? How about Los Angeles, Haiti, Turkey, Iran, Bangladesh, India, and other places, where the reactionary regimes are constantly being rocked by mass struggles and rebellions? Most important of all, there is the People's War in Peru, which has won such broad support from the oppressed around the world. Comrade Mao pointed out that in the face of defeat or encirclement, some people in the Red Army "often unwittingly generalize and exaggerate their momentary, specific and limited situation, as though the situation in China and the world as a whole gave no cause for optimism, and the prospects of victory for the revolution were remote. The reason they seize on the appearance and brush aside the essence in their observation of things is that they have not made a scientific analysis of the essence of the overall situation. The question whether there will soon be a revolutionary high tide in China can be decided only by making a detailed examination to ascertain whether the contradictions leading to a revolutionary high tide are really developing." ("A Single Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire", *SW*, v 1, p. 120)

*Asumir's* analysis demonstrates a wrong understanding of the epoch of imperialism and its workings — capitalist expansions and crises, the interaction of politics and economics, the relationship between revolution in one country and world revolution. *Asumir* tries to explain all these in the context of big cyclical waves, which is in

contradiction with the spiral motion of things in nature and society.

*Asumir's* problem is that it violates dialectical and historical materialism; it magnifies partial and relative truth into universal and absolute truth. Its thinking does not correspond to the objective, actual situation as a whole. It takes the superficial not as a door to discovering the truth, but as the truth itself. It sees the part as the whole.

---

**GROWTH RATE JUMPS  
A COUPLE OF POINTS AND THE  
BUREAUCRATIC ROAD  
BECOMES VIABLE!**

---

Looking into this, Chairman Gonzalo had stated: "Today they are laying the basis for carrying out neoliberal policies and are babbling about how to advance a new 'revolution'. However, as we saw in the previous phase of bureaucratic capitalism, the stage of laying a basis in the third phase also will inevitably give rise to another crisis...." (in "Elections, No; People's War, Yes!")

One of *Asumir's* reasons for the so called newly-found stability of bureaucrat capitalism is its economic recovery. *Asumir* says: "Economically, clearly they are establishing a basis.... Since 1988 there have been five years of recession. In 1993 the GDP grew by 6% after 5 years of growing recession.... We must strive to see the steps being taken, the increments obtained, as objective facts."

Yes, but we must strive to see all of the objective facts and not part of them — and a trivial part at that. We must strive to see what these economic measures have meant for the majority of the masses in Peru, and how they have influenced the basic relations between bureaucrat capitalism and the masses, the class antagonisms. As Chairman Mao pointed out, the Kuomintang controlled large and medium-sized cities and enjoyed the sup-

port of the imperialists, but it was divorced from the masses.

**A. FUJISHOCK AND THE SO-CALLED  
VIABILITY OF BUREAUCRAT CAPITALISM**

Let us take a brief look at the current economic wonders of imperialism in Peru. The regime of Fujimori under the direct auspices of the U.S. imperialists has launched a new economic program. The imperialists call it a "free market economy" and "privatization". In short and clear terms, it is about squeezing even more profit out of the Peruvian masses and plundering the country dry. Fujimori's economic plan offers up the Peruvian masses as low-cost wage slaves to the multinational capitalists, and has put the land and resources of Peru on the auction block.<sup>20</sup>

What the Peruvian economy is undergoing is part of the global counter-crisis measures being taken by the imperialists, in which Latin America plays an important role for the US in particular. In recent years, most of new U.S. investments in the so-called Third World have been in Latin America, while other Western imperialist powers have also increased their investments there.

It can be said that today there is some kind of economic growth going on in Latin America. The debt crisis, for example, has been temporarily mitigated (but a \$500 billion debt remains, which can become a big source of instability in the absence of strong economic growth), and foreign investments have increased considerably. But this growth has been very uneven and unstable. It has led to extreme polarization in different countries, and this is only the beginning.

As a result of free market capitalism and privatization, the number of the "very poor" in Latin America has doubled. In Peru before Fujimori's regime came to power in 1990, the real

<sup>19</sup> In this section, *Asumir* also ponders on some changes in the "state" system as part of changes going on in the world. "If we look at the question of the state in particular, we see a tendency to decrease its social functions. Who will assume its functions... insurance... health and education... All these pose the question of various situations that form the context of the processes of the reactionary state of the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie...."

Against this we must stress that in regard to the question of the state, the main thing that should occupy the centre of our attention is Lenin's teachings on the state. The main social function of the state is to keep down the masses through reactionary violence, through its armed forces, police, courts, etc. The state in the countries dominated by imperialism is groomed to guard by any means necessary the interests of the imperialists, big bourgeoisie

and landlords *against* the masses. Further, the state and the private monopolies are interwoven; it is the reformists who divorce them from each other.

<sup>20</sup> Here we have used an important article in the *Revolutionary Worker* (the voice of the RCP,USA), no. 751, called, "The Buying and Selling of Peru", as well as a research paper done by the RCP,USA.

value of the workers' wages had dropped 50% relative to 1980. Fujimori slashed wages even further. Subsidies for food and fuel were eliminated, and prices for basic necessities of life increased. By early 1991, the real value of wages had decreased to one third of what they were when Fujimori took over. 120,000 workers in the state companies and ministries were fired. More peasants were driven into the cities under the pressure of intolerable poverty. Fujimori's economic program relies on tighter tax collection, which hurts the middle classes too. By carrying out the new economic measures, the number of the "very poor" almost doubled, from 7 to 13 million. This "economic development" does not look a bit "viable" to the majority of the masses in Peru. However, it definitely has fattened a minority of parasitic Peruvian bureaucrat capitalists, landlords and officials and other imperialist lackeys.

Does it serve the development of a coherent national economy? Not a bit. On the contrary, it makes the Peruvian economy even more dependent on the imperialists and their needs and wits. And it makes it even more lopsided and crisis-ridden. This new programme of economic development intends to eliminate inflation, to make the economy efficient and competitive. It is squeezing the economy to be able to repay its debts (\$45 million per month) to the foreign, mainly US, banks. The most important element of this "recovery" is an influx of foreign capital to Peru. What is the character of these new investments? The foreign capital that has flowed in has been mainly on a short-term basis and in response to high domestic interest rates and new policies allowing the full repatriation of capital. This influx is based on the ability to shift money quickly. In terms of creating jobs, the results are pitiful. Many of the new investments in Peru are in the raw materials extractions sector, which is highly profitable for the multinationals, but imparts little economic stability to Peru. A large part of these new investments is speculative. The old enterprises are sold much below their value to enable Peru to pay back its debt. The only thing privatization really changes, except for changing hands, is that the masses become the target of ever more intense attacks. For one thing, these enterprises are sold on the condition that massive lay-offs

and wage cuts will follow. Moreover, privatization is a one time only "jumpstart" to the economy and is unable to provide the economy with ongoing revenues. In short, it can be seen that Fujimori's programme falls far short of bringing dynamic and sustained economic growth to Peru.

But let us suppose that the economy is going through more sustained growth, as in China, Thailand or Indonesia. Does this mean that it is no longer possible to make revolution? The revolutionary upsurge in Iran occurred at a time when, although the Shah's regime was gripped with crisis, it was still one of US imperialism's showcases. Several months before the revolution, the Yankee president Jimmy Carter called the Shah's Iran "an island of stability and calm" in the Middle East! The point is not that bureaucrat capitalism cannot experience any growth or partial recovery. It is wrong to think that bureaucrat capitalism will advance for a long period in a straight line and then dive straight downwards to its grave. Even a deep and long crisis does not proceed in a straight line. The imperialists will always strive to keep bureaucrat capitalism going, especially in areas of strategic importance for them, because the economies of these countries are part and parcel of the world economy of imperialism. Crisis-ridden third world economies are sources of crisis for the world imperialist economy at the same time that they are and have been vital for the overall profitability of the imperialist economies. Imperialism is doing what it has to do to survive. Whether to look at these efforts and analyze them with the perspective of abandoning revolution or of stepping up struggle to destroy this man-eating system is of course a matter of class outlook and interests.

The economic growth in Peru is very uneven and unstable, and despite all the fanfare, the GDP has not even reached its 1987 level. The few points of GDP upon which *Asumir* builds its argument of "viability" to support its strategy have been obtained at the expense of further impoverishing the masses.

#### B. THE SO-CALLED STABILITY OF THE REACTIONARY STATE IN PERU

In addition to economic growth, *Asumir* also mentions other aspects as

proof of the stabilization of the reactionary state in Peru: "...they have elected their constitutional councils, worked out the constitution, they won the referendum, the way is being opened for reelection. This means establishing the basis for the restructuring of the state."

The point on the referendum is really laughable; only Fujimori himself and his cohorts saw it as a victory. In any event, why would partially reorganizing the governing of the state constitute a basis for short- or long-term stability for a reactionary regime? In fact, the self-coup of Fujimori is a cause for concern among some imperialist circles, because it showed the regime has a narrow base of support even among the reactionary classes themselves. Several attempted coups against Fujimori revealed that not all of the army is fully under his control. The Armed Forces themselves are riddled with contradictions. Once in a while big generals come out and accuse each other and the regime of drug trafficking, massacres like Cantuta, human-rights scandals, and so on. They do not even fully agree on how to conduct their war against the PCP.

Most reforms they have implemented have intensified the contradictions among the reactionaries themselves. The economic measures are undermining the interests of some factions of the ruling classes in favour of others and are provoking more internal disputes among them.

These conflicts in Peru's ruling circles do not mean that they have not made their state more efficient in terms of fighting the People's War and clamping down on the population. They have been doing both; and this must be analyzed and dealt with by the PCP in leading the PW to victory.

But one thing has not changed: this regime is divorced from the masses, is hated by them and remains a paper tiger strategically. As the principles of People's War tell us, this strategic weakness of the old state must be brought into play, in order to deal with its tactical strengths. In the process of carrying out a people's war, there will always be two kinds of deviations: one, which takes the tactical strengths of the enemy as its strategic strength, and a second, which underestimates the tactical abilities of the enemy. *Asumir* commits the first error.

*Asumir* makes the claim that "there

is no powerful liberation movement"! Some of *Asumir's* comments strike one as though these notes are not coming from Peru. What is People's War then if it is not a powerful liberation movement? Not to see this is really disturbing. With this kind of statement, *Asumir's* list of achievements of the People's War resembles some kind of eulogy that belongs in an obituary column.

Another factor that *Asumir* presents to prove the "viability" of bureaucrat capitalism is the "success" of the counter-revolutionary war. On this question we have spoken before, and we won't repeat ourselves. But we would like to point out just one thing: Marx said concentrated revolution gives rise to concentrated counter-revolution. This means that the old state will fight to its last breath to raise its capabilities to deal with a revolutionary war that aims to bring about its downfall. The old state also goes through transformation in the process of the war.

None of the points noted by *Asumir* can make bureaucrat capitalism viable. It can, of course, temporarily become more efficient in some areas of its functioning. However, if the People's War in Peru were to follow the road that *Asumir* is proposing, then bureaucrat capitalism would get a very important chance to achieve some long-term stability.

---

**CLASS COLLABORATION IS A  
RESERVE FOR NATIONAL  
BETRAYAL**

---

One of the theoretical arguments of the pro-*Asumir* types (appearing in papers written by pro-negotiation forces abroad) is that the nation needs peace, because the principal contradiction has shifted from the contradiction between the people and feudalism to that between the nation and imperialism. In the oppressed countries, right opportunist lines have often used the argument of the "principal contradiction between the nation and imperialism" as a pretext for class collaboration with the local comprador-feudal classes or for tailing the national bourgeoisie. The problem is that this kind of line does not see that the old state is the representative of imperialism and that imperialism controls the country through it. A feature of this line is that it separates the struggle against

semi-feudalism from the struggle against imperialism. It paints imperialism as something separate from the internal relations of production and something "external". On this basis, it separates national liberation from the New Democratic Revolution, while both national liberation and social liberation can only be achieved inseparably and as part of the process of the NDR.

Whatever changes that the old state has gone through, its ties with imperialism have been strengthened. And as of now, Yankee imperialism carries out its interests through this old state. The anti-imperialist struggle mainly means to overthrow this state. Today class collaboration with this state is indeed national betrayal. As comrade Mao stressed, class collaboration is a reserve for national betrayal.

---

**CONCLUSION:  
TWO-LINE STRUGGLE**

---

"When the line is in question, when the overall situation is at stake.... When a wrong tendency surges towards us like a rising tide, the only way to be able to stick to the positions of the proletariat and resolutely struggle against this erroneous trend is with proletarian revolutionary audacity and a mind free of fear." (*A Basic Understanding of the CPC*, pp. 54-55)

Two and a half years after the start of the GPCR, Mao made the comment: we have been singing the International together for fifty years, and still there are people in the Party who have tried ten times to destroy it, and in my opinion they might resort to this ten, twenty or thirty times more.

Important ideological and political struggles have occurred within the PCP, especially over the question of the proletariat's central task of seizing power through violence and over the concept that "power grows out of the barrel of the gun"; both of these points have been hammered home in the PCP through 13 years of war itself. But now the most important two-line struggle since the initiation of People's War is over these very same questions. As long as class struggle exists, two-line struggle will erupt. As Chairman Mao said, "the wind will blow, the petals will fall, no matter what."

There is always internal struggle in the party, and this is the source of its

liveliness and advance; but not always is this internal struggle articulated into two major opposing lines with distinct protagonists. Periodically, it breaks out as major two-line struggles, the outcome of which will decide the upcoming course of the party and the revolution. This is inevitable, because problems pile up as a result of advances of the revolution, and they need sorting out. Both the fact that there is no Chinese wall between the proletariat and other classes, and that the world is ever-changing matter which requires the subjective factor to catch up with it continually expose the proletarian party to wrong influences, which, if not rectified, would cause a proletarian party to degenerate. And there will always be people who will want to stop in the middle of the road and preach going backwards.

If the matter is not grasped in this way, there will be confusion in the face of outbursts of rightism. These conditions are serious, because if the wrong lines win the colour of the party can change, but at the same time within these conditions are the seeds of further revolutionary leaps in the party.

The impact of waging a thoroughgoing two-line struggle is far-reaching; it goes even beyond overthrowing a wrong line and knocking down a group of revisionists. In this process, even more transformation of the revolutionary character and the capabilities of the party in leading the revolution can occur; the whole body and base of the party go through tremendous revolutionary changes in their ideology and political understanding and abilities to carry out the revolution. These changes are part and parcel of the class becoming prepared for seizing power.

Different class interests — petit bourgeois and even national bourgeois — that engaged in supporting the People's War are reflected in this struggle. Moreover, in the history of the communist parties, the major struggles between the correct line and various erroneous lines have been in essence the acting out within the party of the class struggle in society.

The line expressed in *Asumir* and the prison article has its roots in particular social and historical conditions. This line is not an accidental nor isolated phenomenon, and uprooting it requires delving into these conditions.

What are some of the specific ma-

terial conditions giving rise to this kind of line? Peru is a semi-feudal country dominated by imperialism. In order to make a socialist revolution, the proletariat first must lead a New Democratic Revolution. The targets of this revolution are the three mountains of imperialism, semi-feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This revolution is in the interests of the popular classes. It is carried out under the leadership of the proletariat and its party with the peasantry (especially the poor and landless peasantry) as the main force, but also with other strata of the people — the petite bourgeoisie and sometimes the national bourgeoisie. Because of these conditions, unremoulded bourgeois-democrats and petit-bourgeois elements can find their way into the party. In addition, the outlook of the broad strata of the petite bourgeoisie influences proletarian revolutionaries and the party's line. All this becomes a source for the emergence of particular wrong tendencies and lines within a party that is operating under these conditions.

But under what kind of specific conditions do these tendencies and lines find full expression? One example is the occurrence of dramatic events and changes in the national and international situations; important turns in the process of revolution and the life of the party are the conditions which would nourish the emergence of these kind of deviations. In these type of situations, the vanguard party comes to face new questions and challenges. Correct and incorrect lines can develop in the party in response to these questions and challenges. The September 1992 blow by the enemy against the PCP was a dramatic event. This has inevitably raised important questions, such as how the new situation should be assessed and dealt with. What is the correct line for developing the revolution under these new conditions? These are very important questions to which different lines provide different answers. Undoubtedly, the answer provided by the line under discussion is not a proletarian one.

All of the arguments in these two documents flow from a certain class prism that does not belong to the proletariat (or at best they tail the desires of other classes). By this, we are thinking of their views glorifying the past of the People's War and burying its future, saying that bureaucrat capital-

ism is becoming viable, that the counter-revolutionary war has succeeded, that people want peace, that public opinion is not inclined towards communism as during the 1960s, and that the world situation is bleak in terms of revolutionary possibilities. Its method of thinking is subjectivism, one-sidedness in viewing problems, and taking a single aspect for all aspects, and it fails to rely on achievements to solve problems arising in the new conditions, such as the leadership question. Its political-ideological tendency is to overestimate the accomplishments of the enemy and to underestimate the potential of the people and to stop in the middle of the road under the pressure of difficulties.

In the final analysis, *Asumir* is a class phenomenon which has raised its head in a concrete set of conditions and must be dealt with as such.<sup>21</sup>

Major two-line struggles are very important in the life of the communist parties; at the same time, they are complex because they usually involve big forces and big issues. In internal struggles, it is important to go against a wrong tide. However, it is also necessary to oppose the wrong line with a correct line. Also it is important to pay attention to uniting the largest number of people possible. It is necessary to differentiate between outright revisionism and seriously wrong policies. (For example, we know that in the history of the ICM there have been sad occasions in which the communists have made disturbing mistakes. But all in all, to go against the wrong tide and uphold the correct line is the principal aspect.)

The fact that such an important line struggle has arisen from a corner of the world in which the most advanced struggle of the proletariat today is being carried out is at first shocking, but upon reflection it can be seen that it is further testimony to dialectical materialism and to its correct application

<sup>21</sup> To draw conclusions about wrong views and the class nature of the line reflected in these two documents does not mean that we are drawing conclusions about the class nature of the people who are putting forward the line in the *Asumir* and prison articles. To do so will require more knowledge about them, including their persistence in practising this line. What we have done so far is to take them at their word and analyze the nature of their line.

by Chairman Mao to party life: one divides into two. This two-line struggle carries with it the possibility of further revolutionary leaps in our line and practice as a whole for changing the world.

---

#### LAST WORD

---

The present document is a contribution to this struggle. This struggle will help our organization understand the contributions of the PCP and the PW under its leadership deeper than before. This in turn will serve to develop our struggle to initiate People's War in Iran *as soon as possible*.

Some national bourgeois outlooks from amongst the forces who had and have interests in supporting the PW in Peru might consider this "interference". Our response is that the international proletariat has the deepest interest of all in the victory of the PCP and the war it is leading, and in the complete destruction of the old state of Peru. That is why it is capable of seeing the problems of revolution in Peru far better than such national bourgeois and petit-bourgeois critics. This is true for all countries, and we have experienced it in our case so clearly. Therefore, it is our internationalist duty to engage in this struggle, as part of RIM. However, in keeping with the MLM theory of knowledge, we have limitations on how much further we can go here.

Different revolutions under the leadership of the proletariat are inseparable parts of a single whole of the world proletarian revolution. We are chained together. At times one, as the most advanced detachment, should take the burden of pulling forward the rest; at other times, others should rush to the aid of one. In short, either we will all go to communism or nobody goes.

**Long Live the Communist Party of Peru! Long Live the PCP Central Committee!**

**Long Live the People's War!**

**Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!**

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

**Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!**

**Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!**

## "Our Red Flag..."

*Continued from page 43*

stand that if they can't feed themselves, their new revolutionary political power can't survive under Army blockade, nor can they escape from the clutches of the drug barons and be able to contribute to the country's liberation. When the army comes into a village in the Huallaga, any peasant caught growing much yucca or corn or raising chickens can be considered a "terrorist" to be robbed, raped or murdered. The peasants support and join the revolution because they see no other way out of the exploitation and degradation they are subjected to no matter what they grow.

Especially at this point, when the government seems stronger than it did a few years ago, practically all the major drug traffickers are linked to the regime. The regime is, in turn, more dependent than ever on the \$1 to \$2 billion a year brought in by the coca trade through both "legal channels" (government-sponsored money laundering) and the bribes that provide the "glue" holding the regime together. The drug traffic is one of the regime's most important sources of whatever "stability" it retains, and therefore neither the government nor the U.S. has made any move against it. However, it is also a continuing source of instability, as gangster-style infighting for the loot involves the very highest circles of the Armed Forces and government. The stinking atmosphere of cynicism and corruption that pervades all the regime's institutions arises from the reactionary nature of the war it is fighting, but it thrives on the drug trade. All this more than occasionally interferes with what for the U.S. is the all-important task of trying to smash the People's War.

---

### THE CITIES: THE PEOPLE AND THE OPPOSITION

---

Even though the capital remains the reactionary regime's stronghold, the People's War has continued to resound in the streets there. In the period when the "peace talks" letters were being released by Fujimori, on the eve of his 1993 plebiscite, the PCP's boycott campaign included bombing a main business hotel and the airport, simultaneously with attacks on government targets in many areas of the countryside. In connection with

the PCP's campaign to celebrate the centennial of Mao Tsetung's birth, the Lima Prefecture that served as DINCOTE headquarters was devastated in a daring assault in December 1993. An armed shutdown in May 1994 involved thousands of shantytown dwellers and others in the city's poor periphery and was combined with guerrilla actions. To celebrate the PCP's birthday, Lima and many other cities were blacked out entirely in October 1994, a disruption that became a major embarrassment to government claims of having achieved the country's "pacification". Mass roundups in the shantytowns at the end of 1994 showed the extent to which the regime still considers the problem not to be one of "isolated terrorists", as it claims, but of a whole section of the people who are still "the enemy". Bombs continued to shake the capital in March and again in May 1995 in conjunction with coordinated attacks throughout the country.

For the "other hill", as the PCP calls the regime, in an allusion to Mao's dictum to study both sides in revolutionary war, the situation has proved to be unstable. The reaction has shown some strength, but also its limitations, and that it cannot resolve its basic contradictions in any lasting way.

Bourgeois opposition to Fujimori was at first kept low-key, not only by the tanks Fujimori sent to silence Congress but even more by the undivided U.S. support his regime has enjoyed ever since. Despite this, there are signs of continuing and intensifying strains that now have little safety valve.

Nothing illustrates the weaknesses of the regime better than the April 1995 presidential elections, touted as a great victory by Fujimori backers and apologists, including the U.S. government. On the eve of the elections, a team of "observers" sent by the Organization of American States (OAS) to bless the event professed "shock" at the discovery of many thousands of pro-Fujimori votes placed in the ballot boxes ahead of time. But the greater scandal was the historically unprecedented abstentionism — 28% of those registered to vote refused to do so, despite legal penalties and dangers, and 44% of all votes cast were blank or spoiled ballots. Fraud or no fraud, Fujimori's claim to have won 64% of the remaining votes is not very im-

pressive. Never in the recent history of Peru had a president been elected by such a small percentage of the population. In reporting the abstentions, spoiled ballots, etc., the magazine *Caretas* nervously concluded that they were so high that it was "inconceivable" that so many people were following the PCP's call for a boycott. While not all non-voters are necessarily PCP supporters, these results give a peek at just who is isolated from a large section of the masses and ultimately dependent on terror — in this case, the military power of the U.S. and the Peruvian Armed Forces.

There were no important differences in the programmes presented by the various candidates. (Candidates included Fujimori's wife, who tried to run against him. In typical bourgeois-feudal style, Fujimori responded by having her forcibly expelled from her quarters and cut off from her children.) But the continuing extent of internecine warfare amongst the ruling classes was revealed in a number of murders and other measures carried out by the Armed Forces against Fujimori's rivals. The regime first exiled and then demanded the extradition of Fujimori's predecessor, Alan García, on charges of a degree of corruption that is usually considered acceptable in Peruvian political life. The head of García's APRA party was shot and killed by police while campaigning, in what the authorities later called a case of mistaken identity.

Some opposition figures write and talk as though Fujimori, and even more, his closest advisor, the narcotics lawyer Vladimiro Montesinos, were the source of the country's problems and were manipulating the Armed Forces. Their exposures of this gangster tyrant and his criminal "Rasputin" have sometimes added welcome fuel to the flames. But still it is important to distinguish between such views and those of the PCP, which has labelled Fujimori "a puppet held up on the bayonets of the Armed Forces", with the U.S., the real behind-the-scenes puppetmaster.

---

### ECUADOR AND THE GENERALS

---

The war with Ecuador also revealed more than a little desperation on the part of the regime. Fujimori first made an unscrupulous pact with the Ecuadoran government for his

own narrow political ends, implicitly giving up the disputed territory. Then, on the eve of the elections and amidst a serious drug scandal involving Bari and Montesinos, Fujimori turned around and provoked a war with Ecuador for the same sort of narrow motives. The PCP opposed this war, calling for the people of both countries to unite against their reactionary rulers and the U.S. imperialists behind them. The brief war itself ended unsuccessfully for Peru and resulted in more dissension within the Armed Forces. Several military men, including a retired general, were given prison terms for criticizing Fujimori's handling of the conflict.

Other generals who have been punished for breaking ranks with Fujimori include General Jaime Salinas, jailed for leading an anti-Fujimori counter-coup in November 1992, who still has supporters, including in the Armed Forces; and the exiled General Robles who exposed Fujimori's hand (and Bari's orders) behind the Army's kidnapping and murder in July 1992 of nine students and a professor at the teachers' college known as La Cantuta, a case that continues to haunt the regime today more than ever.

### LA CANTUTA

In June 1995, in a sweeping amnesty, Fujimori freed the low-level military men convicted of killing these suspected PCP supporters. He pardoned a total of 52 other named police and military officials convicted of murder, rape, torture, kidnapping and other crimes since the People's War began, including the 1986 massacres of PCP supporters in the prisons. At the same time, he gave amnesty in advance to all unnamed military and police threatened with investigation in other atrocities, such as the November 1992 death-squad machine-gun killing of 15 adults and children at a chicken barbecue in the courtyard of a building in the downtown Lima slum of Barrios Altos. (The military claimed the party was a fund-raiser for the pro-PCP newspaper *El Diario*.) With the same sweep of his hand, Fujimori also amnestied his opponents among the generals. This was touted as a gesture of "national reconciliation" — among rival factions in the ruling classes. Yet the gesture seems

to have blown up in Fujimori's face, judging by the outcry and bitter ridicule with which it was received, not only in some military circles, where it was rejected as a cynical manoeuvre designed to cover up real differences, but even from some "respectable" opposition forces who fear that the government risks becoming far too exposed and isolated.

The Cantuta case has repeatedly sparked daring protests from families of the victims and students and others who have defied tanks and police to take to the streets. At the University of San Marcos, despite Army occupation there, and at other schools in the capital and in provincial cities as well, strikes and demonstrations by students and professors continue to burst out again and again.

### A "VIABLE" ECONOMY?

The economy is often considered to be where the regime has scored its greatest success, but here too whatever stability that has been gained has been a case of heating the house by burning the floorboards. A favourable balance of payments and a more balanced budget have been achieved by selling off the country's natural resources and state-owned enterprises at bargain prices. The country is so awash with narcodollars that the regime has been able to undervalue Peru's currency and thus rein in inflation (though it remains in the double digit range). But the result has been a flood of imports and further bankruptcy of domestic production. The nature of the foreign capital inflows has been extremely parasitic. They have centred almost exclusively in telecommunications, construction and especially mining and oil rights, while the country's industrial capacity continues to shrink and its agriculture sinks further into ruin.

The result is that Peru is becoming more dependent on imperialism by the day. The bursting of the bureaucrat capitalist bubble in Mexico could be taken as a warning against following this path, since it was Mexico's "successes" that led it into crisis. But in fact it is very unlikely that Peru can continue as far along that road as Mexico. As an article in the *International Herald Tribune* put it, "Economic growth is bound to be high initially, given that it is coming from such

a low starting point, but the likelihood of this growth continuing into the next millennium is questionable given the continuing threat to the economy from destabilizing influences..." *Latin American Weekly Reports* pointed out, "the current level of employment [is] 64% of its 1979 level, while the purchasing power of current salaries [is] just 40% what it was in 1987.... The plight of public-sector employees [is] particularly dire: their current salaries buy only a fifth of what they could get in 1980." (This includes teachers, public health employees, construction workers and a very large part of the urban permanently-employed workers and employees whom Fujimori's predecessors considered an essential buffer between the main exploiters and the poorest masses.)

Both Peruvian businessmen and the LOD like to ask themselves, Can Peru be "the next Chile" in the coming millennium? By this they mean a country where economic development and modernization are said to have come without revolution. But Chile's economic "miracle" — the expansion of its export-oriented agriculture and mining — came about on the political basis of the needs of U.S. imperialism to stop Soviet influence in its "backyard" and on the basis of the 30,000 people murdered when the U.S. directed General Pinochet to seize power. Despite the growth of an urban middle class, Chile remains a country in crying need of a New Democratic revolution to free its productive forces, especially its people. When Pinochet drowned Chile's elected "Socialist" government in blood, what did that prove except that, as Mao said, without a people's army the people have nothing? Did the imperialists and the Chilean ruling classes act any less blood-thirsty because of the lack of a people's war or did they take advantage of the fact that the masses were unarmed to conduct wholesale slaughter? Isn't this the only possible result if the LOD were to have its way in Peru? Furthermore, while Fujimori may aspire to be Peru's Pinochet, objective factors (especially the weight of semi-feudalism in Peru, as well as the present state of the world imperialist system) make it actually very unlikely Peru could attain even this criminal "model".

There have been what the PCP CC

7 October 1993 Declaration called "fleeting flashes" in Peru's economy. The LOD points to them to argue that the bureaucrat capitalist system is becoming "viable". But Maoists do not hold that there can be no capitalist development in the countries oppressed by imperialism, nor that this capitalism will ever enter a state of permanent collapse. The "viability" of bureaucrat capitalism, in this sense, is not really the question. The point is that its development can never be anything but a further source of misery and chains for the people, and it can only stand as an obstacle to the real liberation of the productive forces, especially the greatest productive force, the people. Neither whatever meagre development the system reaps today, nor the prospect of what the LOD refers to as the "inevitable" collapse of bureaucrat capitalism at some time in the future, can relieve the revolutionaries of their responsibilities to lead the masses of people in revolutionary war. What is inevitable is that the masses of people will rebel against this system again and again until they are led to put an end to it once and for all.

What does it mean to say that "the bureaucrat road is becoming viable" in a country where, according to official statistics, well over two-thirds of the population are "very poor" and half of the poor are starving? According to another set of statistics, 85% of Peruvians lack one of the following items, and two-thirds lack two or more: adequate food, housing, electricity, water and sanitation, medical care and elementary education. What does it mean in a country where there is abundant rich land, and yet the relations of production cut millions of peasants off from the possibility of farming it and keep them in starvation in the countryside or city? Where the country's economy, to the extent that there is capitalist development, works largely by selling the natural resources and other exports to the imperialists to buy the imported food from them and then paying the interest on the loans the imperialists grant to purchase the food? How "viable" is this situation? Apparently, even a lot of imperialists are less optimistic than the LOD. They are relying, at the end of the day, on guns, not "development". Even if they can win over or neutralize some parts of

the middle classes for a little while, they are ruining others, and worsening the conditions that drive the country's poorest, the vast majority, to rise up against them.

### WHAT IS REALLY NECESSARY?

The LOD blames the mood of the masses for what it claims to be the "imperialist necessity" that the Party capitulate. Of course, those who joined the revolution, as the PCP says, "for a piece of the pie", are bound to slip away or worse when there's not much to eat. Also, the national bourgeoisie has backed away from the People's War, if only for now. Perhaps the LOD is influenced by all that when it says, "public opinion wants peace". But the masses are divided into classes, and different classes and class sectors have different moods depending on conditions as well as their social position. Even within that, there are ups and downs, and the gains or difficulties of the People's War itself have a big effect on the masses' self-confidence. As in everything else, the LOD has it backwards: it is not the immense majority of the masses who have turned their back on revolution, but rather a handful of those who claimed to be their leaders. The fact that the revolution has been able to hold out under fierce attack is itself an indicator of the mood of an important section of the masses, without whom such a thing would be impossible. And persistence itself is a mood-creating factor. The stage is still set for the great epic of the Peruvian revolution to continue

and advance, especially in the vast countryside where the regime can never impose any "stability".

A PCP document of January 1995 explained, "If our revolution were to suffer a big defeat (which has not happened), the developing revolutionary situation would turn into a stationary revolutionary situation, as happened in China in 1927 when the revolution suffered a serious setback due to opportunism... What did Chairman Mao do? What did the red line do? They didn't call for crying, nor for 'dialogue', they called for People's War and began the road of encircling the cities from the countryside. That's what we should learn from."

Mao said that as long as the masses and the Party exist, all sorts of miracles are possible. It is the line of the PCP Central Committee — and not the LOD — that is in accord with basic reality on the national and international levels. The objective conditions for continuing the People's War exist. It is up to the PCP to continue holding out and solving problems in order to advance. This is what they are determined to do. The comrades in Peru are continuing to shoulder this responsibility, determined to combine the power of the masses of people with the basic line that has guided the Party and with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism itself. This, too, we should learn from.

It is up to the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world to step up support for them now in this crucial hour. The stakes are very high for the world revolution.

### Statement about ownership and other particulars about 'A World to Win' Form - IV (See Rule 8)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Place of Publication  | : Ernakulam, Cochin.  |
| 2. Periodicity of Publication  | : Quarterly   |
| 3. Printer's Name  | : K. Muralidharan   |
| Whether citizen of India?  | : Yes   |
| (If foreigner, state Country of Origin)  | : —   |
| Address  | : Karuna, Irimpanam P.O., Ernakulam Dt., Kerala.                    |
| 4. Publisher's Name  | : K. Muralidharan   |
| Whether citizen of India?  | : Yes   |
| (If foreigner, state Country of Origin)  | : —   |
| Address  | : Karuna, Irimpanam P.O., Ernakulam Dt., Kerala.                    |
| 5. Editor's Name   | : K. Muralidharan   |
| Whether citizen of India?  | : Yes   |
| (If foreigner, state Country of Origin)  | : —   |
| Address  | : Karuna, Irimpanam P.O., Ernakulam Dt., Kerala.                    |
| 6. Name and addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital | : K. Muralidharan<br>Karuna, Irimpanam P.O., Ernakulam Dt., Kerala. |

I, K. Muralidharan, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Date: 1995

Signature of the Publisher

Sd/  
K. Muralidharan



WORLD TO WIN  
\$6.00