

Second Plenum of the Central Committee:
Building the Conquest of Power in the Midst
of People's War*

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru

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Preparatory Session

Greetings

Chairman Gonzalo, the Permanent Committee, and the Politburo extend their greetings to the members of the Central Committee, leaders, cadres and militants of the Communist Party of Peru, as well as to the combatants of the People's Guerrilla Army [The New Flag (TNF): today the People's Army of Liberation] and the masses who work with us, and to the people in general for the victorious success of the Second Campaign: "To Drive Forward the Development of Support Bases," an important part of the great plan to conquer power throughout the country, the inevitable goal in which we all contribute with our effort and our blood which we gladly give for such a brilliant prospect.

Agenda and Procedures

Introduction

Preparation and Conditions

The Second Plenum has been prepared with a lot of time and arduous work by the Politburo, justly and correctly led by Chairman Gonzalo, a guarantee of its realization and success. We have had two months of preparatory work on the Politburo's part and later a preview session with the Permanent Committee, expressing the great unity and profound conviction of our goals and methods. The Second Plenum is ripe.

A product of this preparation is the 413-page document distributed to all members of the Central Committee in advance and with enough time to study and comment on it with the goal that the event reaches clear and concrete conclusions to further develop the People's War and prepare the conquest of power in the entire country.

It is very important to highlight the document because, for the first time, we have a document as thorough as this, given the specific concrete situation that we are in at the present time. It is Gonzalo Thought and it is guided by the just and correct slogan of "Build the Conquest of Power in the midst of the People's War."

On the Particular Conditions

We know the facts; the problem consists in analyzing them correctly and learning from them. Once again, it is demonstrated that the party, its leaders and Chairman Gonzalo specifically and principally, know how to navigate and lead the ship through the storm in turbulent waters.

Chairman Mao teaches us that all development generates unbalance, and this, as well as struggle, is absolute. As a result, we must learn to manage the lack of equilibrium; but how do we manage this? By understanding the laws that rule the process, no matter if they are simple or complex. These laws are applied to transform reality to benefit the proletariat and the people at the service of the revolution. Our glorious perspective of conquering power will be the finishing stroke for the democratic revolution and we will immediately begin the socialist revolution. That interval of blood and victory will be one of profound unbalance (desequilibrio); even when we conquer power we will face difficulties and tempestuous winds. Thus, these types of situations are strengthening us; the forge of communism is like that, in the turbulence and difficulty. It is said that whoever lasts a minute more wins, and we know how to last longer because we have the true ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Gonzalo Thought which arms our souls and hands with the incontrovertible truth. This unbalance, whether slight or deep, forges, and tempers us. Chairman Mao said: “In difficult times, we should bear in mind our successes, see our brilliant future and increase our courage.” Today, communism is being attacked around the world and also here in our country by the lackeys of imperialism and the followers of foreign revisionist masters. What do we apply? Maoism, unleash the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought counter campaigns to crush the joint sinister counterrevolutionary counteroffensive of both imperialism and revisionism. Our Party is at a new moment in the war, in a higher complex stage, and more victorious. This Plenum’s particular circumstance speaks for itself. What we confront is nothing more than part of the unbalance and it is forging us for the truly complex moments that all revolutions must face. Communism teaches us to be prepared even for defeat. Chairman Mao says that whoever doesn’t know victories and defeat doesn’t know about war. He also says that after two victories and two defeats they understood the laws of the Chinese Revolution, and therefore we have not yet had a single big defeat. Therefore, this new moment of the war and the convergent attack [TNF: of revisionism and imperialism] are part of the most complex circumstances that we must go

through before communism shines on earth. They are part of the unbalance and are testing our responsibility as communists. The Party has shown that it knows how to generate the leadership which corresponds to our reality and needs. We are sufficiently forged. We are not frightened by risk; danger does not stop us; this moment is nothing more than one more, welcome test. It is part of the revolutionary process and we are managing it well as one more test. The life of communists is one of struggle not comfort. Marx once told his daughter: "What is happiness? It is the struggle." Years later, Chairman Mao taught: Work is the struggle. We adhere to all this; our difficulties can be overcome because we are a new force with a brilliant future.

Another derivation. We are collectively confronting the circumstances and have shown the highest cohesion, as well as great fortitude. This is the product of the cohesiveness of an ideology distinct and opposed to that of the bourgeoisie and all other classes. We communists are and will always be, the most advanced of the classes, the proletariat's vanguard and, as such, we feel the responsibility to meet our goals and objectives giving everything that the revolution demands, immolating our lives for communism and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. This ideology is what allows us to not only manage, but to use to the greatest extent every situation, and to transform a bad situation into a good one. What have we shown? That we are cohesive. That we reaffirm ourselves in our leadership, in our center of Party unity that is Gonzalo thought, in our ideology, in our principles and in our tasks to accomplish. These are circumstances which have given us better conditions: Part of our forge, more tempering, and a good document. We have collectively confronted it maintaining high cohesion; we learn, and we are stronger acting collectively, united we are invincible, and the tempering is not only gained on the big battlefields, but also in daily life.

The Second Session of the Central Committee was necessary and we are accomplishing whatever the Party demands and requires. The reactionaries aim to destroy the leadership, the Party, and crush the revolution, beyond separating the Party from the masses; to annihilate the Party is to crush a revolution, but not to finish it, because as long as there are communists and masses it can never be finished. There are very important things which must be taken into account to preserve the Party's leadership. Once again, we have shown that the Party is united and that we confront dangers with firmness and determination, sure of managing them to accomplish our tasks and always come out ahead. Any of us can fall, but the Party will continue, our immolated lives will encourage those who remain, and the path will

continue until communism is imposed on Earth. This is our conviction.

Good. But seeing the derivations and specific circumstances does not silence the errors committed. The issue is not to curse or lament but to see reality objectively, and the causes, find the roots of the problems, propose solutions and take on responsibilities, a decision to transform things. Corrective measures must be taken with those responsible for the problem; they are necessary and serve to correct errors and strengthen the Party.

To conclude one more derivation: Time is for reflection. On the one hand, for the Party's struggles, we refer to the People's War that it leads, which has not stopped for a single minute. The Party is never paralyzed because the road it must take is clear, because it has unity in the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, in the base of the Party unity, in the People's War, in the plan of strategic development. Once again, the Party expresses the strategic centralization and tactical decentralization; we have plans which are part of campaigns and those continue. A party united by these elements is strong. We emphasize the strategic centralization and tactical decentralization because it is communist practice, and it is our concrete experience. With the glorious trajectory of 11 years of People's War; the People's War cannot be stopped. We look at it this way. **The leadership could be wiped out, in part, not all, but the leaders who remain must and will follow the plans, the struggle, the People's War. We are forged in the struggle and resolutely believe that the revolution can't be stopped, can't be paralyzed.** Chairman Mao taught **"We pick up our dead, tend to our wounded and continue fighting."**

Thus, to see the derivations together, take the positive out of the negative. It will always be like that because there are contradictions and rules in everything. In conclusion, the Second Plenum is successfully prepared to take place and create a new triumph for the Party. In the midst of difficulties, for the first time a preparatory document of this kind has been prepared and given enough time to study it. This also shows that we have continued working and the task is being done.

Agenda

The Permanent Committee and the Politburo propose:

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

2. Strategic Plan of Construction
3. Third Campaign to Drive Forward the Development of the Support Bases
4. On Construction and the Problems of Secret Work
5. Implementation of the Accords

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How to Develop the Session

Since the Central Committee's First Plenum, we agreed to apply new forms in our work, as well as in carrying out meetings, elevating the five necessities as part of the conquest of power in the midst of the People's War. Having unwrapped the preparatory session, having received the corresponding documents with enough time to study and highlighted the points over which to debate, it is up to us to specify some questions for the agenda, mainly with respect to the Third Campaign. Then, each leader will give his/her opinion and with the contributions of the debate, we shall reach accords and tasks which should be re transmitted. The reports and data have been received and shall be studied in the meetings with each committee.

Main Report from the Leadership

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

1 On the Report: “Build the Conquest of Power in the Midst of People’s War!”

The Permanent Committee and the Politburo decided that the opinions would be addressed using a holistic approach on all issues of the report but focusing on its political and ideological basis, which is the guide of all Party work. The objective is to approve our political and ideological positions, which is our base, and address the new fundamental decisions of the document. In synthesis, to approve the final document which will be our guidance and define the specific policies. The key of this issue is to apply and to combat deviations that may appear.

2 To Approve the Pilot Plan of Strategic Construction (The Commission)

Items on Construction cover three parts of the report, and from this report, the central issue is item two: Develop the Construction. The “three basis and three guides,” moreover, we must pay attention to the application of the two moments of the Strategic Plan of Construction and, particularly, the need to organize a Commission to finalize the document based on what we agree in this Plenum.

Here the objective is to approve the Plan of Strategic Construction as a pilot plan and the formation of the commission. Within this, we propose to prepare a document which allows debate over the central questions of organizational construction.

3 On the Campaign to Develop the People’s War

3.1 On the Third Campaign

Obviously, this question is the most important and deserves very special attention with reference to strategies, objectives and our position which serves to set forth the Third Campaign and the perspective of the People’s War. Here the objective is to approve the new campaign that will complete the

Plan to Drive Forward and lay the bases for a new plan which still is not the Plan for the Conquest of Power as that will come later. On this point we should broaden the discussion and specify more questions that we did not deal with at length in the preparatory sessions. Let's look at these:

To conceive the campaign as the end of the Plan to Drive Forward and also lay the basis for the new plan, which will serve the future great Plan of the Conquest of Power. The later plan must be the greatest expression of the People's War. We must bear in mind that it will unfold the Plan for the Strategic Construction, implementing the construction under the slogan of "Conquer power throughout the country!" It should develop apparatuses superior than those of reaction. The commission will develop the Party's Strategic Plan, the Plan of Strategic Construction, and the building of better apparatuses for the conquest and defense of power.

For the first time there is a broad, deep and extraordinary perspective like never before, which reveals the advance in our work.

In part V of the document, general outline of the Third Campaign, page 387, we have given an introduction with nine points:

1. On campaigns of encirclement and annihilation and counter-campaigns
2. War of interpenetrating
3. Initiative, flexibility and planning within the strategy and tactics of People's War
4. Defensive and offensive strategies in the guerrilla war
5. Transforming the guerrilla war into a war of movements
6. On the so-called low intensity war
7. On war. Proverbs
8. Strategies
9. Objectives. In this part we can add "some considerations," "our position," and the chronology.

On page 411 of the document, "Eight Strategies" we should highlight that also for the first time we include a third strategy, the strategy of construction:

“Building the conquest of power in the midst of the People’s War.” We also have political strategy: “Seize Power” and military strategy.

People’s War. Unfold the war of movements and promote (impulsar) the preparations for the insurrection. In the first part of the distributed document we explain the reason for the three strategies. In synthesis, they are inseparably united and come from the great slogan which is the title of the Second Plenum “Build the conquest of power in the midst of the People’s War.” Between developing, building and conquering, the main one is developing, building is a necessity and conquering power is the objective. Then, in the military strategy, between “unfold” and “drive” the principal one is “unfold” and it highlights the differences in the process of transformation from the guerrilla war to a war of movements.

With respect to “Considerations: On the People’s War and the Third Campaign.”

People’s War

It is a war of the masses led by the Party. The countryside is the center of the People’s War and its displacement to the city to conquer power throughout the country. This is a great leap in the incorporation of the masses to the People’s War. The objective is to incorporate the masses, the people, in an organized manner to the People’s War. This is key to the conquest of power throughout the country, especially for the insurrection and for the defense of the People’s Republic. The future plan of conquest. Here note the considerations of importance for the conquest of power throughout the country, and the insurrection and the defense of the People’s Republic. This is for the conquest and defense of the new power. This thesis comes from Marx: “general arming of the masses,” and we apply it to become an armed sea of the masses, because without the guarantee of that armed sea, there can be neither a conquest nor a defense of power. Let’s think that we have more than 10 years of People’s War and the prestige of the Party has grown and greatly developed.. The masses have expectations in the Party, and the lit torch of that hope should reflect the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Gonzalo Thought, so that the minds of the masses will be illuminated with this ideology. Once their minds are armed it will arm their hands as well. Thus, we will achieve a leap in the organized power of the masses. Engels said that there are two organized powers on Earth, the organized power of reaction and the disorganized power of the masses. We think that the

organized masses are the only true power on Earth as long as they are led by the Communist Party.

This is a material fact, not our imagination or wishful thinking, and so what was the Great Cultural Revolution or the Communist Party of China? What do we gain with a million loose sprouts? They are weak, but a 100,000 united by the Party cannot be broken. It is crucial for the conquest of power, if not, how will we make the final insurrection? It is a must for the forthcoming revolutionary crisis. It is for the defense of power, because upon conquering it, the problem will be defending and not allowing it to be taken away. This is done by mobilizing the armed masses that are always led by the Communist Party. That broad and organized incorporation of the masses is the base for the armed sea of masses. The countryside is the center, but the displacement to the cities must take place because if it doesn't, the enemy will entrench itself there, disseminate its rotten ideas and will undermine our triumph. This means that we must take measures for the future change of the theater of the People's War; we still haven't gotten to the stage of putting the center in the cities yet. This objective that we will achieve will also expose the lies of the "Senderologists."

This point is linked to educating the masses in revolutionary violence, in the ideology of the proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Gonzalo Thought, so that they will understand the laws that rule the universe, and will apply them and transform the world so that they can take destiny into their own hands. Educating them, is the only Marxist tactics of forging us in revolutionary violence and implacably combating both revisionism and imperialism and keep us in the revolutionary road.

We should also note what the plan says specifically about insurrection, which means to pay attention to the organized incorporation of the masses into the People's War in the cities.

Therefore, this incorporation is crucial in order to fracture the old state. The organization of the masses in the city is done for two reasons: one to carry out the insurrection and the defense of the revolution in the cities. The other is that the center of the People's War continues to be the countryside and we should highlight the mass character of the People's War and sustain the new power on the masses that make up the front organized into the People's Guerrilla Army [TNF:Today People's Liberation Army], generated organisms and masses led by the PCP.

Questions of Military Strategy

“The protracted war and its three stages. The three specified stages of the protracted People’s War in Peru. The strategic equilibrium and the preparation of the counter offensive: the enemy, to recuperate positions to maintain its system. The development of the strategic offensive via the building of the conquest of power. Because of that, reaction sees the need to annihilate the People’s War and the Party while the people must build the conquest of power.”

Note well the stages of the protracted war. Chairman Mao teaches that the People’s War goes through three stages: a strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium, and strategic offensive. This theory is not exclusive to the anti-Japanese War but rather a constituent part of the theory of People’s War. Also, we must see how these stages specify themselves in our People’s War, and see what specific characteristics each one of these stages adopts.

It is of great transcendence to have these stages defined, and proven in reality and here officially affirm that we find ourselves in the second stage of the People’s War. It is a new stage: strategic equilibrium. Chairman Mao defines it as the stage where the enemy as well as the revolutionary forces take positions and prepare them for the decisive battles which will take place in the strategic offensive. *On Protracted War*, point 37 states referring to the enemy “they will try to consolidate the occupied territories” as the revolutionary forces do “our guerrilla war will experience a broad development in the first stage, and many bases of support will be created which will constitute a serious threat to the enemy in its attempt to consolidate the occupied territories. Then, during the second stage, vast military operations will continue taking place.” He later continues, “the duration of this stage will depend on the degree to which the correlation of forces between the enemy and us changes, and the international situation...” This second stage will be the stage of transition of the entire war and also the hardest period, but it will mark, at the same time, the turning point of the entire war.

We have specified: “The strategic equilibrium and preparation of the counteroffensive: the enemy recuperates positions to maintain its system; we prepare the strategic offensive through building the conquest of power, because of that, reaction feels the necessity of annihilating the People’s War; and the Party and the people feel the necessity of building the conquest

of power.” We think that given the development of our People’s War and the counterrevolutionary situation, these are the points that characterize both belligerent parties. On one side, Peruvian reaction is presented with “regaining positions” on all levels, principally on the political arena where we have generated a power vacuum and we have built new power. We count on popular committees and support bases. We exercise power, even in the cities. We decree an armed strike and the masses obey the voice of the Party. The reactionaries themselves see that the old state doesn’t reach many sectors in the countryside and in others, doesn’t exercise power. Even worse, the deep and profound masses, the people as a whole, each time believe that the old state doesn’t satisfy its basic needs of food, health, education and so we must take this into account.

The old state is a worm eaten to its foundations. It fails to accomplish its specific functions and a state which doesn’t fulfill its role loses credibility before the masses. It suffocates itself. The latest regime, the new government which leads the old state represents the big, principally comprador, bourgeoisie, the landlords and is the most unabashedly pro-Yankee imperialist. It has taken power in worse conditions than the prior government. It is much more discredited. It lacks a majority in the parliament. [TNF: for this reason in 1992 the parliament was dismantled and a new rubber stamp “Congress” was created] It doesn’t have a Party and the so-called Cambio 90 lacks cohesion. For example, the powers of the old state see themselves subjected to the growing fortifications of the executive branch, the principal laws are dictated by decree and since Belaunde’s first government they have been ruling like this, abusing article 211, section 20 of the Peruvian constitution. The parliament is stripped of its role of passing laws and appropriating the budget. Fujimori has attacked the judicial power since he took office and the violation of their norms, laws and constitution are flagrant and occur daily. The contradictions between the factions and groups of the big bourgeoisie deepen in the midst of crisis and struggle. They cannot, and will not, be able to resolve the economic crisis. Moreover, it is going to worsen. The counter subversive war takes place within their law of war without prisoners, genocide venting their fury on the masses. The armed forces murder and do not respect even the most basic rules of the so-called human rights. And, as far as the country’s national territory, two-thirds of it is under a state of emergency, aside from which the Communist Party of Peru in the People’s War maintains wide areas under its control and influence mainly in the countryside. In addition, the Party’s work abroad and the international

repercussions of the People's War in Peru is increasing. In synthesis, their state is in serious danger.

Hence, the enemy's task is to regain political and military positions to save its state and seek to annihilate us. Also if we take any serious study on the People's War in Peru and even in the most simplistic commentaries, for example the opinions of the Congressman J.Valencia of Acacia, we read that they refer to either the absence or the weakness of their old state, to which the continuous resignations of their old authorities must be added.

We are, since the I Congress, planning to build the conquest of power and we are building that conquest. The strategic equilibrium is a political fact, not a mere slogan. We are building the conquest of power. Why has this demand arisen with more urgency? We have already passed four tasks in the leap from guerrilla war, to war of movements and these show how the process develops. The problem is that if they don't annihilate us we annihilate them. What the reactionaries need is to annihilate the People's War, our need is to build the conquest of power. The fact that reaction says through its mouth pieces such as Raul Gonzalez that, "there is still time" proves that even they are aware of this. Their declarations are in their magazine "Gestion" of the first days of this month. Reaction plans to annihilate us but doubt corrodes them. From there, the IDL (Institute of Legal Defense) considers that the possibility exists before the end of Fujimori's government. Also Army Generals like Arciniegas, Renjifo and Jarama publicly declare that the Party is preparing to take power, and that they recognize it as an objective fact is extremely telling.

Pay attention, we are not saying that it will only be the Party's task but also the peoples' to build that conquest. If we see the Party's situation and the growing explosiveness of the masses, justly, correctly analyzed and specified in our program, they are intimately linked. There is no separation at any point. If we see "three bases and three guides" we have another example: "Empower the People's Guerrilla Army, especially propel the principal forces," "develop the new power and build open People's Committees," and heading the three references to the party "strengthen the construction and forge cadre." We also note "prepare the strategic offensive through building the conquest of power," as it is in the strategic equilibrium that the base is laid for the coming stage: Our strategic offensive.

All of these elements allow us to apply the correct political demonstration in deeds. We insist that the strategic equilibrium is a material fact, real, existing in practice, in society, in the country's class struggle, and in the

People's War and we reflect our ideas upon it.. We must make it known to the people and uphold it: We have entered the stage of strategic equilibrium.

“The three stages of revolutionary Civil War have different characteristics than those of anti-imperialist wars of resistance. In the former, the strategic defensive is more protracted and goes from guerrilla war to a war of movements, which is principal.”

Here the problem is that the three stages of the People's War don't occur solely in the wars of anti-imperialist resistance but, rather, in all of the specific forms of the People's War, like for example in our revolutionary Civil War and in each period of the People's War. It is part of the general theory of the People's War. It doesn't apply exclusively to the anti-Japanese war in China. Then, these characteristics differ in the three stages. They are one way in the Civil War period and another way in the period of the anti-imperialist resistance. In the Civil War, the strategic defensive of revolution is more protracted and also goes on to develop from a guerrilla war into a war of movements, this being the principal one. Third, taking into account what Chairman Mao teaches in “Defensive and Offensive Strategies in the Guerrilla War” and which we have dealt with in the document of the Second Plenum preparatory session, page 390, the defensive and the offensive occur in all battles or campaigns.

The three stages of the protracted war have different characteristics in each period. For example, the defensive is different when it deals with anti-imperialist war. There the defensive is brief. It is not the same as in Civil War. During the Civil War the defensive is longer; ours today is a Civil War and we have passed from the strategic defensive to strategic equilibrium. Thus, if direct imperialist aggression were to occur, it would signify a change of the principal contradiction and the nature of the war would change from that of Civil War to Anti-Imperialist War. It would become a national war which is when more masses enter the revolution. They unite with the majority, for example, if 5,000 or 20,000 men invade us with all the means they have available it would be a strong, bloody, imperialist offensive and this would imply our retreat. We would go to the defensive, but this defensive would be shorter than that which occurred in the Civil War, when we began with the People's War. Besides, it would not be the same. We would have the circumstance of the conquest of power which is a higher level than the ILA [TNF: Initiation of the Armed Struggle]. Once being in strategic

equilibrium, we would go on a distinct strategic defensive, already within the anti-imperialist resistance war, and, by means of successive and more developed defensives and offensives, we would reach the strategic offensive and the conquest of power. It could happen that imperialism will enter once we are already on the strategic offensive, then a moment of strategic defensive would be expressed on our part, but a brief one. And necessarily, we would return to the offensive and we would conquer power. The defensive in a civil war is not the same as an anti-imperialist war. In the anti-imperialist war, the imperialist offensive is demolishing, strong, and bloody and generates a strategic defensive within the strategic equilibrium or the strategic offensive. They are not the same. Each has its own specific strategy, but the strategic defensive is brief in the anti-imperialist war because in changing the main contradiction and the character of the war, it unites a broader majority of the people more deeply, and at the same time international support grows and becomes more powerful.

Another characteristic of the change from the guerrilla war into a war of movement is that the latter will become principal, but not exclusive, as the guerrilla war will continue developing as fundamental for the immediate future.

“The protracted character derives from the correlation of three situations:

1. Our own situation;
2. The enemy’s situation; and
3. The international situation

The last one is the one which now and in the immediate future presents problems, but aside from the fact that the revolution will more concretely express its condition of principal tendency spurred on by the counterrevolution itself, the principal thing is to rely on our own forces and in seizing power, serve the development of the world revolution. Toward this end, continue developing our own socialist revolution building socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.”

Of the three situations the problem is in the international one, but the principal thing is in us. In our hands is the conquest of power in the entire

country and this conquest will be part of the service of the Party to the world proletarian revolution. Part of it is also to proceed immediately with the Socialist Revolution, develop it, as well as install and defend the dictatorship of the proletariat until we arrive at communism through the cultural revolutions.

The international factor, even though it is not the principal one, is fundamental and we should note that if it presents problems today, in immediate perspective, the revolution will express its condition as the principal tendency fueled (acicateada) by the counterrevolution itself. We can triumph without the revolution being on the world offensive. Some say: "How can we triumph alone in the world?" But they don't see that Chairman Mao says the principal is to rely on our own forces and that is an advance and will be decisive. Necessarily, it will give an incentive to the international situation.

If we look at the Gulf War, Yankee imperialism is aiming to be a hegemonic superpower. Soviet social imperialism has problems but continues to be a superpower, and it uses war to regain positions nationally and internationally. The situation is similar to that of the 60's. The U.S. aims at being the only hegemonic superpower, and the world's policeman. We must fight it as our principal enemy without forgetting the other principal enemy: the USSR, which would be the skinny dog; the other, the United States, the fat, rabid dog and as such hit it hard. It should not be discounted that the USSR tries to take advantage of the conflict to put things in order internally and gain positions externally. The collision and collusion continue occurring between the superpowers and powers, the collusion expresses itself as principal, but it submerges and collision is expressed. For example, the USSR proposed a "peace plan" for the Gulf War in which Iraq would withdraw from Kuwait with no conditions. It supports maintaining state structures and borders. It opposes "all sanctions" against Iraq and punitive action against Hussein. The White House announced that it would review the proposal meticulously and send its response to Moscow, but the war continued. The next day Bush rejected the proposal as "clearly deficient," he said, "there will be no negotiations nor concessions." The action by the imperialist powers can also be seen through: England expected the USSR to continue supporting the multinational forces and accords of the U.N. but it also rejected the USSR's proposal. For Canada, the Soviet proposal was in alignment with the U.N. accords, while Kohl said he would look at the proposal again and that war could still be avoided by negotiations. Israel saw a double danger: maintaining the war machinery and keeping Hussein

in power.

The slogan in support of the Arab people that we have spread is good. At no moment do we support Hussein. He changed from being an aggressor to a victim of aggression, and the action of imperialism, mainly U.S. imperialism is that of arrogant invasion using as the United Nations as an umbrella. Iraq is an oppressed nation. We must distinguish between the hegemonic ambitions of Hussein and the imperialist aggression. What the United States has done is an occupation of the Arab people. It tears down people and acts like a gendarme. We must call Yankee imperialism a big gendarme because it is. Thus, we go about sowing conditions for the time our revolution changes the contradiction. It is very good to support the Arab people against Yankee imperialism. We do it with the masses. In the country's capital, 56 red flags with hammer and sickle were conspicuously posted at the University of San Marcos. In a shanty town there is a huge flag, waving since 5:00 A.M. until 4:00 P.M. and no one has put it out. The slums are the deep people. That is where we plant anti-imperialism. (The MRTA makes a clatter, greater than when a keg is empty. They try to take credit for our actions, one more example of the kind of parasites they are.) Our rule is that the actions echo back in the minds of the deep masses to politicize them and so they will consciously grasp their destiny in their own hands. We, the Party, do not make the revolution. The Party leads it; the masses are the makers of history. We are carrying out armed actions linked to the masses throughout the country. In the countryside, we are mainly sowing and winning the minds of the peasants, mainly the poor. We are in a cloud of dust, where the dust invades the lungs of the masses, with the ones below, educating them politically, riveting with actions the ideas we plant. Comrades give their lives. They immolate themselves heroically fighting the Yankee imperialist gendarme which destroys nations and they do it supporting the Arab people. They sign the slogans with their lives: "Yankees out of the Middle East" and "Support the Arab People." These are beautiful words of the proletariat and of the people. We don't blow up dead chickens. That's being done by the MRTA, which has begun to carry out solely terrorist actions.

What have they done since their reappearance? Nothing [TNF: MRTA gave one year truce to the APRA regime and reappeared during Fujimori.] And they keep hanging on like parasites in the People's War led by the Communist Party. Cassinello says that armed groups develop following a process of first being "terrorists" then going on to become guerrillas and finally into soldiers. Fine. This is the path we follow, but the MRTA doesn't.

They don't apply selective annihilation but rather a narrow and fatigued (trasnochado) terrorism. After having disguised themselves as soldiers in their zeal to compete and self-promotion, what is principal? Politicize the masses or launch rockets (instalazas)? Obviously the masses. The fact of going to the masses and acting with them is decisive. We are not an imposed war but rather one incarnated in the deep and profound masses. Julio C. Guerrero says, **"A soldier is a soldier because he has a uniform. The Guerrilla is soldier because he has an ideology."** Our strength is our ideology. The People's Guerrilla Army is an army led absolutely by the Party of the proletariat. We do not consent to any other class leading it. It fulfills the political tasks that the Party demands and carries them out armed. We do not need pompous commandants. We are combatants and command and you can stop counting. We are not based on arms but on men and on the men on the ideology that moves us to act. This war is also confirming it. That is why we say that it is proving the validity of Maoism. Its viability. With such powerful and highly sophisticated war material, Yankee imperialism dreamed that in two or three days it would destroy Iraq. It is now February and the war continues. Moreover, it trembles before a ground offensive. There, we repeat, it proves once more the viability of Marxism. Weapons are not the principal. The question is what idea arms the hand. The ideology is the weapon of victory. That was also taught to us by Lenin and comes from Marx; we then have a strict Marxist-Leninist-Maoist position. To the revisionists of the MRTA, the disguise [TNF: disfraz or mask] is worth everything; the weapon is principle. It also proves the main contradiction in the world, oppressed nations versus superpowers and imperialist powers. That imperialists are fighting against an oppressed people is very clear and that they want to plunder and share among themselves the Arab oil and overthrow Hussein to install a reactionary, more loyal to their interests is also clear, but up until now they have not achieved it.

Campaigns of Encirclement, Annihilation, and Counter Campaigns

Principal form. Through them, expanding and developing them, principally maintaining the initiative, we have reached the strategic equilibrium. We have not had any great defeat. We prepare so that this does not occur. But if it does happen (which would require major direct or indirect action by U.S. imperialism) would only be a partial defeat and relative within a perspective of development of the People's War aimed against Yankee imperialism

and its puppets within the national polarization and toward the conquest of power. Besides the international situation and above all, proletarian internationalism, the support of the peoples of the world will be expressed broadly and decisively. In ten years of People's War we have evolved within this campaigns of encirclement and annihilation and counter campaigns, what we have to see here is the specification of our case. This process has brought us to a new level. We have passed through the campaigns of encirclement and annihilation and the counter campaigns of encirclement and annihilation from the strategic defensive to the stage of strategic equilibrium.

Militarily speaking, the key is to have maintained the initiative. Since the beginning of the armed struggle we have set political and military objectives for ourselves and we have met them. No one can show that we have not met our objectives and that the new power didn't exist in its diverse forms of People's Committees from organizing committees to the Open People's Committees. It is so evident that they themselves—the enemy—aim to annihilate the commissars hoping to destroy the new power. The fact that exists a People's Guerrilla Army with platoons, companies and battalions is so real that the newspapers report it. If not, why do they write, "300 storm this or attack that barrack?" That there are principal, local and base forces that are rooted in the masses is also a reality, if not, who are they fighting and why do the reactionary armed forces destroy villages and slums accusing them of being "senderistas?" And who directs all this? The Party. And who sustains these apparatuses? The masses. Or are they phantoms? That one or another mouthpieces for Yankee imperialism and Peruvian reaction receive money to deny the truth is so common in the old and rotten bourgeois systems that it should not surprise us. Well, today that we enter the strategic equilibrium, they would say, "it cannot be!" "It's impossible!" But the process will continue unfolding, and by no means will stop because some shills (ganapanes) dejectedly cry and wire their brains to deny it.

Let's keep in mind that "we have not had any big defeats. Let's prepare ourselves so this does not happen." Until today our process has developed with successes and setbacks. We have lived through hard moments, like the years 1983-84, but not a single big defeat. Nonetheless, we think that in the same way the revolution develops and grows powerful. The counterrevolution also learns as it applies plans, tactics, etc. We well know that the entre of Yankee imperialism is now cooking. The greatest quantity of coca is planted in Peru (along with Bolivia we have 90% of the coca harvest) the biggest consumer of the cocaine base paste is Yankee imperialism and drug trafficking

is a problem that it manipulates for its military action, as part of its global interest. If we add that in Peru a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Gonzalo Thought People's War is unfolding which has communism as its final objective, then the problem is greater and the danger greater yet for imperialism. The bottom line question is that here there is a confrontation between revolution and counterrevolution that here Marxism is being applied as part of the World Revolution. That the Peruvian People's War is the torch of hope for the communists, proletarians and people of the world. Because of all this, it is extremely important that we fortify ourselves to the utmost ideologically and politically the best that we possibly can and that we be prepared on all levels, especially the military, for a direct or indirect entry by Yankee imperialism. If imperialism directly invades us, it will be Yankee imperialism. Then, we will have as our main enemy the superpower that wants to be hegemonic, the great gendarme, we know this and we are not afraid. But this doesn't mean that we forget the other imperialist superpower, the USSR. It is the thin dog which we should also aim against, not because it has problems today, but because it has stopped being the main enemy. Without forgetting, it is clear, then that the other imperialist powers are always considering the contradictions in the imperialist camp and are using them specifically in a national anti-imperialist war. On one occasion we solemnly promised to never lay down our weapons until we have reached communism. We must persist in the struggle for communism whether the superpowers or power come armed to the teeth with their powerful weapons. We communists know what we want and what we are struggling for. Nothing should or can detain us in fulfilling the Party's objective to serve the people, the proletariat and the world revolution.

Teach the masses that Yankee imperialism and the reactionaries are paper tigers, not fear imperialism, and be prepared from the ideological to the military. We know how to build tunnels. In China they were a great experience which was later also successfully applied in Vietnam. It is possible to even develop a "war of tunnels" and, moreover, Chairman Mao taught that their construction is a strategic guide and we have been making them since 1983. Today we should develop them. It is key.

Imperialism, upon entering, will do so with enormous propaganda, justifying its occupation and destruction of the people. Behind a tale of ending drug trafficking or crushing communism and defending "democracy," but in deeds it will be an imperialist aggression, an unjust war, a great massacre and a cruel and sinister destruction. We should denounce this from now

on, but it will not frighten us, rather it will make us stronger. What they are doing in the Persian Gulf, the arrogance with which they act invading and murdering to the point of genocide and with great cynicism (they have bombed an oppressed people like never before) is an example of the monstrous barbarism that are the innards of imperialism, Yankee imperialism in particular.

If while being on the strategic offensive, Yankee imperialism would directly intervene with all of its bloody ferocity which its monopolist, parasitic and dying condition allows it, a situation of going to the defensive would take place. But that would not change the stage of strategic offensive. Our defensive would imply a strategic retreat to counterattack. Obviously they would hit us and the masses hard but we will retreat. We would again regroup. We would circle and concentrate ourselves on its weak points and will annihilate them, bit by bit until we defeat and expunge them. It will be an arduous and bloody task but of magnificent conditions to fuse together the immense popular masses and lead a war of national liberation against imperialism, a prelude to the conquest of power throughout the country which would imply also overthrowing the puppet regime it will have imposed. The polarization will be expressed in all of its magnitude. On one side, there will be the imperialists and the pro-imperialists, all of the big bourgeoisie and its partners, the feudal landlords and their lackeys. On the other, there will be all of the classes which make up the people, the patriots and all the anti-imperialists. We would continue to develop ourselves with superior offensives after successive ones and higher campaigns and counter campaigns, and we would finally pass on to insurrection and the conquest of power in the entire country.

We should equally consider the different forms of intervention, directly or indirectly, through other countries or by applying its “low intensity conflict.” They would accumulate forces, they would enter as “advisors” giving “help,” responding to “the terrorist’s aggression,” or even act after we take power with suffocating action with pro-imperialist elements and armed apparatuses.

This would be done until waiting for the opportune moment to reverse the situation and apply a counterrevolutionary attack. Because of this, we should prepare ourselves to seize and defend power with the People’s War. It is not in the Yankees’ interest to get bogged down in a Vietnam type war. They are not convenient for them. They prefer quick, decisive action to “restore order” and to “help” their lackeys in pacification. We should concern ourselves then with the modalities and variations of imperialist aggression, mainly Yankee. They could dislodge us from zones and even regions fun-

damental to our struggle, but they will not crush the People's War. It will appear to be a great defeat but it will be nothing more than the logical course of imperialist aggression. We would learn great lessons and would continue applying the principles of the People's War. We would deploy to other regions and zones and we would again recuperate what we lost but we would be much better forged than before. We would be more experienced and closer to the conquest and defense of power throughout the country. This defeat then will be partial and relative within the perspective of the development of the People's War, aimed principally against Yankee imperialism and its puppets within the national polarization and toward the conquest of power throughout the country. That is how we could unfold in the strategic offensive. As to the cost, we are, as always, prepared to pay the highest cost but we shall struggle to ensure it is as low as possible, applying the principles of the People's War. Facing imperialism, as in everything, we maintain a strategic firmness and apply it with flexibility in our tactics according to the specific conditions that present themselves.

Also, in these conditions, the proletarian internationalism and the support of the people of the world shall be broader and committed. The very counterrevolutionary action by imperialism will generate the anti-imperialist action by the proletariat and the peoples of the world.

“The war of interpenetrating is developing and it is developing in our favor. By maintaining and developing politically and ideologically correct and just lines we shall fulfill 'Develop, Build and Conquer.' What we should do here is to reaffirm this slogan.

People's War. Two hills. War of Movements. 'Low Intensity Warfare.' Strategic general plan and each committee and organization.”

This was also dealt with in the document and will be the subject of meetings with the committees. “Two Hills” is part of applying the contradiction of war. Consider that we have specified four stages in the war of movements. We understand better what the so-called “low intensity conflict” is. Very important: the global plans of each committee, is part of the war of movements and the Party's military line. The strategic plan of developing the war is good but we must implement it. It is a necessity besides developing each committee or organ. Without a future plan to conquer power, we won't conquer it. But that isn't the immediate plan. Needless to say we must

prepare for it. Everything should be working for the plan to conquer power. It's like building a stairway to reach the next floor.

Part I

Campaign.

1 Third Campaign to Develop the People's War and Combat the Programs, Plans, and Politics of the New (Fujimori) Regime

“Three tasks”: To aim for selective annihilation against the genocidals at the highest possible levels, national or foreign, at all levels of their activities, delivering hard blows to those involved in reinvigorating and restructuring the old state and carry on annihilation (which is the main thing), aiming against those who are reinvigorating it, particularly high level foreign representatives in order to seriously set back their plans.

Sabotage, as has been demonstrated, also serves the same. The question is good political selection of the objective and the sure and certain execution of the action, aiming against its greatest plans, and especially seeking the greatest harm possible and its paralyzation until its destruction.

Obviously, the agitation and propaganda and the guerrilla combats also, as in any political content of the campaign, meet their functions. The first is to unmask the “three tasks” of its program, plan and concrete policies, especially impelling the expression for demands of basin needs. As for the second, the guerrilla combats (principal of the four forms of struggle) firmly and resolutely battle all the counter subversive actions that the enemy unfolds to take ahead its “three tasks” aiming each time against the armed forces in particular.

The Third campaign must be carry out firmly and resolutely developing the construction and the heightening of the bellicosity of the People's Guerrilla Army and the masses to implacably combat the enemy with the goal of completely destroying him. Undermine, obstruct, hit and destroy its programs, plans and reactionary politics is fundamental for the failure of the its three tasks and the advance of our plan “Develop, Build and Conquer.”

We have also added “OUR POSITION”:

- Our center is to combat
- Our base is the proletariat and the people
- Our road is the People’s War
- Our objective is the People’s Republic of Peru
- Our ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought
- Our final goal is the world proletarian revolution and communism.
- The axis of everything is the Communist Party of Peru, its leadership, and Chairman Gonzalo

In the point “Nine Objectives,” they are very clear and concrete and serve as specific slogans. Here we base ourselves in the political objectives of the Third Campaign, from the “three tasks” and the forms of struggle within this course against the program, plans and policy of the new reactionary government already unmasked in the document of May 1990 (look at his character and whose interests he serves) and to impulse the development of the bases of support. That this Third Campaign completes the plan of impulsion and lays the bases for a new plan within the great plan to develop bases in the function of conquering power, a grand shaking and complete victory, with superior actions. We say that to undermine until destruction is fundamental for the failure of its “three tasks” and the advance of “Develop, Build and Conquer.” Thus, we are seeing the two aspects of demolishing the old and building the new, the counterrevolution and the revolution.

Finally, we propose a timetable of the Third Campaign to Impulse: Unfold this campaign against imperialism and against this most unabashedly pro-imperialist government to develop the war of movements.

As to the offensives, in each committee plans should be made in accord with its specific conditions against the armed forces, annihilation and disintegration. For the 11th anniversary of the People’s War, against imperialism, the superpowers, and powers, principally against Yankee imperialism and the pro-imperialist regime of Fujimori, for the class struggle of the masses and their specific demands regarding the conquest of power, against the genocide of yesterday and today and of the day of Heroism: 5th anniversary. Special series: anti-imperialist and against the most pro-imperialist government until now. Use symbols of the three instruments.

On Campaign of Rectification

Retransmission and Ideas Which are Being Combated

Efforts should be made to accomplish it well, not stop on the surface, to go deep and excel in carrying out all the basics of our policy. Don't lower Marxism. The little pills don't educate the masses. We must elevate the political level of the party and all the apparatuses it leads and the masses as well. If we don't generate public opinion for the conquest of power, they won't see it as consciously necessary. The masses want politics, more than that. They want to learn the party's politics and our party has always been characterized as being strong in politics.

Apply the elevation of political conscientiousness and its popularization which is expressed in a rich party experience, "as well as in three in one."

Party Documents

Strive to ensure that all militants have them. There are many ways to reproduce them without changing anything. They can be photocopied as well as hand copied. The printing should be delivered to friends or people who can comment on them. We don't lose anything by sending them to all the news agencies.

The document *Elections No. People's War Yes* is a key and principal document in the rectification campaign of the Party, the People's Guerrilla Army and masses. It should be studied in depth. It is the great balance of ten years of the People's War.

Schools for Cadre

They are very necessary as we are in the forging of cadre but never forget that a cadre is forged in the midst of the class struggle, in the People's War, never on its margins. Distinguish between what is a campaign of rectification of retransmission and the political formation of new, intermediate and advanced ones. A campaign of rectification (a form of developing the struggle of two lines) is not the same as regular schools of new activists who are just recently beginning to learn the Party's politics. Both are important, but different, tasks and should be done in a disciplined manner.

For the people's schools to elaborate, with their own participants, study plans, expositions and debates on the Bases of Party Unity.

For the retransmission apply the norm: First, general retransmission which involves:

1. How the event has unfolded and what contradictions present themselves. That is, what are the parts? What law presented itself and how the struggle developed?
2. Analyze the summaries and contents of reports.
3. Accords.
4. Taking of positions.

And, then, retransmit the reports part by part. They should be clear and solidly based, giving priority to the principal part and debate each one of the parts so that the bases give their opinions, ask questions and discuss them. If not, the waters stagnate and the group does not become cohesive. We insist on the Maoist principle that the political ideological decides everything and we apply it firmly as we are building the conquest of power and should always think in perspective. The problem is to conquer and to defend the conquered and if we are not always careful in putting the political in command, we won't be able to manage the complex problems which will be present. It merits our special attention on how to immerse ourselves in the all-powerful ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought as it is the only way to uproot the selfish fountain of revisionism. That this ideology be shaped into politics in the class struggle as the conducting thread, and we don't separate ourselves from it. It also concretes itself in organizational construction if not, we won't undertake new forms.

As to the rectification campaign, we believe it is a form of carrying out the struggle and will seek to apply it. We remember that its objective is to unite, differentiate and lead, adjusting itself more to the Bases of Party Unity, upholding that the slightest deviation from Gonzalo Thought will cause us to slip into revisionism. **To prevent the party from allowing the creation of a right opportunist line, which would be revisionist, would entail to fight against four changes:**

- Change of Party
- Change of Line

- Change of leadership and;
- Change of the People's War

Manage the Party Documents as Agreed Upon, Stop Free Interpretations and Study What is Relevant

Here too, we apply, as in all our work, strategic centralization and tactical decentralization. We shall take the experience of how to take the rectification campaign forward from the program of the First Plenum of the Central Committee. Today, the May documents, its four parts and the main one, the fourth, which is transcendental for our work regarding the conquest and defense of power and what it means to the world revolution, and being part of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought counter-campaign which the party is developing are fundamental. We must be careful not to replace study with armed action, this is rightism which fertilizes revisionism. We know how to manage and develop our ideology in different stages.

Celebrations

In the document we have said: The proletariat, the People's War and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought as a theme for the celebration of the international day of the proletariat, Building the Conquest of Power in the Midst of the People's War. Today we are adding that the Party's day should be celebrated with the slogan: "The Party guarantees the road of the revolution!"

Some Political Questions

In the new government plan they are managing three counterrevolutionary tasks, in order of their priorities, for the revitalization of bureaucratic capitalism aiming at lowering inflation and for its "reinsertion" into the international financial system, which is nothing but submitting to the conditions imposed by imperialism. In the second place, to annihilate the People's War by persisting on genocide, the preventative actions, reprisals, war without prisoners and disappearances. The talk of a different "new strategy" is nothing but demagoguery by the crafty Fujimori which will quickly fall apart. The fact remains that up until today he has not defined a "new strategy," and in the third place they are aiming at managing the restructuring of the state and

beginning to set out fascist policies and base positions such as “popular participation,” “integral democracy,” etc. Behind Fujimori, just as yesterday it served Garcia, is the ILD, directed by Hernando de Soto, an international bureaucrat and agent of Yankee imperialism and principal advisor to Fujimori. This Institute for Liberty and Democracy (ILD) is occupying more state, economic and diplomatic positions every day. They have elaborated the so called “Fujimori Doctrine” and the decree on autonomous authority for alternative development as well. In that manner the ILD is a legislative fountain against its own bourgeois democracy. They plan to “jump over integral democracy with citizen participation.” Their objective is to incorporate the masses into their plans.

They are preparing important new decrees. They start with the premise that they are making a “revolution,” the propagandized modernization and liberalization of the Peruvian economy, and for this they need to restructure their state even though they are advancing at a slower pace. They also need to make points so that principally Yankee imperialism will support them in their so-called “reinsertion.” Among these decrees they are preparing one against labor stability, others on the agrarian question, administrative simplification, etc.

We see more ideas and positions with a fascist base. We are not saying that the government is fascist. Furthermore, we think that the big bourgeoisie is aiming at a substitute replanning of the old bourgeois democracy to a new fascism which would not have the characteristics of the old fascism. Its essence would be the same but the forms would be different. They have to adjust to new conditions of class struggle. We reiterate. Let us think about new fascism and be attentive to its plans.

On the “three-eight” Style

To popularize it in the People’s Guerrilla Army. It was the norm which ruled in the Chinese Army and which can now be of great usefulness to us. We have already used it.

“Three phrases and eight characters”

Three Phases:

- Firm and correct political orientation
- Hard work and a simple lifestyle

- Flexibility in strategy and tactics

Eight Characters:

- Unity;
- Strength
- Dynamism;
- Seriousness;
- Vivacity;
- *Unfinished* (5-8)...

On the Campaign Against the Party and the Use of Videos by the Reactionaries

The so-called triumph. In an interview of the paper “Gestion” Raul Gonzales says, “political use of the cassette will aggravate internal struggle in SL.” This individual emphasizes the political use of the cassette. This is the new part of their strategy, aiming at division all the time proclaims the same. But Gonzales affirms that Fujimori didn’t say it was a new strategy. It is a lie. There we can see the lowliness of this person. The entire society is a witness. He says it is a distinct style and implies that “we go on the offensive intending to create problems within Sendero.” They condemn us to failure. This plenum is an unmasking of that stupidity. He is always in this trafficking and he makes an effort to be hired as an advisor. That “offensive,” on the contrary, has failed since it was first planned. All of these adulteration and infamies by Fujimori and his acolytes shatter against the Party. It serves for the Party to unite itself more and repudiate the enemy. Proof of this is how the armed actions are intensifying and how Chairman Gonzalo is praised. The so-called “Senderologist” is a cynical breadwinner (ganapan), accustomed to picking the crumbs that are thrown to him on the floor.

He adds: “This offensive should be complemented with the assistance of the population,” and he seeks to “legitimize the state.” Another element of the so-called low intensity war is the cheap proclamation of the counter subversive war to which, he points out, should be applied for plans for health,

education, transportation, etc. But the reactionaries and the government will never really attend to the needs of the people. It goes against their class interests and profits, and not even the civic action which is indispensable for their counter subversive war can be attended to without “help” from imperialism. The cholera epidemic which affects hundreds of thousands of Peruvians and threatens millions of the poorest masses in the country is the most obvious and painful current demonstration of the hunger, the misery and the abandonment in which the rotten and nefarious Peruvian society sinks the people. And the decrepitude of the old state, whose incapacity to confront basic problems like cholera shows the increasing need each day to demolish it. Thus, the so-called “legitimization” has no chance of success.

He also advises: “A solution should be obtained with respect to police problems.” For example, the salary problem. We should stir their consciences with the starvation wages they are paid, as they are used as guard dogs and treated like dirt and crushed. In the same manner, he advises the government to return “the leadership to civilians,” “that they reassume control in the emergency zone,” which has been demanded for some time by revisionism and opportunism. Then, he makes a good confession: “If the armed forces left Ayacucho today, with all certainty, Sendero would take it.” That is: SL is bad, but it is good. He says: “I think they aren’t advancing at all.” But, “the territory they control is increasing.” “I think Sendero will be around for a while.” That is to say, it will be difficult to eradicate the 11 years of violence and he adds, “thus if Guzman were killed tomorrow, we are going to have political violence in the country for a while.” He recognizes, even though he doesn’t want to, that the People’s War advances. He has drawn the conclusion that the People’s War, (as if it isn’t a success) is a success to maintain itself. But if it draws the masses and advances it is a complete success. From his own words flow that we are in a strategic equilibrium, but in this “Senderologist,” like the rest, there is no coherence, all that guides him is to earn some beans by any means, even by licking. He says, “the country is still in time to destroy it and great possibilities exist for that,” because, according to him, even though he says always it doesn’t prove it, Sendero Luminoso is not meeting its strategic objectives, but he also says that we are extending the territory we dominate.

In conclusion, today, this individual serves the campaign of the regime in order to achieve economic “aid” from principally Yankee imperialism, to combat the People’s War.

To better understand the current political questions, let us look at the

following commentaries by Chairman Gonzalo:

Comments on Press Reports by Chairman Gonzalo

We refer up to the ones of April because of their usefulness.

On the Economy

“Collision continues and will continue.” With regard to the criticism of [the daily] “Expreso” to the opinions of the economist Gonzales del Valle, who is opposed to the big reduction of tariffs and is a promoter of the increase of the exchange rate of the dollar, on January 30, 1991. “Fight worsens between nontraditional and traditional exporters within the big bourgeoisie in its entirety and the comprador bourgeoisie in specific.” Due to the statements by S. Majluf, president of the National Society of Industries (SNI) to “El Comercio” of February 1, 1991, as well as those of J.F. Raffo, president of the National Society of Exporters (SNE), published in “Expreso.”

“The problem is ADEX -Association of Exporters with the National Society of Exporters led by Raffo, on the big beneficiaries of the current government.” When the vice president of CONFEP, M. Sotomayor, ex-president of the National Fishing Society, rejected the affirmation of ADEX that a “sector of exporters sought the extinction of the industrial sector through a monstrous demand for funds.” Feb. 23, 1991.

On Politics

“They promote the MRTA and the government proclaims its successes and the ‘reverses’ of Sendero.” When “Expreso” publishes on its front-page “Abimael Guzman’s hideout found” on Jan. 3, 1991.

“Denounce: Cholera is the expression of the nation’s profound poverty and the poor sanitary conditions which the old state and its consecutive governments have generated. Today, Fujimori’s government first did not want to be known and then minimized the problem. What did it do to solve the problem? Nothing.” March 5, 1991.

“One more round in the fight within the big bourgeoisie and its factions and groups.” Due to the resignation of the Minister Pennano (TNF: cabinet member Guido Pennano) which Fujimori did not accept. March 6, 1991.

“Rounding off the number, the Catholic church can count on 0.01% of the world population as directly organized forces to lead Catholics. SL, taking 20,000 as directly organized forces, count on 0.1% to actually lead the revolutionary process. Aside from the minimal number of forces calculated for SL, the church is 2,000 years old. How can Fujimori and others talk about

SL's insignificant forces?" On Catholics and religious types and proportion between Party, army and masses mentioned by Fujimori in presenting the video. March 8, 1991.

"Part of the state's restructuring as it seeks to advance in this task, questions the parliamentary demo-bourgeois order. ILD is the source of legislation (neighborhood and rural registration, street vendors, autonomous authority—the Fujimori Doctrine—administrative simplification, etc.), 'direct democracy' (participation, integral democracy). This process is and will continue to be directly linked to Yankee imperialism through the ILD (De Soto) which is carrying out the state functions such as the economic and political, for example. As well as fascist base positions, new fascism, substitute plans for the old bourgeois democracy." Referring to the implementation of Fujimori's decrees. March 10, 1991.

"To see PUM [TNF: Mariateguista Unification Party] (and IU and others) plans within the tactic of frontism and right opportunism putting themselves at the tail of a faction of the big bourgeoisie and calling the national bourgeoisie part 'progressive,' 'favorable to the nation's industrialization.' This old opportunist tactic renews and brandishes itself." Based on "The Pennano Proposal and the Amaru proposal" an article by J. Diez Canseco on the editorial page of "Gestion." Remember his adherence to the "Amaru" Plan and his disagreement with the Pennano Plan because the latter included "benefits" and "establishes a minimum wage of 45 dollars." "The national priority is to stop inflation increase workers' incomes, redistribute wealth in a more equitable manner and regain a sovereign management of the country's economy. Because of that... the type of exchange and salaries should be simultaneously indexed to the previous month's inflation rate and at the same time freeze, in Intis [TNF: currency at the time], the current prices of public services." "It is indispensable to correct this distortion, as an incentive to consumer capacity thanks to the increase of incomes." "Regulate tariffs and prioritize imports..." "The program should be accompanied by a limitation on debt payment as has been proposed by the very president of the National Society of Industry. It will do no good to continue insisting on 'reinserting' ourselves in exchange for nothing." "These proposals are not new... It is time to change course and for once President Fujimori should be conscious of his 'no shock' electoral promise. We expect that this time he won't waste another opportunity..." According to the prime minister himself, yesterday "Gestion" published an article by S. Majluf and another by J. Diez Canseco planning to change the economic program. March 15, 1991.

“Questioning the parliament is a basic fascist position which aims against traditional democratic bourgeois state structure sustained by the negation of the principals, liberties and rights established in the 18th century which stands for corporate organization and empowers reactionary violence to the maximum, all in function of the most unrestrained bourgeois class dictatorship (the big bourgeoisie in our case) and in the service of imperialism. Historically, fascism has developed itself the most in critical moments of the old state, principally when the revolution threatens to overthrow the decrepit dominant order but the post World War II fascism cannot, until now, openly develop itself as such, much less carry out corporativization, despite its multiple attempts and ‘theories’: ‘democratic corporativism,’ ‘full participatory democracy,’ ‘social democracy,’ etc. In the 70’s in this country, Velasco’s corporatization failed and in the 80’s Garcia Perez could even advance to the ‘economic congress.’ Today the reactionarization of the Peruvian state is its natural tendency and the need to newly restructure the old state which is its current task (one of the three, inseparably united: reanimate, restructure and annihilate) Once again, they propose the question of fascism and its confrontation with the rotten ‘bourgeois democracy.’ It is within these processes and the situation within which we should place Fujimori and his government to unmask his each obvious fascist positions, but without forgetting the following:

1. The crisis of bourgeois democracy which runs through this century has not yet ended. They even attempt to show it as rejuvenated and victorious and more so, as the only viable option.
2. To end bourgeois democracy, with the bourgeois class dictatorship that needs to be demolished completely through revolutionary violence whose concentrated and proletarian expression is the People’s War. And build a new state, a new society, in our case a new democracy which once the democratic revolution is culminated will develop as a dictatorship of the proletariat.
3. The so-called failure of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not such. The problem which arose was the usurpation of power by revisionism which has led to the restoration of capitalism. On the contrary, the dictatorship of the proletariat in a few decades of practice has led the greatest and most profound transformations ever seen in history. As a consequence, the question is the defense of the dictatorship of the

proletariat and its indestructible continuation as it is essential for the triumph of communism.

4. The old society generates fascism as an expression of its reactionarization (not the only one, as the other is the actual reactionary evolution of the demo-bourgeois parliamentary system: the United States, England, France, etc.) principally as a weapon when the revolution threatens to destroy it.
5. Fascism has a prior history in Peru, especially in the 1930s, but without being able to advance. Its biggest failure was with Velasco, which was nevertheless fascism's biggest advance in Peru until now.
6. Fascism renews its road. It is driven as a necessity of imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, and of Peruvian reaction facing the conquest of power throughout the country. Obviously it learns lessons from its experience in the country aiming at presenting a 'new popular democratic and revolutionary face,' but its essence is, and will remain, the same: 'old wine, new bottles.' This process will take place (it is already being shown) in sharp struggle and collusion in the heart of the big bourgeoisie, between its comprador and bureaucratic factions and between groups of the same. It is a complex struggle within the heart of reaction whose contradictions should be utilized as a function of the triumph of the democratic revolution.
7. We should have this situation and perspective in mind to develop the People's War, build the conquest of power and conquer power throughout the country." Based on the denunciation made by [the magazine] "Oiga" on the fascist roots of "participation" in its issue No. 523, Feb. 25, 1991.

"This allows the establishment of a difference between the reactionarization of the state which proposes the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (corporativism based on organized union and institutional participation), and that of the comprador bourgeoisie. The latter doesn't propose corporativism but rather a greater strengthening of presidential power as the axis of the executive which will permit the monopolist economic power in the service of imperialism to directly exercise legislative and state administrative functions. It obviously aims at restricting the growing legislative power and seeks to direct

command of the executive power en route to the absolute concentration of functions; questions which undermine the state structure and balance of powers within the traditional demo-bourgeois state.” With regard to the opinion of “El Comercio” on “Original proposal of the ILD,” which was published in “El Peruano” [TNF: official paper of the regime] and later commented on in the column “Sin Confirmar” (“El Comercio”). March 6, 1991.

“Position of the big, principally comprador, bourgeoisie: ‘We already have a policeman. We can sleep at ease..’ ” But aside from expressing obsequiousness and absolute submission, we note:

1. Being “Policeman of the world” opens the prospect of the United States confronting everyone, principally the oppressed nations. This means drawing lessons from the 60s, a vibrant decade of the world proletarian revolution.
2. The United States was never more powerful or prestigious than at the end of World War II. We must remember that all this faded in the struggle against national liberation movements.
3. The so-called total victory of the United States creates far more problems for imperialism, Yankee imperialism in particular, and for its lackeys than they can resolve. This is not a strategic perspective but current reality. For example, in the middle east.
4. To “crush into dust” the revolution when it seizes power is the dream of every reactionary. It is the dream of restoration they have never renounced. Today they are more sure and confident. They rest on the supposed failure of socialism and weakness of Marxism in the so-called “low intensity conflict” (in its revised form in this case) and on the “total victory over Iraq” and of the blind faith on the renewed slogan on the “invincibility of Yankee imperialism.” None of this is new except for the triumphant drunkenness of the government headed by Bush and his gang (whose novelty is in the great lack of reality which sustains it).

We, based firmly in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, sure and convinced of the triumph of the world proletarian revolution and of the unstoppable march of humanity toward communism and the transcendence of the victory of the Peruvian revolution. We should always assume greater

decisiveness for the conquest of power throughout the country and dauntlessly and unyieldingly struggle for the complete and total triumph of the new social order, “socialism until communism.” We should take very much into account all the world revolution experience and principally our own as well as. The Party accords on the “eight possibilities” and the intervention of Yankee imperialism, be it direct or indirect, alone or allied, and we must prepare ourselves on all levels to confront it at anytime and in conditions brandishing our always victorious proletarian ideology and developing the invincible People’s War, always everything under the Party’s leadership, always determined to put reaction and imperialism in an armed sea of the masses for the conquest of power, for the People’s Republic of Peru and its defense and for the future goal of communism. On the other hand, we should gut and crush ideas like those of hack writer D’Ornellas and all similar attacks, as they are nothing but part of the enemy’s psychological war which seeks to undermine the revolutionary ranks and make the people think that triumph is impossible or useless. Of course, their own words show that the People’s War threatens the total demolition of the old state. As Chairman Mao said: The path is winding but the future is brilliant. Therefore, we should dare to conquer power and dare to defend it. We shall take our destiny with our own hands! As a result on “Requiem for Abimael” (title of a column by D’Ornellas in *Expreso*). March 7, 1991.

“This, like other recent measures by Boloña [Cabinet member of Fujimori], are part of the effort to reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism. The following was done by the Fujimori government until now:

1. The outlines of July.
2. The readjustment measures of August and Hurtado’s propaganda complemented by the December readjustment.
3. Bolona’s measures which should be listed in the prime minister’s program, recent measures express transactions between factions of the big bourgeoisie, which, as it has to be, benefit primarily the comprador and especially the financial and big exporter group. The exporter group itself and industry in general suffer the consequences. It obviously strikes the national bourgeoisie and then lands hardest on the popular masses, and the attack against the class is direct. The March measures are the concentrated expression of the most obsequious submission to Yankee imperialism aside from the resistance and rejection they create among

the masses. Also find difficulties in the so-called 'reinsertion' which is the apple of their eyes as well as signing onto the newly proposed drug trafficking accord. The whole plan of the big, principally comprador, bourgeoisie that drives this is extremely late (they should have applied it since Belaunde) and on the other hand they have to implement it in the worst internal and international conditions of a protracted generally critical situation which is worsening. This, besides the situation of the masses misery which continues worsening, and the class struggle which is heading toward a revolutionary crisis and, principally, the development of the People's War and the new power. Thus, the new plans and measures have a difficult and arduous perspective and have begun by aggravating the recession and as orphans of the program which give birth to it (at least they haven't agreed until now), this is within the ranks of the big bourgeoisie itself. In the people's camp it can only plan winds and harvest tempests. Until now the comprador bourgeoisie has been unable to formulate a program and plans like those of the Velasco bureaucracy. It also lacks a political apparatus or support to apply it. In these circumstances it is reaction and imperialism which seek to revive themselves via the Bolona measures and without even getting a respite on their financial situation, especially the states, which had been previously done by the fascist military government to apply its program. As to the agrarian question, bear in mind what was seen at the October meeting."

As a result of Decree DS-009-91-A9, on lands. April 1, 1991.

"They want to maximize and generalize the sale and rent of the lands and obviously the eviction of the poor peasantry." Based on the ILD's observations to DS 009-91-A. April 9, 1991.

International

"The field clears. The 'hundred Marxist-Leninist parties' are totally unmasked and declare themselves bourgeois and shamelessly renounce." As a result of the name change of the Communist Party of Italy. February 6, 1991.

"It is what the United States thinks, said by this spokesman but obviously in favor of its sole hegemony." Based on a statement by Israel about the U.S. denunciation of the massive oil well destruction in Kuwait. Feb. 23, 1991.

"Evidently the United States and its allies seek to overthrow Hussein and reduce Iraq's military power and political weight by the greatest possible amount." When the diplomatic negotiations become complicated, two pro-

posals, an eight-point one from the United States and a six-point one from the USSR (which Iraq accepted). Feb. 23, 1991.

“Accomplishments by the United States and NATO. It opens major splits within NATO and leads to general rethinking by both parties, especially on the Soviet side.” When the foreign and defense ministers of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR agree to dissolve the Warsaw Pact. Feb. 26, 1991.

“If such has happened and everything indicates that it has, then it has been a notable military retreat operation. This type of operation is not simple nor easy, more so under the conditions, in which it was accomplished.” On the withdrawal by Iraq from Kuwait. Feb. 28, 1991.

“To analyze the Gulf War take into account what was dealt with in the October session and consider:

1. Conditions in which the war began, especially the build up and preparations of the united forces headed by Yankee imperialism, main policeman of today’s swaggering world counterrevolution.
2. Development of the war, summarizing:
 - (a) the initial and devastating imperialist air bombardment shows the great Iraqi resistance capacity, mainly of its people, and the difficulties the imperialists faced in crushing a nation they expected to surrender in a few days.
 - (b) ponder the diplomatic efforts which placed Iraq upon growing pressure of imperialists, mainly Yankee, pressure and the hypocritical and self-serving Soviet advice of capitulation which undermined the anti-imperialist resistance.
 - (c) the broad ground offensive of mainly armor and airborne troops of the allies including their Arab lackey states and on Iraq’s part, not persisting in a firm, shrewd resistance (aiming at generating political changes mainly in the Arab people and in sharpening inter-imperialist contradictions), neither in Iraq, nor in Kuwait, ending the acceptance of the U.N. security council’s resolutions.

The current situation and perspective resulting from the Gulf War

- (a) Hussein and Iraq,
- (b) the Middle East,
- (c) the imperialist powers,
- (d) the imperialist superpowers, especially the United States which advances to being the sole hegemonic power,
- (e) the oppressed nations,
- (f) toward a new global strategic system of correlation of forces and contradictions (the main one is the same and its importance will grow given the perspective of sharpening struggle and collusion of the superpowers and power.”

Special lessons for the oppressed nations and principally for the world proletarian revolution

As a result of the official Iraqi radio broadcast that “Baghdad Won’t Surrender.” Feb. 28, 1991. “First, he expressed confidence in the U.N. Second, it would have been erroneous to listen to them as he proved having listened to the USSR. Third, the question is in not having compelled the Iraqi armed forces in a firm and tenacious resistance. On this last point, they praise to the clouds the ‘invincible American military power,’ based on the highest and most modern technology.’ This is a repetition of ‘weapons are the most important thing’ power resides in the most powerful weapon and ‘weapons can do it all.’ When, to be exact, the first big lesson we should get from the Gulf War is that man is the main thing in war. The ideology which drives him, the class he leads, the interests he defends and the cause he serves.’ On S. Hussein the commentators said: “first, he thought the UN wouldn’t support the United States. Second he didn’t listen to Arab advice. Third, he thought his army, the fourth largest in the world, would cause great damage in a ground war.” March 1, 1991.

“Gaining time to reach an agreement on the Kurdish enclave.” When the U.N. postponed declaring the cease-fire to be in effect. April 10, 1991.

“Khrushchev said the same thing: In the end old arguments of bourgeois pacifism.” On commenting on article “chemical holocaust” by Martha Meir on war and weapons, “El Comercio,” March 12, 1991.

Ideology

“Here is the ideological bottom, especially philosophically, of a fascist in Peru. Of course, he is ignorant, crude and fatuous as well as arrogant, as a cadre and reactionary intellectualoid [TNF: a book worm without practice]. That such a person is printed on the editorial page of ‘El Comercio’ as the self-proclaimed national conscience and tribunal of intellectualism is very expressive even if it isn’t strange.” Based on an article by Luis Leon Herrera on the editorial page of “El Comercio” entitled “Hegel.” March 8, 1991.

“The so-called ‘failure of socialism’ is part of the so-called ‘defeat of Marxism’ and ‘uselessness of the totalitarian dictatorship of the proletariat.’ This cause is also proclaimed in ‘El Pais’ which is concretely linked to Fujimori’s government (‘which said he is assuming responsibility for the past’). It is indispensable to deeply combat this rotten reactionary peddling. None of what has happened negates Marxism nor the necessity and transcendency of socialism nor the unstoppable march to communism: an irreversible goal. The question is, we reiterate, an insufficient knowledge of the laws of socialism due to the short time of its development, the inevitable struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, and the sinister actions of revisionism nurtured and in collusion with imperialism. In synthesis, the question is the continuation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Facing the campaign of revisionism and imperialism against socialism, we should do the following:

1. Firmly reaffirm ourselves in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Gonzalo Thought (‘Elections No, People’s War Yes’ serves this objective);
2. to point out and publicize the great conquest of socialism and its glorious construction. In no epoch of history has a mode of production done so much, in such a short period of time and for so many, extensively and profoundly exploited masses as socialism has! Contemporary history and the people of the world are incontrovertible witnesses.
3. Unceasingly unmask the monstrous exploitation and oppression of imperialism, mainly Yankee, and of revisionism, showing how they navigate in a sea of blood of the international proletariat and the peoples of the world.
4. Who has brought us here? Who sinks the Peruvian people in the deepest crisis of their history? Who is responsible? The three mountains that exploit and oppress the people are imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism. Mountains which through the organized

reactionary violence that the Peruvian state is, a state resting on its armed forces as its spinal column and its bureaucracy, they maintain the dominant order of oppression and exploitation, which still subsists. A state and order headed and led by the big bourgeoisie, principally comprador, with the support of revisionism and opportunism of all stripes and the protection of its imperialist master.

5. 'Sacrifice yourself today for a better tomorrow' is an old story being told again. It was told by Leguia, Velasco, Belaunde and Garcia Perez among others. It must be denounced and unmasked as Fujimori's 'new' dressings.
6. Propagandize how the People's War is building a new society truly for the people and that the only perspective is conquering power throughout the entire country." Comment on an article by Luis Garcia Miro on the editorial page of "El Comercio" entitled "Capital and Labor." April 10, 1991.

Military

"Learn from the People's War. 'Learn from Huayhuaco.' Help the repressive forces? No." Based on an editorial in "Expreso," "Changing the Strategy." Jan. 25, 1991. [TNF: Huayhuaco was the head of the army run paramilitary rondas who was later caught trafficking with cocaine]

"Link this 'finding' of the weapons sent to Huallaga with the situation and criticism of the minister of the interior." Based on the news: "Car full of weapons abandoned in midtown Lima." Feb. 1, 1991.

"Within the same police plan, 'Expreso' as always serving Yankee interests to combat drug trafficking and aiming against the People's War to bring economic interests forward. That is his concrete goal now." Based on "Another arsenal found in a car." Feb. 5, 1991.

"It sounds like Fujimori." As a result of the opinion of C. Barrera Bazan [TNF: Patria Roja] on Fujimori's message ("presidential message on the terrorist problem"). "El Comercio." Feb. 9, 1991.

"They raise the MRTA and they proclaim the government's 'successes' and 'Sendero's defeats.'" Commenting on article "Abimael Guzman's hide-out found" appeared in "Expreso." Feb. 3, 1991. "As always, Expreso is mudslinging." After the "Expreso" headline "Persiles' Murder was a mafia vendetta" after they had blamed it on the Party. Feb. 23, 1991.

“Another opportune ‘escape.’ Part of slowing down investigations into the scape of Polay and his followers. It is part of their dispute. It is on the mat.” When the MRTA “rescues” M.L. Cumpa. March 12, 1991. “Couldn’t it have been a mine? That is the most likely.” Based on the news in “El Comercio” that “three soldiers die in accident.” March 12, 1991.

“Important action. Example:

1. Stunning blow against the civil patrol policy.
2. The face of the so-called ‘pacification of Ayacucho.’
3. That the Third Campaign (which this and other actions which are racking the country are a part of) has commenced highly and victoriously aiming with firmness, decisiveness and persistence in obtaining its objectives.”

Based on the news in “El Peruano” that “Subversives kill 20 peasants in Urpay.” March 10, 1991.

“Part of the counterrevolutionary war’s psychological operations, on the one hand to disparage us before the people and on the other hand to raise and promote the MRTA. ‘El Peruano’ just like ‘Expreso’ is part of the campaign by reaction in general and its means of communication.” Based on the news in “El Peruano”: “Senderista arsenal discovered in Huaraz.” March 10, 1991.

“Very good. Here is a clear and sharp example of the church’s role: The biggest leader of the Catholic church in Peru viciously attacks the People’s War and at the same time pins his hopes on imperialism. An expressive negative example which, like others, should be explained to the masses.” When Archbishop Vargas Alzamora denounced that 12, had died the day of the blackout. March 12, 1991.

“This is what the prefect [TNF: Governor] of the region of Chavin announced days before and which ‘El Peruano’ published implicating the MRTA in actions in this zone. This confirms the previous note: that raising the MRTA is part of its campaign; and lies, obviously, like inventions, are tools of reaction against the Party and the People’s War.” When “El Comercio” published “S.L. attacks the town of Ancash.” March 12, 1991.

“Very good. We have nothing in common with Soviet, Chinese or any other revisionism. Fujimori’s anxiety let this great truth shine and in doing so, repudiates all attempts to try to link us to Soviet revisionism and they try to defame us by implying that we received aid from East Germany through its

secret police (the Stasi). This is nothing more than a Yankee invention, which also serves Peruvian reaction. The ‘declaration’ of that country’s former minister of interior is simply an invention of putrid revisionism and Yankee agents which seek to serve its new master. When Fujimori, on ending his visit to China, announced “S.L. is different from Chinese communism.” March 13, 1991.

On Building the Conquest of Power and Problems of Secret Work

We ask for opinions on the necessity of developing new forms of carrying out meetings raising the five necessities, as the building of the conquest of power. We must always remember that just as we struggle for the complete and total destruction of the old state, the old state seeks to destroy the Party, brake and crush the revolution, and finish off the People’s War. Thus, in this manner we consider the question of cost as a solid example of the basic principal of war, not only in war but on all fronts of Party work. Here we should comment on some issues.

On building [TNF: the Party]. Departing from the principles and norms of building our work in this field is developed under the great building principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought “Developing the political-ideological construction as a base and simultaneously the organizational as a base, in the midst of the two line struggle and the People’s War.” We apply the rule that the organic follows and serves the political, that all political lead requires an organic leap and we know what it means to “adjust the organic to the level of political leadership.” Finally, we are under the current political orientation of “Develop, Build and Conquer!” We understand that to conquer power we need to develop the People’s War and for this we should build superior apparatuses than the enemies.

Thus, we can see then that in ten years of People’s War we have entered into a new stage: strategic equilibrium, which will prepare for the strategic offensive to conquer power in the entire country, that we are in the midst of building that conquest and that many things that were good yesterday no longer are, others need to develop themselves more and there are also new questions which should be generated. Our political leap is “conquer power throughout the country” and this solidifies in building. That is why we are building the conquest of power. From that point, we need organizations superior to the enemy’s and a highly political organization with a hardened contingent, and that each militant act like the bastion of the fortress which the Party is. This must be done so that we will adjust ourselves better for

the political leap and adjust the organizational construction to the political leap. We count on the rectification campaign for all of this.

In the Party's experience on construction, the task of building unfolds, applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism, Gonzalo Thought which guide the building, but this is concretized according to the revolution's development. For example, the construction plan for ILA in 80 was readjusted for construction in 85 and now we have the strategic plan of building the conquest of power in 90. It is like a child growing. Its clothes get smaller. The organic follows the political. It requires elevating the organic to the level of political direction. Not developing the constructions expresses the limitations in the apparatus and that is what leaves openings for reaction to strike. We must not forget that reaction has as part of its three tasks that of annihilating the People's War and because of that, it aims at the Party and its leadership from the masses. We should develop our construction work. That is why it is highly decisive to approve the strategic plan for construction and to immediately apply it as a pilot plan. Our problem now is precisely that: building the conquest of power.

The commission's document should see problems in building and in open and secret work. Apply new forms and evaluate clandestinity.

The strategic plan for construction should be applied as a pilot plan in the middle of the Third Campaign.

5. Implementation

Reserved.

Report "Overview of the Second Campaign to Impulse."

Reaffirm that set forth in the document of the preparatory session of the Second Plenum, page 248, points a, b, c, d, also those seen on page three of the preparatory session scheme. Apply a new plan of balances and each time better manage the "two hills."

Highlight:

1. Agitation and propaganda have basic importance and serve to form public opinion to conquer power in the entire country. Aim at expression of offenses and at forming propagandists. Sabotage undermines the old state's critical economy. It must be elevated and increased. Guerrilla combats, ambushes and assaults are the two main forms of

combat. They develop in all parts of war. They must be developed, increased and more importantly intensified. Selective annihilation should be escalated and aim at the heads of the “three tasks” of reaction and use great care in selecting targets to develop the revolutionary front.

2. Our mass work is developing the incorporation of the masses into the People’s War in two senses: increasing the actions in support of the indicative struggles and the other the principal one, that the masses use higher forms of struggle, strikes are an example of this. We should persist and empower our actions more as there are conditions of growing explosiveness to expand our mass work. We count on specific policies for everything and the goal is to advance to the revolutionary crisis, using all forms of struggle that we can, above all the main one, the People’s War. Lead the masses and they themselves will do the rest. But aside from the contingents advance, highlight the advances, as to create national and international public opinion and multiply them.
3. To explain how the war of movements is unfolding with four stages and what stage we are at now: develop the war of movements and drive preparations for the insurrection.
4. The principal thing: The People’s War and this Second Campaign that has being completed has brought us to strategic equilibrium, the second stage of the protracted war.

Aside from the aforementioned there are four things to be highlighted. It also encompasses the Third Campaign to drive the development of the bases of support which will finish the plan to drive and will set the bases for the new plan which will not yet be the plan for conquest of power, a campaign in which the strategic construction plan (PEC) will be unfolded as a pilot plan to enter the next plan with its definite approval. It serves this plan and in that manner unfolds this new campaign against imperialism and against this most unabashedly pro-imperialist government to develop the war of movements and drive preparations for insurrection! We are in a very important moment of the People’s War of the unfolding of the strategic equilibrium as part of the conquest of power in the entire country.

Highlight the following:

1. The big wave of September and a yet higher new wave in December and in January 1991.

2. The construction simultaneously, with the development of the war in the Second campaign construction was also developed. There are great leaps, and the masses fifth leap allowed us the notable advance in “three bases and three guides. The organizations led by the Party continue growing and strengthening themselves, especially the People’s Guerilla Army and the new power on disproportion between the Party and people’s guerrilla army, Party and new power. We should manage disequilibrium and disproportion better, taking into account that they are a sign of development.
3. The rectification campaign continues unfolding and it is necessary to better adjust ourselves to Party politics. We must take care to structure the people’s guerrilla army better, carry out functions in the new power and forge new Party cadres.
4. Study the principal actions and those with the greatest problems to draw lessons from them, strive to study, learn and apply the Party’s military line.
5. In the problem of war, be it actions, battles or campaigns, the question consists of setting political guides that we must follow in military actions. Today everything must serve the purpose of conquering power nationwide.

Conclusion

The Second campaign to impulse and its broadening is a great victory for the Party and the people and a stage of the People’s War in having solidified the strategic equilibrium. Greet the masses, the People’s guerrilla army and the militancy for such a brilliant and transcendental success.

Accords

1. Approve the document “Build the Conquest of Power in the Midst of the People’s War”
2. The Second campaign to drive forward [impulsar] and its generalization is a great victory of the Party and the people and stage of the People’s

War for having solidified the strategic equilibrium. Let us greet masses, the people's guerrilla army and the militancy for having achieved such a brilliant and transcendental success.

3. Sanction the strategic construction plan and immediately apply it as a pilot plan for its later, definitive approval.
4. Develop the Third Campaign to complete the plan to drive forward, aiming against imperialism, mainly Yankee, and the Fujimori government which is the most unabashedly pro-imperialist until now.
5. Celebrate with revolutionary fervor the Fifth Anniversary of the Day of Heroism as an untouchable victory.