

RED SUN

23

March 2002



JOINT DECLARATION

**BY THE MPP AND THE MAOIST COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY
- FROM THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN ITALY**



INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION:

**WORLD PEOPLE'S WAR AGAINST THE
IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR!**



NATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION:

**THE OTHER CAMP IS IN A STATE OF
PANIC BEFORE THE ADVANCE OF OUR
INVINCIBLE PEOPLE'S WAR!**



**OVERWHELMING ACTIONS OF THE
PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY**



RED SUN

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March 2003
Year IX, Nr. 23

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Editorial

This issue 23 of our review Red Sun is published with a certain delay. The content of the articles therefore treats an extensive period running from the European summer of 2002 until January 2003. But, in despite of this, the original formulation of the articles, with slight changes in order to update them and facilitate the understanding of new events, fully preserve their current importance and validity. We commit ourselves to strain all our forces in order to present you our future editions in a more regular and continuous way.

On January 4 and 5, 2003, an International Conference, called to by the Peru People's Movement and the Maoist Communist Party of Italy, was held in the city of Palermo (Italy). The holding of such a Conference was a necessity for giving impulse to the reconstitution of the Communist Parties, for imposing Maoism as command and guide of the new great wave of world proletarian revolution and to implacably and irreconcilably struggle against imperialism, reaction and revisionism. The Conference was called to and held in the correct and opportune moment and it more than fulfilled the aims of the call for it. The declaration approved by the Conference and signed by those calling to it is a great triumph for the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, for it serves to give impulse to the defense of Chairman Gonzalo as part of the strategic task of imposing Maoism, because it serves the reconstitution of the Communist Parties in order for them to, with people's war, victoriously develop and lead the new great wave of world proletarian revolution. Because of its importance, we publish the Declaration from this Conference following this editorial, but not without first stressing, that we are convinced that they will be taken up and concretized in deeds.

In these brief lines, we wish to highlight what has been pointed out by the Party, concerning the vital problem for the revolution: that of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism, that of crushing the revisionist and capitulationist right opportunist line (ROL) in the country as well as their appendices and servants abroad.

The defense of our great leadership and his all-powerful thought, the principles of the Party and of the People's War, the correctness of what was established on the bend in the road and how to come out of it, was decisive for the crushing of the ROL; this gave ascendancy and authority to the leadership of the Party, so that it could impose itself. Facing the detention of our Chairman, the leadership, directly forged by Chairman Gonzalo himself, in his image and likeness, became established in the midst of the forge. It is thus a recognized leadership, it has demonstrated being solid and firm in the principles, it has unmasked and crushed the ROL and has been capable of maintaining the course of the People's War and of handling it in much more complex and difficult conditions. The ROL was able to act only with the support of the reactionary armed forces and of all that was spread massively by the media subjected to the fascist genocidal and countryselling Fujimori regime. What is their situation now? They said that we were going to disappear, but the People's War is advancing, powerful and victorious, showing that it is the principal problem for the old and rotten Peruvian state, that it is unstoppably marching towards the countrywide seizure of power, serving world revolution. The miserable rats of the ROL were hoping to receive the reaction's crumbs, but this blew up in their face. All of the ROL's plans are being ignored (such as those of their "peace talks" and "peace letters," their "political solution to the problems derived from the war"), which shows that the Party has crushed them with people's war; but they serve to maintain the isolation of Chairman Gonzalo. Reaction does not want our Great Leader to manifest himself in public, all the "new anti-terrorist laws" that they are making on the basis of the law-making faculty given to Toledo, just as the election of their judges and courts, their press campaigns, etc., aim at maintaining Chairman Gonzalo isolated from the Party, the People's Liberation Army and the masses.

We have the task of doing everything to impose that Chairman Gonzalo may express himself live and directly before the national and international media, in order to break his isolation. In Peru, it is done principally by people's war; to us abroad, it corresponds to strain all our forces in order to promote this task, but there are some people in the international communist movement and in the RIM who do not even want to pronounce on this question. Not denouncing, not condemning and even more, not crushing these black plans of the reaction and the ROL serves to maintain the isolation of our Great Leader. We put forward the necessity of broadly mobilizing the masses abroad in favor of the public presentation of Chairman Gonzalo and for the sending of an international delegation in order to demand this on site.

As is pointed out by the Declaration from the Conference in Palermo, defending the life of Chairman Gonzalo is inseparably united with the strategic task of imposing Maoism. We should keep in mind that, before Chairman Gonzalo was arrested,

the international communist movement and the RIM were made to advance, after his detention and the bend in the road and, after the ROL appeared, the situation was favorable for the right to come out into the open within our movement and for the “distillers” and their partners to raise their heads using others. This has been the particular development of all these years. During the last months, this is being expressed much more openly, in that some people are putting forward *“insurrection in the metropolis and people’s war in the backward countries”*; in the cities they say: *“accumulation of forces,”* in other words, what they are proposing is to convert themselves into officials of the old order and claim that they are waiting for the insurrection and allowing for time go by. They do not see the moment in which imperialism finds itself, that imperialism needs to impose itself in the midst of blood, as is shown by the imperialist aggressions expressed in all the current conflicts, such as those of Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan, Chechnya, the Ivory Coast, Korea, etc. The problem for imperialism is to hold back revolution, for imperialism knows that, in the case of a new world war, revolution will oppose it by world people’s war. The imperialists are out to crush any organization that is going to answer them in their campaigns. Further, if there is a new world war, this would generate the triumph of a revolution; this is a law and they have learnt the lesson, which is why imperialism, revisionism and reaction are developing their general counterrevolutionary offensive, headed by Yankee imperialism in its role of being sole hegemonist. The rightists within our movement do not want the military problem to be dealt with, this is the same problem that the revisionists faced in the ILA [the Initiation of Armed Struggle - transl.], in order to oppose making the leap and to oppose that the PCP would initiate the People’s War; they said: *“To Gonzalo, everything is people’s war.”* That’s the way it is, all the work is for initiating or for developing the people’s war, there is no middle ground. And once it has been initiated, you do not stop it until communism. Stopping the people’s war under the pretext of *“advancing by means of negotiations”* means abandoning democratic revolution in order to preserve the old system of oppression and exploitation under a new mask. This equals having made the masses plough water, that all their immense sacrifice and revolutionary energy would serve nothing, except keeping the rotten corpse of the old society unburied.

We are consistent practitioners of revolutionary optimism and we have a steel faith in the fact that our People’s War, defying all difficulties, will conquer even greater triumphs for our ideology and our class, along the path of seizing country-wide power, serving world revolution in a decisive way. The communists and masses in all countries are in favor of this and in favor of struggling to crush the campaign to isolate the People’s War of Peru.

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International Conference held successfully in Palermo, Italy

The International Conference held on the 4th and the 5th of January in Palermo (Italy), organized by the Peru People's Movement and the Maoist Communist Party of Italy, to give impulse to the process of the reconstitution of the Communist Parties, successfully achieved its objectives. Present were international delegations from Spain and France and comrades from different parts of Italy. Messages were received from Parties and organizations in various countries: Canada, India, etc. The accords of the conference are in progress and we are convinced that its repercussions will be much greater in the future. Now we publish a document of transcendent importance, it is the Joint Declaration of the MPP and the PCm, which was confirmed at the Conference, where it was presented for the first time. In the next issue of our magazine we will publish a more extensive report on the Conference and the documentation. On our website a preview of this documentation is available.

"In the current world situation it isn't enough to hold pacific assemblies, protests and demonstrations against the aggression and war efforts of imperialism. We can only destroy the imperial system permanently through building revolutionary war in country after country against the war efforts of imperialism and bring them forward implacably". (Excerpt of the message sent by the Central Committee of Maoist Communist Centre (MCC), India)

"....we believe that in Canada, the armed struggle for socialism and for setting up the proletarian power will be necessarily of a widespread nature. We will make revolution in Canada through protracted people's war. Mao Tsetung has systematically applied the principles of protracted people's war during the Chinese revolution. The military line that he elaborated embodies, in our opinion, a universal character; i.e. it is applicable all over, in all types of countries, although in conformity with concrete conditions that prevail..." (Extract from the document sent by the Revolutionary Communist Party (Organizing Committees) Canada)



*Left: anti-imperialist protest in Seattle, the United States.
Above: Partisans of the anti-fascist struggle in Italy.*

Joint Declaration

Concluding the International Conference held in the city Palermo, Italy, on January 4 and 5, 2003, we, the undersigned, assume the following accords:

We commit ourselves to struggle firmly and tenaciously for Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, to be the sole command and guide of world proletarian revolution; to uphold, defend and apply Maoism as the third, new and higher level of Marxism, reaffirming that being communist today means being Marxist-Leninist-Maoist.

We commit ourselves to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, the greatest Marxist-Leninist-Maoist living on the face of the Earth; to do this as a task of great strategic significance, inseparable from the task of struggling to impose Maoism as the command and guide of world proletarian revolution, and of doing it constantly as well as in the form of specific campaigns. In consequence, we also commit ourselves to unmasking and denouncing all the sinister hoaxes that imperialism, reaction and revisionism set up against Chairman Gonzalo, imputing him of being a capitulator.

We commit ourselves to struggle implacably to defeat the general counterrevolutionary offensive headed by Yankee imperialism in its condition of sole hegemonist and great gendarme; to develop revolution as part of the New Great Wave of world proletarian revolution in order to sweep away imperialism, reaction and revisionism from the entire globe, with people's war, reaffirming ourselves in the universal validity of the people's war and in that it has to be applied according to the concrete conditions of all countries, without any exception, opposing world people's war to the imperialist world war.

We commit ourselves to struggle to assist the constitution or reconstitution of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Parties in all countries where they do not exist; in order for them to be militarized Parties and in order for them to, with a great leadership based on a guiding thought, initiate and develop people's war as soon as possible; at the same time, we assume the responsibility of promoting this preemptory necessity and of not permitting that it keeps being set aside by those to whom it corresponds to promote it within the International Communist Movement.

We commit ourselves to double our efforts to support the people's wars of Peru, Nepal and Turkey, in and particular to struggle to break the campaign for isolating the People's War of Peru - this being the principal one and the one that has opened up the road for the others to follow - an isolation that is being carried out by imperialism, reaction and revisionism. People's War is the principal form of struggle in the world, it is the complete military theory of the international proletariat and it has universal validity.

We commit ourselves to serving the advance of the International Communist Movement, we are in favor of a future Communist International sustained by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism; we are in favor of the unification of all communists on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, of the implacable struggle against revisionism and of serving world proletarian revolution. Thus, we also commit ourselves to untiringly struggle for the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to be sustained by and follow a just and correct ideological and political line, and to this end, to struggle against every revisionist position that attempts to impose itself within its ranks.

We consider that the International Conference has fulfilled its objectives in a successful way, that it is an important step and that it has served to give an impetus to the process of reconstituting the Communist Parties as militarized Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Parties; we are in favor of the realization of every kind of activity in order to continue this process, and as a part of this, we agree to hold an International Conference of the same character within a year.

For the reconstitution of the Communist Parties!

Long live Maoism, down with revisionism!

Long live the New Great Wave of World Proletarian Revolution!

Peru People's Movement

Maoist Communist Party of Italy

January 2003

International political situation:

World People's War against the Imperialist World War!

(November 2002)

The flames of war spread out over the entire globe. Imperialism is collapsing in a complex system of wars of all types. On the one hand, we see unjust wars, imperialist wars of plunder, such as those of Yankee imperialism against Afghanistan, Iraq, etc., through which they are positioning themselves for a third interimperialist world war, which is being prepared by the same opponents as in the First and Second World War. On the other hand, we see just wars, such as the wars of national liberation, and, which is principal, we see the people's wars, of which that of Peru is the torch, the most advanced that shows the road to follow, and which, together with those of Nepal and Turkey, serve the new great wave of world proletarian revolution, in an evident way demonstrating that Maoism is going over to command it, applying the highest military theory developed by the proletariat, under the leadership of a Communist Party.

If we do not understand everything from our outlook, the reactionary ideas will reverberate

Chairman Gonzalo teaches us that Chairman Mao, during important moments for revolution put forward the necessity of understanding everything from the viewpoint of our outlook, applying contradiction to practice. Failing to do so, the reactionary ideas will reverberate, and revisionist positions contrary to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism will be expressed. We have to aim at seeing that revolution is the principal trend. concerning the current international situation, the imperialists and revisionists talk of a "qualitatively new situation" after the events on September 11, 2001, saying that the "war on terrorism" has been initiated from this moment onwards. In order for the Maoists to be able to lead the struggle against this current imperialist offensive, we cannot be echoing the way the imperialists want to present the situation. This is, nevertheless, precisely what some people, who proclaim themselves as being Maoists, are doing, such as is the case with Fatima Resolucao, in her article "Dangers and Opportunities. America's Global Rampage and the People's Resistance," published in the magazine *A World to Win* (issue 28, 2002). The positions that she puts forward express this kind of reverberation, and, be it conscious or unconscious, they lead to divert the peoples of the world from the only road for their liberation, the people's war, the complete and superior strategy of our class.

In order to understand the current development of interna-

tional class struggle, of the international situation, we therefore have to take our starting point in the thesis of Lenin, who established that imperialism is monopolistic, parasitic and moribund, that it is the final phase of capitalism, and that imperialism is ripening the conditions for revolution; as well as in the thesis of Chairman Mao, who at the beginning of the 1960's pointed out to us that we have entered the moment of the **"50 to 100 years"** during which we will sweep away imperialism and reaction from the face of the Earth, and that imperialism collapses in the midst of a complex system of wars, such as the ones we are seeing at present. Applying Maoism to the current international situation, Chairman Gonzalo has established that we, at the beginning of the 1980's, have entered the third moment of world proletarian revolution: the strategic offensive.

The supposedly "new situation" is nothing but the continuation of the general counterrevolutionary offensive, headed by Yankee imperialism

Yankee imperialism's current campaign does not start neither on September 11, nor with the "Bush administration," but **forms part of the general counterrevolutionary offensive**, which Yankee imperialism is heading in its role of sole hegemonist and world gendarme.

Since 1991, imperialism, being in strategic defensive facing the strategic offensive of the world proletarian revolution, is unleashing a general counterrevolutionary offensive; and offensive that, as Chairman Gonzalo established, is **"aimed at averting the revolution as the main historical and political trend in today's world. And who are those aiming their spears against the revolution? The imperialists and the revisionists, together, the two of them, but Yankee imperialism is principal, it is the one that is heading this offensive, because it is striving to establish itself as sole hegemonic superpower, in its contention with the other imperialist superpower, Russia, and the other imperialist powers. This offensive is developed principally by Yankee imperialism, being the main hegemonist. In addition, it is a general offensive, because, besides coming from imperialism, revisionism and world reaction, it also occurs at all levels: ideological, political and economic, although the political level is the central one."**

The antecedence of this is the new counterrevolutionary

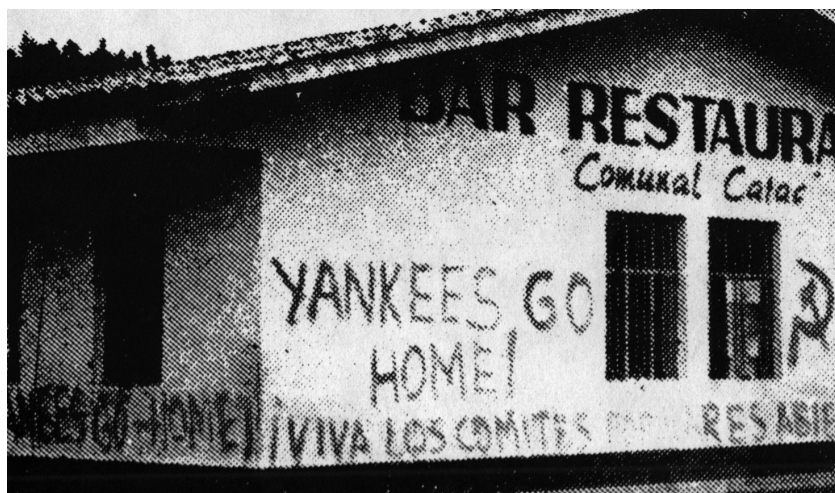
offensive during the 1980's, headed principally by Gorbachev and Teng, which after 1990 developed as a converging counterrevolutionary offensive of imperialism and revisionism in collusion and contention. This led to the general counterrevolutionary offensive, which keeps developing in the world today, and within this framework Yankee imperialism, being the sole hegemonist, develops its plan of hegemony and of being world gendarme. The general counterrevolutionary offensive has reached its peak and is starting to decline, crashing up against the new great wave of world proletarian revolution.

But to Resolucao, this general counterrevolutionary offensive does not exist. To her, a *"new chapter"* has just opened, and it is to be starting with the Bush government that it has become *"the united policy of the U.S. ruling class"* to *"cut itself loose from concerns about its 'allies' and take over the whole world,"* as Fatima Resolucao puts it. *"The U.S.A. is out to play 'policemen of the world' in a qualitatively new way, to use its ability to project global military force to enforce and organize globalized exploitation through military intervention in a manner no other power can rival. Bush announced that the oppressed nations do not have any rights that America is required to respect."* Before continuing, it is necessary for us to note in passing, that "global," "globalized" and "globalization" to her are so many forms of expressing the revisionist thesis of Kautskyian origin, namely that of "superimperialism," of "ultraimperialism," according to which, due to the "colossal" potential of Yankee imperialism, its hegemony is synonymous with being without rivals, without competition, "organized," without neither great crises nor convulsions, i.e., without the profound contradictions that are corroding imperialism, making it collapse, sinking it in its irreparable agony, while it is striking the blows of a deadly wounded hyena. And taking this path, she is definitively converging with positively the whole of the bourgeois ideology on imperialism. This is simply revisionism and nothing but revisionism. We proceed, asking: What planet has Resolucao been living on during the last decade? During the entire period after the Second World War? There is nothing "qualitatively new" about this; in general, it is the continuation of the same policy that Yankee imperialism has always tried to impose, and more specifically, it is the continuation of the general counterrevolutionary offensive, initiated at the beginning of the last decade. This is thus the political conjuncture in which all world event today - be they big or small, more peaceful or less so, more violent or less so - all this great turmoil under the skies, takes place; this is the clash between revolution and counterrevolution.

Since the general counterrevolutionary offensive began,

the Communist Party of Peru has been combating it, with people's war, developing the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought revolutionary counteroffensive. Against imperialism's current campaign, the so-called "war on terrorism," the Communist Party of Peru - inseparably and implacably combating imperialism, revisionism and reaction - is today, on the world level, with people's war, developing the revolutionary counter-campaign under the universal slogan **"Yankee go home!"**, as the Communist Party of Peru announced, not after September 11, 2001, but on May 17, 2001.

But to Resolucao, the Gonzalo Thought revolutionary counteroffensive doesn't exist, the People's War of Peru and the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) does not exist, Peru isn't even to be found on the map anymore. In her article, she mentions some sixty countries, but not Peru! A pure coincidence? Resolucao claims to be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, but what has been put forward by Chairman Gonzalo,



the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist on the face of the Earth is of no importance to her; she claims to be in favor of the people's wars, but the worlds most advanced people's war, which develops in strategic equilibrium, is of no importance to her; she claims to combat Yankee aggression in the world, but she keeps quiet about the increased Yankee intervention in Peru. So, why is it that she does not want to talk about Peru? Because the PCP, leading the People's War, is developing as the red fraction of the international communist movement; because the PCP is fighting to impose Maoism as the sole command and guide of world proletarian revolution; because the PCP, under the Great Leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, is clearly putting forward that what must be done, is to initiate and develop people's wars in all countries of the world, without exception, under the leadership of a militarized Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party; In a word, because the Communist Party of Peru affirms the universal validity of the people's war for all countries on

the globe without exception, as the complete and superior strategy of the class, which has to be applied according to the type of country and the concrete conditions of each specific revolution.

Basing oneself on the concepts of Kautsky is contrary to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

In her article, Resolucao is expressing an outlook concerning imperialism and its current situation, which is contrary to that of Maoism, and which leads her to negate the principal tasks of the communists, thus opposing herself to the development of world proletarian revolution. Resolucao does not take her starting-point in Maoism, but makes herself the echo of what imperialism is saying. This is being expressed in the use of a whole series of concepts, at the bottom of which, as we have already pointed out, is nothing but a repetition of what was put forward by Kautsky on “ultraimperialism” and implies slurring over the contradictions of imperialism. Let us take a look at few examples.

Resolucao uses the concept “*globalization*” to analyze the development of imperialism in the supposedly “*new phase*” after the “*fall of the U.S.S.R.*”. Thus, she means to say that imperialism has been able to advance in solving its contradictions, that imperialism, thanks to Yankee imperialism’s supposed absolute monopoly at the world level, is able to overcome its contradictions. It should be mentioned, as an example of Resolucao’s many convergences with the revisionist and capitulationist right opportunist line (ROL), that this accursed line also upholds the concept “*globalization*.”

Another revisionist catchword is that of “*multinational corporations*” (made fashionable by the Trotskyites in the seventies), or “*transnationals*,” to denominate the international institutions of finance capital. This catchword is a repetition of what Kautsky asserted on the international cartels; catchwords that, as Lenin characterized it, give the hope of peace among nations under capitalism, which theoretically is absolutely absurd and in practice, sophistry. To Lenin, **“International cartels show to what point capitalist monopolies have developed, and the object of the struggle between the various capitalist combines. This last circumstance is the most important; it alone shows us the historico-economic meaning of what is taking place; for the forms of the struggle may and do constantly change in accordance with varying, relatively particular and temporary causes, but the substance of the struggle, its class content, positively cannot change while classes exist.”**

Resolucao talks of “*blocks*” as well, of “*East*” and “*West*” during the “*Cold War*,” and she treats the “*European Union*,” an alliance of the Western European imperialist powers un-

der German hegemony, as bloc. She negates the contention. This concept, bloc, takes its starting-point in the absurdity of considering that monopolies in economy are compatible with non-monopolistic behavior in politics. Chairman Mao shows the absurdity of this supposition, when talking about the Suez Canal incident in 1956, brought about because **“the pressure exerted by the United States was too much and they [English imperialism] lost control of themselves in their anxiety to regain the Middle East and block the United States.”** The conclusion reached by Chairman Mao was that: **“From this incident we can pin-point the focus of struggle in the world today. The contradiction between the imperialist countries and the socialist countries is certainly most acute. But the imperialist countries are now contending with each other for the control of different areas in the name of opposing communism. What areas are they contending for? Areas in Asia and Africa inhabited by 1,000 million people. At present their contention converges on the Middle East, an area of great strategic significance, an particularly on Egypt’s Suez Canal Zone. In the Middle East, two kinds of contradictions and three kinds of forces are in conflict. The two kinds of contradictions are: first, those between the imperialist powers, that is, between the United States and Britain and between the United States and France and, second, those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations. The three kinds of forces are: one, the United States, the biggest imperialist power, two, Britain and France, second-rate imperialist powers, and three, the oppressed nations. Asia and Africa are today the main areas of imperialist contention. National independence movements have emerged in these regions. The methods the United States employs are now violent, now non-violent, and this is the game it is playing in the Middle East.”**

It is thus absurd, and totally disconnected from historic events, to talk about blocs in the era of imperialism, and it leads to denying what Maoism establishes. During the period from the end of the Second World War until the 1980’s, they used the struggle against communism as a pretext for disputing spheres of influence; from Reagan and much more so after the bankruptcy of revisionism, they are contending with each other for the control of different areas in the name of opposing “terrorism.”

In consequence, Resolucao is, with what has been pointed out above, attempting to ignore this reality, and she is revising Marxism also concerning the relationship between economy, politics and war. On the one hand, she asserts the contradiction between the U.S. and the other imperialist powers, and on the other, she says that a “*respite*” is to have been granted to a new world war. In this way, she separates war from politics. What she is asserting is a variant of the revisionist thesis asserting that Clausewitz’ conception of

war as the continuation of politics is outdated. This was precisely what Gorbachev said, and in this way, a direct attack is being launched on Lenin, and thus on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. On the imperialist system, Resolucao says that: *"In short, it is a system of global power relations based on force."* But this is not strictly speaking so, it is based on the economical relations of imperialism, these are its deepest basis, the basis for the contradictions between the imperialist states. Thus Resolucao is separating politics from economy, and hence, war from economy. Settling accounts with Kautsky and the apologists of imperialism, Lenin correctly established that the dominance of finance capital, far from attenuating the inequality and the contradictions of the world economy, on the contrary accentuates them; that the rabid struggle among the imperialist states takes place on the basis of an extreme disproportion in the speed of development of the different countries, etc., and that the international cartels provide a model for the dividing up and new dividing up of the world, the transition from the peaceful division to the non-peaceful, and inversely; that the new dividing up of the world, *the dispute for areas of influence*, is made on the basis of the new relations of force that are modified in a way that is all but peaceful. And that there can be no other means except war for eliminating the disproportion that exist between the development of the productive forces and capital accumulation, on the one hand, and the repartition of the colonies and of the *"spheres of influence"* of finance capital, on the other.

To sum this up: Domination of the world economy by finance capital and the trusts ® differences between the pace of growth of the distinct elements of the world economy ® change in the correlation of the economical-political and military forces between the imperialist superpowers, between these and the other imperialist powers, and among the other imperialist powers ® which demands a solution. **How can these the resulting interimperialist contradictions be solved?** According to the great Lenin: **"only through force, only through war."** According to the great Puppeteer of the quasi-party, *"by means of the peaceful exploitation of the world in accordance with each one's strength."* Isn't this enough to make you laugh your guts out? Of course it is, but this is what this quasi-theoretician and his fervent followers are putting forward, no matter how much they decorate it with the cheap tinsel of empty words, putting the best of labels on their lackey's suits.

Let us, in relation to this, return to the question of saying that the *"new stage after September 11"* starts with Bush Jr., with a specific government, with a specific regime, applying its policy. This policy does not start with Bush Jr.;

this policy of war and aggression is being applied by Yankee imperialism since the end of the Second World War, Bush Sr. was already applying it, and he carried forward the plans already established with Reagan; and it is with Clinton that the military budget is being increased, and increase starting from 1988 and projected to 2006 and beyond. This was the relaunching of Reagan's military plans, such as the "ABM Defense" (Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense), a part of the preparations for an interimperialist war. The basis for this was Clinton's Presidential Decision Directive 60 (November 1997), a non-published directive that makes readjustments in the U.S. nuclear doctrine. So where's the "qualitatively new"? It is not Bush Jr. who has started it, it is the continuation of the plans of Yankee imperialism. Presenting the situation as if it was all due to Bush Jr. and his "war cabinet" is pure Kautskyism, taking its starting-point in the thesis that the problem isn't imperialism as such, but the imperialist policy. This leads to saying that the problem is changing the policy, changing the government, reforming imperialism -

In the present-day world, all contradictions are being sharpened, which implies the greater ripening of the conditions for revolution

not doing away with it. In this way, you are preparing the ground for revisionism, this leads to taking the non-conducive road of votes, of ballot boxes, under the pretext that *"they are following the road of October,"* arguing that there

hence is no revolutionary situation in unequal development in the imperialist countries. Resolucao, arguing that there is an *"unprecedented imbalance of military forces,"* draws the conclusion that this makes a truce between the imperialist possible, as others are lewdly arguing, that this is not the era of interimperialist wars, and therefore neither the era of revolution in the imperialist countries, because to them, revolution does not come from the people, but from reaction, from the imperialist war. This leads to saying that only the principal contradiction, that is, the one between oppressed nations and imperialism, is being expressed, denying that in all of these wars of aggression led by Yankee imperialism, or by other imperialists, with or without coalitions or the forming of alliances, the two kinds of contradictions and the three forces mentioned in the quotation by Chairman Mao are being expressed.

The three fundamental contradictions on the world level are being sharpened

In the present-day world, there are three fundamental contradictions:

the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations

the interimperialist contradiction (the contradictions between the two superpowers, between the imperialist superpowers and powers, and among the imperialist powers)

the contradiction between bourgeoisie and proletariat

The first is the principal contradiction historically, within the **“50 to 100 years,”** even though any one of the fundamental contradictions may become principal, in accordance with the specific circumstance of class struggle, transitionally or in specific countries. In the present-day world, all contradictions are being sharpened, which implies the greater ripening of the conditions for revolution. This comes to expression in the existence of a revolutionary situation in unequal development in the whole world and in the growing popular protest in the world, which we have to develop, with Communist Parties developing people’s wars specified to the concrete conditions of each country.

Resolucao is admitting that the principal contradiction is that between imperialism and oppressed countries, but she does this in order to deny the other contradictions, and in order to deny that they are all sharpening. Her analysis of imperialism is, just like her political conclusions, as we have already pointed out, nothing but a reprint of what was put forward by Kautsky in opposition to what was masterfully established by Lenin. She denies that the law that rules the interimperialist contradiction is the law of collusion and contention, the first being relative and the second absolute. This leads to slurring over the profundity of imperialism’s contradictions and denying that imperialism ripens the conditions for revolution.

The general counterrevolutionary offensive is, since its very beginnings, developing in frantic and unbridled collusion and contention. The imperialist superpowers and powers claim areas of domination and influence, they interlace and conflicts arise. With the Gulf War, and thereafter with their aggression against and occupation of Iraq, it was shown that the standards of the U.N., which is their instrument, was insufficient for them in order to sanctify their unbridled aggression. At that time, the Communist Party of Peru warned of the fact that the imperialists needed to further “legally” restrain the sovereignty of the oppressed nations, and that the usual means, mainly military, used so far, are insufficient for them in order to impose and maintain their dominion; thus, they will apply forms that are ever more brutally negating national sovereignty, as well as more criminal and devastating means of war, in order to oppress the nations and peoples of the world and curb revolution.

“Today, there is one reality; the same contenders of the First and Second World War are generating, are preparing a new Third World War. We should know this and we, as the children of an oppressed nation, are

part of the booty. We cannot consent to this! Enough imperialist exploitation! We must finish with them! We are of the third world and the third world is the base of the world proletarian revolution, on one condition, that the Communist Parties uphold and lead! This is what we must do!”

(Chairman Gonzalo, in his masterful Speech)

Resolucao says that after the *“fall of the U.S.S.R.”* (to Maoists, the disintegration of social imperialism), the equilibrium between the two superpowers has been broken, and that Russia is no longer to be a superpower. She asserts that no imperialist power can oppose Yankee imperialism, which to her is not a colossus with feet of clay, but all-powerful, a *“formidable enemy.”* She is portraying a situation where *“the U.S. is acting in the interests of all the monopoly capitalist countries, great and small,”* and the U.S. can impose their total hegemony without interimperialist wars. In this, we once more see how Resolucao is trying to give new life to the rotten cadaver of Kautsky, who negates what was established by Lenin on the true role of every imperialist alliance or coalition; that, whatever their form may be, they cannot be anything but “truces” between the wars: **“Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars; the one conditions the other, giving rise to alternating forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle out of one and the same basis of imperialist connections and relations within world economics and world politics.”**

Three worlds are taking shape We are still in the period of the struggle against the two superpowers

In the present-day world, three worlds are taking shape. The first world are the two superpowers, the U.S. and Russia, and the second, the other imperialist powers, such as Germany, China, France, England, Italy and a few more. And the third world are the oppressed countries, the base of world revolution. This remains valid, and in order to understand the international situation, and within this the question of the third new world war, we have to take our starting-point in this Maoist thesis.

As Chairman Gonzalo defines it, there are two superpowers, and one (the U.S.) is the fat dog, and the other (Russia) is the skinny dog. The U.S. is the sole hegemonist, it has drawn advantage from the disintegration of social imperialism. The other, Russia, is the skinny dog, but it is still a superpower, based on being a nuclear superpower, but also on its immense territory, its national resources, etc., its large population and, also, on its experience of being a superpower. As is logical, Russia aims at throwing the other superpower overboard in order to impose its own hegemony.

The interimperialist world war will take place precisely when the strategic superiority of one of the superpowers is defined. The relations of force depend not only on the military force of the parties, but on the totality of the configuration of the forces of the imperialist superpowers and powers, taking all levels into consideration. At present, the U.S. is trying hard to obtain strategic superiority (Bush said, already before September 11, in one of his election campaign speeches: “*to put an end to world status quo*”), while Russia is trying hard to maintain the equilibrium. The other powers are, in accordance with their different conditions, trying hard to they themselves obtain the same strength, to become hegemonic superpowers. As long as they have not obtained this - for which the powers of Western Europe, according to themselves, need a period of 8 to 10 years - they seek that Russia will not be further weakened.

Resolucao says that: “*Never has Russia seemed so subservient to the U.S. as since 11 September;*” and gives various examples of concessions made by Russia. But, even merely two weeks after the supposed turning-point of September 11, 2001, during the visit by the Russian president, Putin, to Germany, it could be seen how Germany and Russia keep colluding, in contention with the U.S.: “*The Russian president declared that Europe could play the role of a ‘powerful and independent center of world politics,’ if it joins its resources to those of Russia*” (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, September 27, 2001). And the German imperialists accepted the invitation, through their supreme political representative, Schröder, saying that “*taking the current situation into account, we have to evaluate the conflict in Chechnya in a different way*” (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 27, 2001). This goes to say, that German imperialism is going to shut their eyes before the atrocious genocide in Chechnya, in order to preserve the good relations. The same occurred at the recent meeting between the European Union and Russia in Copenhagen.

All the events in relation to the resolution by the U.N. Security Council on Iraq confirm this. It was agreed upon in the midst of sharp collusion and contention, and it is by no means the case that the Russian superpower and the imperialist powers like Germany, France and China unconditionally go down on their knees before Yankee imperialism; on the contrary, they are promoting their own ambitions. And at the same time, we see how the imperialists ever more impertinently are attacking the countries of the third world, negating even the mere appearance of national sovereignty with this resolution, the text of which openly implies that the imperialists can do whatever they like in Iraq, go wherever they want to, take whatever they want to out of the country, etc., without the Iraqis even having the right of being informed.

As the Central Committee of the PCP pointed out (May

2001), what Russia is seeking is “**to take advantage of the conflict in order to make order internally and win positions abroad.**” Concessions and words of peace and unity between the imperialists always form part of the war preparations. Resolucao compares September 11 to the *Reichstag* (Parliament) fire in Germany in 1933? but if you want to learn from historical parallels, it would be more telling to look at the Munich conference in 1938.

To us, at the world level, the main enemy are the hegemonic superpower (U.S.A.), followed by the other atomic superpower, having serious problems (Russia), and there are several fundamental ones (the other imperialist powers), and as Chairman Gonzalo affirmed, the first world entered into a process of redefinition in the early 1990's. And, painful as it may be to a certain quasi-theoretician, as Lenin, Comrade Stalin and Chairman Mao have pointed out, the interimperialist struggles keep acting as indirect reserve forces of revolution, the struggles between the imperialists make them unable to use all their joint forces against us at the same time, which was important to the October Revolution as well as to the Chinese Revolution. It is not the way the revisionists imagine, that if the hegemonic superpower U.S. lifts a hand, the other ones are just going to drop down, shivering with fear.

The situation of the proletariat in the imperialist countries

Resolucao puts forward that the “Clinton boom” - which is a product of the parasitism of imperialism - signified a “*global expansion that brought a decade of prosperity to people in some quarters and dramatically worsening misery to billions more,*” and that there was “*a social contract with sections of the middle classes*” in the U.S. during this decade. If we translate this into Marxist terminology, we see that what Resolucao wants to say, is that sections of the U.S. proletariat are to have been experiencing a “*prosperity*” during the 1990's. There is no foundation for this whatsoever, this does not correspond to the living conditions of the immense majority of the U.S. proletariat. Further, she says nothing on the fact, which she on the contrary tries to cover up, that in the United States as well, for the mass of the proletariat, this decade has meant worsening conditions, more oppression and exploitation.

What Resolucao is trying to do by talking of the so-called “*middle classes,*” is to deny what Lenin established on the phenomenon of the labor aristocracy under imperialism, a fundamental question in order to understand the necessity, denied by Resolucao in her deeds, of inseparably and implacably combating imperialism, revisionism and reaction. The imperialist superprofit makes it possible to corrupt parts of the upper section of the proletariat, which becomes the main

social support for these agents of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement that we are combating, along with their revisionist positions.

Neither can we let this madame's talk of "*a social contract...*" go uncommented, she wants to "*serve us cat calling it rabbit*", that is: the "*social contract*," this ideal of bourgeois political organization of J.J. Rousseau that the French Revolution blew up in the air in practice. He put forward that the big political problem was reconciling the natural freedom of man with the necessity of living in a state, and said that in order to achieve it, one should "*find a form of association which will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and goods of each associate, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone, and remain as free as before*" (J.J. Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, Book I, ch. VI). **We denounce this as social chauvinism of the opportunists, of the quasi-theoreticians who vilely and in the spirit of lackeys adapt themselves to the interest of "their" state.** Against these ideas of the "*social contract*," of the "*free association of persons in the state*," we denounce the monstrous oppression of the working masses by the state in the imperialist countries without exception, in all eras and above all starting from the first imperialist world war, during the "*Clinton boom*" as well as before or after; they are, as Lenin said, "**military convict prisons for the workers,**" but of course not for the "labor aristocracy" and the quasi-theoretician. **We point out the necessity of struggling against these opportunist prejudices in relation to the "state" in order to draw the masses in these countries away from the influence of the bourgeoisie in general and from that of the imperialist bourgeoisie in particular.**

Resolucao's political conclusion, as far as the imperialist countries are concerned, is that: "*No revolutionary situation now exists in the imperialist heartlands, but revolutionary situations are impossible without crises generated by events such as the current war, and no one can say with certainty whether this or some future crisis will give rise to such a situation.*" As always, she tries to hide herself behind formulations that leave all possibilities open, but what this statement means as far as the general development is concerned, is that "*no one can say*" if there will ever be a revolutionary situation in the imperialist countries or not, and consequently, it might be that we will never reach communism. As far as

the concrete present situation is concerned, it means that it is not appropriate to initiate and develop people's war applied to these countries, it is not appropriate to finish off imperialism, but to organize a peaceful "resistance" of the "masses". Resolucao is using the old revisionist trick of trying to confound revolutionary situation with revolutionary crisis, of saying that you can only initiate on the eve of the seizure of power. This is at bottom insurrectionism, a direct negation of the highest and complete military theory of the proletariat that Chairman Mao has given us as a legacy: the people's war.

As Chairman Gonzalo establishes, there is a revolutionary situation in unequal development in the world; this is part of the collapse of imperialism and it is unequal as a consequence of the unequal development of imperialism. In addition, there are always countries and parts of countries, sectors of the economy, etc., that develop to very different degrees, and this determines the fact that there are places, sectors, etc., where the revolutionary situation is sharper, even if it would be the case that there is not a revolutionary situation on the national level. An important question for the communists is to make the concrete application of the ideology, and see where the conditions for revolution are more ripe, and initiate the people's war there. The lesson of Peru, that it was just and correct to initiate in Ayacucho, is important.



Protest in Genoa

The revolutionary situation in unequal development in the imperialist countries is expressing itself in all forms. Economically in the increasing poverty, in the growing unemployment and in the ever greater disproportion between the living conditions of the immense majority and that of the handful of monopoly capitalists. Politically, the people is showing that it does not have any confidence in this decrepit system, nor in its political representatives, which is being expressed in the general increase of abstentionism in the imperialist countries. It is also to be seen in the massive protests for instance in Genoa and Gothenburg and, as a higher expression, in the armed struggles in Europe that keep unfolding, which is an undeniable proof of the existence of a revolutionary situation. We see, thus, that the contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie is sharpening as well. And, finally, it is being expressed in the acute political crisis in which all the imperialist countries without exception are submerged, which affect the very bases of the state, and which they are unable to come out of.

Bureaucrat capitalism and the third world economy

In the analysis of the conditions in the third world, Resolucao continues with her revisionist positions. She claims to be a Maoist, but does not even apply one of the transcendent developments made by Chairman Mao, the analysis of bureaucrat capitalism, the capitalism developed by imperialism in the oppressed countries. Resolucao talks of “*neo-colonial states*,” saying that imperialism, in order to exploit, needs a regime totally controlled by it. This signifies saying that exploitation is not being realized through bureaucrat capitalism, but that, yet again, it is to be simply a policy. She continues with “*globalization*” as well, saying that there is a “*qualitative leap in the penetration of the oppressed countries. [...] imperialist capital has moved beyond agriculture and raw materials, and beyond indirect control of production for the local market [...], to new kinds of globally-organized labor for the global market.*”

If we look at the facts, at the overall data on the imperialist economy, they clearly show that this is not the case. An investigation of the direct foreign investment in the “developing countries” (which is the diplomatic term for oppressed countries), shows that there is no such qualitative change, but on the contrary, the characteristics of the economies remain the same. (In this investigation, China, a social imperialist country, is classified as a “developing country”; this means that the figures would have to be corrected, but does not change the validity of what we are indicating.)

During the period 1984-1989, the world flows of direct foreign investment were USD 115 billion, increasing to almost 500 billion USD in the period 1994-1999, measured in current values. The flow of direct foreign investment to the so-called “developing countries” grew from 19% to more than 30% (150 billion USD) for the same two periods. If we take the figures for 1994-1999, 50% (75 billion) are attributable to only four “developing countries”: social imperialist China, Mexico, Argentina and Brazil. Argentina and Brazil absorbed more than 16% (24 billion) of the direct foreign investment to the “developing countries” during the period concerned. It is the exportation of Argentina and Brazil that has been examined more in detail, and what is found, is that the exportation to the imperialist countries is still made up of raw materials and agrarian and livestock production, whereas the industrial production is for the local market, within the MERCOSUR. Thus, the companies, the imperialist monopolies, which expanded in all these countries, have not applied a strategy and behavior different from those of the entire previous post-World War II period, when imperialism propelled the development of bureaucrat capitalism under its strategy of “import-substitution industrialization,” that “had the pretense” to be different from the one applied during the period before, the one of raw material exports, of industrialization for exportation of raw materials: mining, agriculture

and hydrocarburates. Thus we see yet again, that “globalization” does not imply anything new, any “qualitative leap,” but that the development during these last 10-15 years is merely the continuation of what imperialism has always been.

Of all the direct foreign investment in Argentina and Brazil, the main investor country was still the U.S. Other imperialist countries, such as Germany, France, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Italy and the Netherlands are also important investors in these countries, with an increasing presence of Spanish and Portuguese companies, and Japanese in Brazil. The North American predominance is being maintained at more or less the same level, with its share increasing slightly in comparison with the previous period, while the other powers are at their heels. Resolucao asserts the contrary, but she does not provide and data as a basis for this, and even less so any overall data. This is even more serious as it amounts to covering up the Yankee dominance in its “backyard,” where it is carrying out an increased intervention against the People’s War of Peru, as part of its plans for hegemony in Latin America.

Resolucao is painting a rosy picture not only of the living conditions in the imperialist countries, but even of those in the oppressed countries, putting the blame on the “*process of globalization*” for the fact that “*peasant livelihoods were destroyed by imported wheat and wheat products*.” And what conditions were the peasants experiencing before 1991? This is nothing new, there is no “*qualitative leap*,” this is a long process, starting way back in the pre-imperialist period, and this is a fundamental part of what imperialism means to the immense majority of the world population, which is peasant.

What Resolucao puts forward on the third world conditions thus likewise leads to saying that the problem lies not with imperialism, but with a supposed “globalization policy,” with “neoliberalism.” The conclusion you arrive at by asserting this is once more that it is possible to reform imperialism, to restrain or revert “*globalization*,” and thus guarantee the living conditions of the peasantry. This is a full convergence with the ROL, which in Peru proclaimed that “*bureaucrat capitalism is becoming viable*.” Resolucao does not see the process neither of imperialism nor of bureaucrat capitalism; as Chairman Gonzalo shows in the case of Peru, bureaucrat capitalism goes through three moments in its development: development, deepening and general crisis. We think that this process takes place in all third world countries, and that it is not the way Resolucao is portraying it in her entire construct on imperialism, that the economy goes up or down only according to the momentary circumstances. No! Imperialism is dying, it is moribund as Lenin has established, and this expresses itself in a very concrete way in how the imperialist economy and bureaucrat capitalism unfold. The increasing poverty and misery in the third world countries expresses this, and an end can be put to this situ-

ation only through the new democratic revolution.

Condemning “terrorism” means making yourself an echo of the counterrevolutionary propaganda

As we will see further on, when treating the political tasks put forward by Resolucao, what she is expressing at bottom, is a wan pacifism, under the letterhead of “*Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line*.” The result of carrying forward such a line, whether it is made consciously or not, is only that you facilitate the imperialist aggression.

We see this pacifism in the way she is arguing against the use of slogans against “war and terrorism” (a slogan raised by revisionists throughout the world in their false “protests” against the Yankee war against Afghanistan): “*raising slogans against both war and terrorism means avoiding pointing the spearhead of the struggle against the U.S. and one’s own ruling classes and can only strangle the people’s resistance in its cradle.*” She leaves open the possibility that “terrorism” really should be combated, and that the problem lies merely in the fact that, in this case, it would divert the attention from what is principal. This is formulated even more clearly by another self-proclaimed “Maoist,” who in his habitual way is putting forward revisionist arguments in order to lay the foundations for a “resistance movement.” He talks of “*condemning terrorism*,” the problem for him being to have a “*more objective standard of terrorism ... something along the lines of it has to do with deliberately targeting civilians for attack and destruction, in order to achieve political ends.*” Now, what’s this? This is denying that every truth has class character, and this is the bourgeois criterion, that of the “experts on terrorism,” who talk of “civilians” as if there were no classes among the civilians. This supposed “objectivism” is idealism, opposed to the scientific position of the proletariat. All this talk of “terrorism” is imperialist and revisionist propaganda that we have to unmask, not fall in the same trap ourselves. Some people are very anxious to condemn terrorism, to lament the “civilian losses,” but in this, you are only lending yourself to playing the game of imperialism, seeking to condemn every struggle for national liberation, as part of world revolution. As our Great Leadership, Chairman Gonzalo, has pointed out:

“Concerning terrorism. We are accused of being terrorists, I would simply like to answer in the following way, so that everyone can think about it: Has it or has it not been Yankee imperialism and particularly Reagan who has branded all revolutionary movements as terrorism, yes or no? What is being attempted by this, is

to discredit and isolate, in order to crush. That is what they are dreaming of. And it’s not only Yankee imperialism and the other imperialist powers that combat so-called terrorism. So does social imperialism, revisionism, and today Gorbachev himself proposes to unite in order to combat terrorism.” (*Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, CC of the PCP, 1988*)

In addition, terror is part of every war; **what interests us to determine, is whether it is red terror or white terror.**

The enemy applies white terror against us, and we apply red terror against the enemy, as Lenin has taught us. The enemy applies massive terror against the masses, so that they won’t support revolution, or in the case of an interimperialist war, so that they will stop supporting the government of the country in question. We struggle to minimize the cost for the masses. In order to do away with imperialism, revisionism and reaction, the peoples have the right and the obligation to use all means. The main is to determine the class character of the war and whether or not it is just. We cannot say that what the revolutionaries and the people do is equal to what the enemy does.

A false conclusion

The political task proposed by Fatima Resolucao, as the conclusion of everything put forward by her, is a “*global resistance*” which will “*take many forms.*” She says that there have to be “*mass movements at an international level, uniting all who can be united, bringing the outlook and the program of struggle of the proletariat into these battles and, through this process, winning broad masses all over the world not only to more powerfully and effectively oppose and resist the war and aggression of the imperialists, but also to understand and focus more sharply on the imperialist system itself as the cause of injustice and oppression all over the world.*” Let us keep in mind, that to Resolucao, what we are dealing with here is not a struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, but only against wars like that against Afghanistan or against the “new” war against Iraq. In addition, she puts forward that the “*injustice and oppression all over the world*” are due to “*globalization,*” not to the imperialist system.

Resolucao formally mentions the “*possibility and necessity*” of “*further accelerated work along the path of seizing power in every country and building and strengthening Maoist parties capable of leading this process. The conditions for actually doing so can be glimpsed on the horizon to various*

degrees in different countries.” But these are words and nothing but words, it is all very vague and does not oblige anyone to do anything concretely.

Chairman Mao has established that: **“either revolution prevents the war, or the world war incites revolution.”** It is a fundamental truth of Marxism that only revolution can put an end to wars, but to Resolucao, this is no longer the case. With her formulations on *“effectively oppose and resist the war,”* she leaves open the possibility of forcing the imperialists to end the war, without revolution triumphing. What she would be out to do, is a remake of the petty-bourgeois pacifist movements, but these have failed, and you are not going to mobilize anybody with this, apart from a few pacifist and “humanist” petty-bourgeois pettifogging lawyers and intellectuals. Never has a single war, a single imperialist aggression, been stopped only by protests or by creating public opinion against it. The armed liberation struggle is always decisive. This was what happened in Vietnam, where the people of Vietnam defeated the imperialist war.

The forms of struggle we have to develop cannot be those acceptable to the opportunists, to those who dream of reforming the system; we have to go beyond what the regulations of the reactionary states allow. We have to mobilize the broadest possible masses of the people, developing every struggle for demands in the service of the struggle for state power, in the service of the initiation and development of people’s war. The people’s of the world, the deepest and most profound masses to which we have to go principally, are clamoring for the rebellion to be organized, they want war against imperialism. We see this in all the struggles of the world, the people want to combat and are taking up revolutionary violence. Against the desire of the peoples of the world, the columnist wants to oppose “her” mass movement, which is inexorably marching towards parliamentary cretinism.

**A necessary political conclusion:
The world people’s war is on the agenda!**

The necessary political conclusion we draw from the current development of class struggle on the international level, is: there is a revolutionary situation in unequal development in the world, including in the imperialist countries, and the preparations for a third new world war make the initiation and development of people’s wars even more urgent. We have to take up what Chairman Gonzalo establishes for us in his masterful Speech:

“What do we need? We need Maoism to be embodied, and it is being embodied, and that it, by generating Communist Parties, will handle and lead this new great wave of world proletarian revolution that is coming.”

The world resistance against imperialist aggression exists, it is being expressed principally in the People’s Wars of Peru, Nepal and Turkey, in the armed struggles led by communists in other countries, such as in India, as well as in all the other struggles for liberation. This powerful movement of World Revolution is currently unfolding as a new great wave, and Maoism, generating Communist Parties, is marching to lead it.

We have to build, and we are building, the united front of world revolution; and the axis of this front are the Communist Parties, leading people’s wars. In order to broaden this front, we therefore have to focus on this key question: more Communist Parties and more people’s wars - this is the prerequisite for building the Front of World Revolution in order to, through people’s wars, confront all the “dangers” and vicissitudes, twists and turns, which may present themselves to world revolution, in order to once and for all bury imperialism, reaction and revisionism.

We repeat, what is being attempted with all these arguments, such as those of Resolucao, is to postpone revolution until the day the sky falls down on our heads. It leads to not taking up the pending strategic task of reconstituting the Communist Parties, thus you are refusing to center all forces, all concerns and all work, mobilization, etc., on initiating people’s war in all countries of the world, including in the imperialist countries. Against the imperialist world war, against the imperialist wars of aggression, against every type of counterrevolutionary war, we oppose the world people’s war, understood as the people’s wars that have to be waged in each country, and that form a unity on the level of the entire planet. It is only with people’s war that we are going to put an end to imperialism, and that is why we have to unite for and in people’s war. This is our superior strategy.

The world people’s war is on the agenda, and the people’s wars of Peru, Nepal and Turkey have to merge with more people’s wars in the entire world, to form a torrent of people’s wars. Only in this way can we prevent the interimperialist world war and, through the democratic, socialist and successive cultural revolutions, continue the march of mankind to its final goal, Communism. **People’s war until communism!**

The same opponents as in the First and Second World War are preparing a new third interimperialist world war

According to the reactionary military experts, the scenario of an interimperialist war would be a massive surprise attack with nuclear weapons against military and economic targets, in order to paralyze the enemy, followed by an occupation by land forces. Therefore we have to look at this situation, at how a nuclear equilibrium continues to exist.

Fatima Resolucao (whose positions we are criticizing in more detail in the article **World People's War against the Imperialist World War!**) asserts that: *"The change in the world balance of military forces, brought about by the further weakening of Russia, also impeded dreams of grafting Russian military power onto European economic might. That is another important difference between the world situation of a decade ago and that of today."* She further says that: *"The former U.S.S.R has further disintegrated and its military power came crashing down as the economic base on which it stood proved unable to sustain it. The debacle associated with the sinking of the submarine Kursk, for example, demonstrated just how little of its once mighty nuclear navy Russia is able to maintain."*

The *"change in the world balance of military forces, brought about by the further weakening of Russia"* is not of the qualitative character that she asserts, such that it would have meant the rupture of the military equilibrium existing in the world, an equilibrium depending not only on military factors, but also on all other factors, and not only on the comparative force of the U.S. and Russia, but also on all the other forces acting on the scene of history of the present-day world. But they are all aiming at breaking this equilibrium, they are all making accelerated preparations for the world war. In order to air their strategic approach, representatives of the German imperialists, are bringing up the world situation at the time of the Napoleon wars; they are putting forward that, facing the great military might of the U.S., two roads remain, one being the "symmetrical" or "Prussian," which consisted in leveling the conventional military strength of Napoleon's France, and the "asymmetrical" or "Spanish," which is the one followed by the Spanish people to defeated and threw out the French invader, led by Napoleon's brother ("Pepe the Wino"). They are thinking of an imperialist world strategy to confront and win in the imperialist contention, a strategy that would unite these two roads. This is how they are formulating the solution of this contradiction, by means of imperialist world war, and they are accelerating their preparations.

The U.S. and Russia are still the superpowers with a massive nuclear capacity

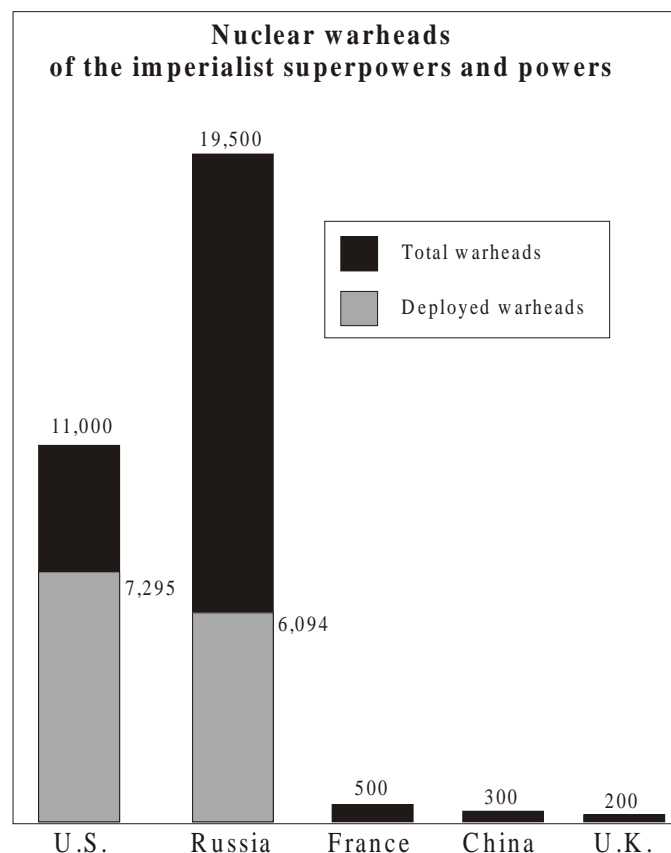
The political proof of the existence of this equilibrium has been seen in the negotiations on START I, START II and in the latest negotiations between the nuclear superpowers. On May 24, 2002, the presidents of the two superpowers, Bush Jr. and Putin, signed an agreement, which is now in the process of being approved in their respective countries. According to the treaty, the number of deployed nuclear warheads is going to be reduced to between 1,700 and 2,200. All these agreements on the supposed reduction of nuclear weapons have a long history, and as was clearly unmasked by socialist China, they only serve to preserve the nuclear weapons monopoly in the hands of a few countries, serving their nuclear blackmail. During the same period, the U.S. has withdrawn from the ABM Treaty, by which it had bound itself to not developing an anti-ballistic missile defense, this as preparation for an interimperialist world war. Both superpowers maintain and declare their plans for a nuclear war; this has been seen in relation with these negotiations, and also for instance in the new Russian military doctrine from year 2000.

The fact that Russia's conventional forces are being weakened is impelling it even more to center on its nuclear capacity. Russia is doing this precisely with the European, principally German, financial aid - this was what the 140 billion marks Kohl gave them was for. Russia has a nuclear capacity similar or even superior (according to other analysts) to that of the United States, and they have been able to preserve it (see graph). Many of the Russian imperialist's best nuclear weapons are superior to the best the U.S. can put up; they carry more nuclear warheads, more powerful nuclear warheads, and have a longer range. This is the capacity inherited from previous decades, but the Russians keep developing their capacity. An illustrative fact is the recent launching of a new Russian nuclear submarine, many times more powerful than the best U.S. submarine, which shows how they have been able to overcome the problems in relation with the *Kursk*:

"The Akula can hit 200 large ground targets over an area of 7,000 sq. km. with one salvo. It should be mentioned in this connection that Moscow's area totals 1,000 sq. km. To cut a long story short, this formidable submarine can position herself in the White Sea near Arkhangelsk, subsequently destroying 10 sprawling megalopolises as big as New York in no time at all. She can also wipe out a small European country or 50 percent of Afghanistan. ... The Akula subma-

rine, which even has a steam-bath and a swimming pool, boasts a virtually unlimited endurance, which depends on her food supplies alone. Moreover, she can launch her ICBMs [Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles] from a depth of 50 meters. For comparison, U.S. SSBNs [Submarine Ship for Ballistic missiles nuclear Powered] can fire missiles from a depth of just 25 meters." (*Komsomolskaya Pravda*, No. 112, June 2002)

Faced with the imperialist armament capacity, Resolucao is, just like some supposedly "great Maoist theoreticians", once more taking up as a "Marxist" argument, the old words of Khrushchev, that if the U.S. and the U.S.S.R would unite, they just have to raise a finger, in order for all the remaining imperialist to drop dead out of fear. What this is all about, is the fact that she is transmitting her own fear, and that of these quasi-theoreticians, who see imperialism as if it was a single bloc, hence as superimperialism, as supercolossal, as invincible, when in reality it is a colossus with feet of clay, submerged in profound and sharp contradictions. We do not fear nuclear weapons, we know that what is decisive in war is man, not arms, and we have an unshakable faith in the transforming capacity of our all-powerful ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the most powerful weapon existing in the world today, and of its creative application, Gonzalo Thought. As Chairman Mao pointed out, our ideology is the most powerful "atomic bomb" in the world.



Source: "The State of Nuclear Proliferation 2001", *Arms Control Association*, U.S. and "U.S.-Soviet/Russian Nuclear Arms Control," *Arms Control Today*, June 2002

The imperialist economy is in general crisis The supposed "real advances in growth" only express the parasitism of capitalism

In our previous issue, we treated the question of the economic situation of imperialism, of its general crisis, in more detail. Considering the positions put forward in a recent article by Fatima Resolucao, published by the magazine *A World To Win* (see the article **World People's War against the imperialist world war!**), it is necessary to reiterate and go more into depth on some questions.

Resolucao talks of a "Clinton boom" as a period of "real advances in growth and profitability made by the imperialist system overall." She says that the conditions for this has been that "The demise of the U.S.S.R ... sprang formerly frozen geo-political arrangements into the air in large parts of the world. This, along with application of new technologies ... unleashed new opportunities for global expansion", and finally that, in order to sustain the "boom," what is needed is "a further qualitative leap in the penetration of the oppressed countries," which supposedly is to be the content of the current imperialist aggression. Each part of this argument is false, and implies slurring over the profundity of the contradictions of imperialism and denying the existence of a revolutionary situation in unequal development in the world. Saying that there are real advances in growth for imperialism is completely false and amounts to saying that imperialism is not dying, that it is not an urgent necessity to do away with it. The current imperialist aggression does not seek and will not automatically lead to another "boom;" what it is all about, is a new division of the world. In this, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations comes to expression, but the interimperialist contradiction and the preparations for a new interimperialist world war also express themselves.

As far as the "boom" is concerned, this parasitic "growth" has not been overall, but has taken place principally in the United States; this is why they are expressing a more aggravated state of collapse. The third world, which obviously also has to be taken into account in order to see the state of the imperialist economy, has sunk down more and more. The serious problems of several of the most important imperialist economies (Russia, Germany, Japan, etc.) have expressed themselves for instance in a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) that has sunk or stagnated, with the obvious differences between the countries.

As we have shown in our previous issue, the so-called

"marvelous decade" of the nineties expressed the parasitism of imperialism. It was not a real growth, but the inflation of bubble, which is now exploding. This expresses what was pointed out by Lenin, that what is characteristic of the imperialist economy is finance capital, not industrial capital, that the imperialist boom is based on speculation. The "boom" led to the value of the U.S. stock exchange superseding their GDP by 84 percent, and to the fact that the debt of the U.S. state, companies and households grew to unimaginable dimensions. The computer-related "new technologies" have not given a new impetus to imperialism, but led created the inflation of a gigantic bubble, a bubble that has been exploding before the eyes of the world for quite some time now.

And, where do these immense values of "growth" come from? There is no growth in world production, such that it could explain the growth of Yankee profits. Here we also have to see the role of the "privatization" process, which began in the 1980's in England and the U.S., and continued in Western Europe and during the 1990's spread to Russia, Eastern Europe and the rest of the world, including the third world, and, as is well known, also to our country, Peru. "Privatization" signifies an immense transfer of values accumulated during decades. These values pass from the hands of some monopoly capitalists, within state monopoly, to other hands, within monopolies of private individuals. In this process - where the so-called "profound structural reform programs" following what was announced by the so-called "Washington Consensus", which favors the privatization of public companies, is being applied - the value which has already been produced, and accumulated for many years, takes the form of title-deeds, that is, of stocks. This expresses an enormous parasitism, and during this process, enormous values are being handed over to this handful of vampires within finance capital, as the stocks are being sold at prices much below their real value. Thus we see how the parasitism and general crisis expresses itself in the entirety of the imperialist system, "East" as well as "West", it is not the case, as Resolucao claims, that the "East" fell and the "West" grows.

The disintegration of social imperialism is part of the collapse of imperialism, it shows that imperialism is a colossus with feet of clay

Resolucao says that: *"The fall of the U.S.S.R. produced the political conditions for economic trends already at work to take a qualitative leap. Now imperialist capital could more thoroughly penetrate much of the world's markets, exploit labor previously denied it and do so more intensely than previously possible."* So, what strange kind of capital was it that existed in social imperialist Russia, which "denied" imperialist capital to exploit? This is pure revisionism, it equals

saying that it was still socialist. Resolucao mentions the term social imperialism, but in the concrete analysis, she doesn't apply it. The disintegration of Russian social imperialism is part of the total bankruptcy of revisionism, and even more so, it is part of the collapse of imperialism. It confirms that **imperialism is a colossus with feet of clay**, and this is what Resolucao wants to deny, proclaiming the possibility that imperialism can overcome its problems. The disintegration of the empire of Soviet social imperialism shows that the imperialist empires are not as strong as they want to make us believe. We see the same in the economy of Yankee imperialism. We have already pointed out the fact that it has enormous debts, and we can add, that in as far as economic capacity is concerned, the Germans and Japanese are superior to it in many aspects. Let us take the example of steel, as this is fundamental for the entire economy, steel is the basis for the production of means of production, machines are principally made of steel. Here, we see that the U.S. is only on the eleventh place in steel productivity. They are forced to subsidize their steel production, and this leads to the sharpening of the interimperialist contradiction, it leads to trade wars.

As for Russia, you can with great historical exactness say, that the step from a socialist economy to a capitalist economy was taken starting from 1956, with the restoration. From Gorbachev and onwards, there is a decisive opening-up to foreign capital. Amidst inflamed contention between the bourgeois faction of the bureaucrat type, lead by Gorbachev, and the other faction, outside of the C.P.S.U., the so-called "commercial opening-up" took place, loans were taken up from the rest of the imperialist world, and they acquired an enormous debt with the other imperialist countries. There was a strong inflation, the ruble came to have a greater discrepancy between its nominal and real value; they tried to give impetus to their economy, but they failed.

As for the current economic situation of the former USSR and the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation (COMECON), they are, with few exceptions, experiencing a significant fall in GDP since 1989. The yield of Russia is currently at 64% the yield it had in 1990.

After the total bankruptcy of revisionism and the disintegration of the U.S.S.R., the process of selling state property accelerates, and this is not made in form of sale, but of transfer to nominal owners and speculators, and a massive exit of capital from the U.S.S.R. took place. This is the most important result regarding the phenomenon of capital exportation in the 1992-1998 period in Russia. This is why it is known as the period of the massive capital emigration, and a big financial crisis is brought about. Thereafter, in 1998, comes Russia's economic crisis, which stirs up the entire imperialist world economy. During the years 1999 and 2000

there is a slight recovery of the economy, with a 3,2 % growth each year. But this growth is based on the devaluation of the ruble and on temporary increase of some raw material prices on the world market. There has been no massive entry of foreign capital neither in Russia nor in the remaining former COMECON-countries. In 1999, for instance, out of the world exportation amounting to 5,431 billion dollars, the trade

between the "Western industrialized countries" and Russia and the former COMECON was only USD 240 billion. Thus, they do not have much weight as markets, as a supposed basis for the "boom". So, once more the theoretical and factual errors of the famous columnist have been exposed. This is why we have briefly treated this subject, with the promise of developing it more fully in our upcoming issues.

National Situation:

THE ENEMY IS ADAPTING ITS SO-CALLED "ANTI-TERRORIST LEGISLATION" TO THE NECESSITY OF COMBATING THE GREATER DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

~ January 2003 ~

Continuing with the plans of the "low-intensity warfare," under Yankee command, this government is in the process of adapting their so-called "antiterrorist legislation" to the necessity of combating the greater development of our powerful and victorious People's War, which with powerful actions is shaking the old and rotten order. With this "new legislation," they continue combating the struggle of the best sons and daughters of our combative people, who find themselves in the enemy's concentration camps, as prisoners of war, prisoners who are an inseparable part of our People's War. Everything they do concerning their so-called "antiterrorist legislation," they do in agreement with the miserable rats of the revisionist and capitulationist ROL. These are pursuing their black plans of assassinating Chairman Gonzalo and Comrade Feliciano, working jointly with reaction to apply the plan for a greater genocide against the prisoners of war, within their principal reactionary task of annihilation the People's War. These rats are crying out for "new trials," in other words, that, through "new sentences," a "formal and valid character" is given to the systematic and permanent violation of the international rights of war, against the life, health, physical and mental integrity and rights of Chairman Gonzalo, Comrade Feliciano and our comrades in prison, which - according to what these miserable ones and their masters, reaction, are saying - now is to be done with "valid laws, judges and processes." What reaction and these rats are pursuing is an impossibility even for their own bourgeois right. **Chairman Gonzalo and the Communist Party of Peru and all our comrades have risen up in rebellion, in people's war, against the old and rotten Peruvian state, and none of their laws, judges and processes can be im-**

partial; therefore, there can be no law, judge or due process for the prisoners of war; we do not recognize any of the laws, the judges, the processes or sentences that have been and will be dictated by the organs of the old Peruvian state against Chairman Gonzalo and our comrades; they have no validity whatsoever, not yesterday, nor today, and neither will they have any in the future. This is the simple reality on this question. This even more so the case, as their president Toledo, their Constitutional Court (TC), their Supreme Court, their Special Courts and Judges on all levels, members of parliament, ministers of state, authorities, journals and journalists serving them all consider them guilty, are already condemning them once more even before hearing them, have already declared all "existing" evidence valid, without any juridical evaluation, etc.

We denounce all these "repentant and collaborationist pettyfogging lawyers" who present themselves as the "lawyers" of Chairman Gonzalo and our comrades prisoners of war in order to, following the direct orders of reactions and of the chiefs of the rats of the ROL, serve to consummate their black genocidal plans. This explains the vast coverage and propaganda generously given to these repentant lawyers by newspapers and magazines like *Caretas*, *Correo*, *Ojo*, etc. This is the case with the miserable rat Fajardo, who says that he "defends all categories of cases," but who in reality "has not even won a non-contentious case concerning the registration of certificates" and who never has defended a single comrade prisoner of war, but who has swindled many prisoners with the "fairy-tale of defense," due to which he is wanted in order to settle the scores with some "common"

prisoners. It is this miserable one who, since the ROL appeared in the prisons, is at the personal service of the rat Osmán Morote. In March 2001, this very same pettyfogging lawyer presented himself to the international defenders of Chairman Gonzalo, in order to thwart the demand for the public presentation of Chairman Gonzalo and oppose himself to the international campaign to defend his life, as well as in order to spread the hoax before the "gullible ones." Eventually, he revealed what he is after: "amnesty for all"; logically, by this he understand amnesty for Morote and the other chiefs of the rats, his commissioners and protectors, in exchange for the life, health integrity and rights of Chairman Gonzalo and our comrades prisoners of war, in exchange for serving their annihilation, in exchange for serving the plans that continue with the "truth and reconciliation commission" (financed by the U.S. State Department through their USAID), of blessing the true genocidals and defaming the best sons and daughters of our combative people. It is with the services of the rats of the ROL and of these "repentant and collaborationist pettyfogging lawyers" that reaction and imperialism are proceeding with their dreams of sanguinary hyenas, with their plans for a greater genocide against our people, today with the law-making faculty to dictate "new 'antiterrorist' norms," after the rulings by their Constitutional Court (TC), as part of their "encirclement and annihilation" campaigns against the new power, within their "low-intensity warfare." **These traitors should know, once more, that their treason will not go unpunished. The people will sanction appropriately, justly.**

Peruvian reaction has a problem for which no solution is possible. Everything they may do unveils them even more and will make them collapse even more at present. This is shown by all the steps they have taken in order to reach the ruling of the Constitutional Court and the faculties obtained by the Toledo government of dictating its "antiterrorist legislation." The Chairman of the Constitutional Court (TC) is Javier Alva Orlandine ("The Jinx"); he was a member of the 1980-1985 Belaúnde government. He thus shares the responsibility for the "blackest, most perverse and criminal genocide" of these years, "one of the greatest disgraces in the republican history of Peru" and he is a well-known ex-leader of Acción Popular (one of the parties taking part in

the present government). This genocidal has, in his role of president of the TC, Peru's highest instance on matters concerning constitutional control, declared to the Lima newspaper *La República* (December 1, 2002) that it is "correct, there would be no norms [refers to valid antiterrorist norms - note by RS]." And in answer to the question, "If there are no antiterrorist norms, could the terrorist be free to leave prison?", he declared: "Hypothetically they could be free to leave prison, but the Constitutional Court is fortunately studying . . . in order to avoid a situation where there is a lack of penal legislation and the case that there hence would be no

penalties." Asked how, he answered: "by dictating manipulatory sentences [by the TC - note by RS] . . . that give the correct meaning to the laws, in order for them to be adapted to the text of the Constitution [refers to the 1979 Constitution in force, set aside from April 5, 1992 onwards - note by RS]." This is another case of a juridical impossibility according to their own bourgeois law, because all acts, including the norms, dictated by the government, are null in accordance with the 1979 constitution, in force for the case. The 1993 Constitution is null "**de jure**" (of the law) and in addition, they themselves have revoked it, by ordering the withdrawal of Fujimori's signature, which promulgated it, as this miserable knee-bending odd-job man Valle Riestra has recalled. No posterior act can make them valid, that



is, give them the legal force of compulsory fulfillment, other than for from the moment that their legal validity is declared in accordance with the formalities of the constitutional order in force; this law would thus only rule for all the cases starting from the moment when it comes into force, but not for the previous ones. Neither has the TC been given the power to make an authentic interpretation or to legislate, it only has the power to declare the validity or non-validity of the laws, acts, etc., that fall within its jurisdiction. And even less so in the case of the substantial penal laws, which in order to be valid or in effect have to typify the offences in a clear and unequivocal way, and establish the punishment, in accordance with the principle of the pre-existence of penal law establishing the offences and the punishments. This is unconditional in their bourgeois right. Further (and all this after the ruling of don "Jynx's" Constitutional Court was made), the TC declares that the rulings are null, but that in order for their nullity to be declared by the competent judge, "*the accused himself has to demand it,*" but that "*as long as the*

new relevant norms have not been declared, he cannot demand the invalidation." From this follows the aberration that the sentence is null, but its nullity is being suspended, since there is no norm that allows for keeping the prisoner in prison. Further, if a sentence has been declared in opposition to what is established in the Constitution, violating the norms for due process, as the TC resolution recognizes, this sentence is absolutely null; the sentences or juridical acts that are null are null **"de jure"** and their nullity should be declared without any party soliciting this, that is the task of the judge or court, it is not necessary for them to be declared null to be deemed as such, they are practically *"non-existing acts."* Thereafter, the TC, following the plan we are denouncing, dictates its *"ukase"* (TC ruling, January 3, 2003), prohibiting **"habeas corpus"** actions in favor of the prisoners of war and political prisoners, and thus, they carry out their **"legicide."** Toledo's bluster that: *"no sentenced terrorist will be allowed to leave prison"* reveals even more what he really is, a *"Yankee with Indian hat,"* a marionette, and shows that the TC and the so-called Judiciary Power is subjected to the dictates of the President. They cannot combat us, as they say *"with the law in their hand,"* with the *"democratic superiority."* No matter how much fuss they make, they neither have nor will have a law, valid in accordance with their own juridical order, for validly sentencing our comrades who, having become prisoners of war, continue struggling in the filthy dungeons of reaction, converting these the enemy's concentration camps into Shining Trenches of Combat of revolution (STC). They are in this situation because of what they are, for having stood up in rebellion, against this old and rotten order of oppression and exploitation of the immense majority of the population of Peru and of the world. Thus, whatever process or sentence that they may

dictate against Chairman Gonzalo, Comrade Feliciano and the thousands of prisoners of war is without any legal value whatsoever. The Party is defending their lives, health, integrity and rights with people's war. What this miserable genocidal Alva and his cronies in the TC and the juridical and prison system - unwillingly - are doing, is simply recognizing that the true **"status"** corresponding to our prisoners, is that of prisoners of war, and hence: everything they are doing is in violation of international treaties the Peruvian state and its authorities have committed themselves to respecting, such as the Geneva Convention and Second Additional Treaty of this Convention. We have to see the ideological background of all this, how they are dealing with this issue, of their own bourgeois right, how, due to the *"raison d'état"*, *"every accused is guilty,"* and *"in the case of doubt, what is more favorable to society is applied"*, *"analogy as substitute when there is no valid law,"* under the pretext of manipulatory interpretation, etc., etc. All of this is contrary to their so-called "liberal" principles of right, saying that *"in case of doubt, what is most favorable for the accused is applied"* and that prohibit the *"analogical application of penal law,"* all of which is based on the famous *"declaration of the rights of the individual towards the power of the state,"* etc., etc. This shows their total decrepitness, that they find themselves in the moment of their collapse and of their being swept away; which goes to say that they are applying principles that belong to the Dark Ages and that fascism resuscitated in Italy and Germany and that is being applied in Peru; just as in the case of their *"neoliberalism"*; just like their imperialist masters, they have nothing left but raising banners from the 18th and early 19th century: liberalism, decrepit banners with no future.

THE OTHER CAMP IS IN A STATE OF PANICK BEFORE THE ADVANCE OF OUR INVINCIBLE PEOPLE'S WAR

~ December 2002 ~

At the time when barely 18 months of Toledo's government have gone by, he shows himself as being the most famish-promoting, the most genocidal and the most country-selling to date. The Toledo government is acting against the people in accordance with the character of the regime it leads; it is the representative of the big bourgeoisie and of the landlords, it is the most subservient pro-Yankee imperialist to date, and the most rabid enemy of the People's War - in synthesis, a genocidal country-seller.

In which way is the process of delegitimization unfolding? Toledo is a runt of Yankee imperialism, and as such, continuer of the fascist, genocidal and country-selling Fujimori regime; the Paniagua "transition" was no interregnum, it was generated in order to pass on the relay to the present one. They were imposed by Yankee intervention, through the so-called *"OAS dialogue table,"* managed directly by the CIA, with its agent Luigi Eunaudi - eminent member of the State Department's Rand Corporation and vice-president of the OAS - pulling the strings. Through the

greater election fraud of year 2000, Toledo was catapulted onto the stage as *"opposition leader"* by Fujimori and Montesinos (CIA) and *"elected"* in the elections in 2001, which were the continuation of the fraud in 2000. These being his origins, he's even more discredited by his deeds.

In order to exert an influence on the public opinion in the United States and abroad, within its *"low intensity warfare,"* it is necessary for Yankee imperialism that this government has legitimacy. In accordance, Chairman Gonzalo points out to us that it fitting to undermine its legitimacy by using the law, in order to show how they themselves are violating their own rotten juridical order, - that they have sworn to defend and respect - and how they are violating the international laws of war - that they have signed - thus, we should denounce them for genocide.

This government is, just like its predecessors, systematically violating the most basic rights recognized by their own Constitution and by international laws and treaties; it violates them by severely repressing the protest demonstrations of the masses, which are not coming to a halt, but rather intensifying ever more; it is keeping Chairman Gonzalo and Comrade Feliciano in absolute isolation, and it is carrying out the old state's genocidal policy against them and against the thousands of prisoners of war. At the same time, it is unleashing a greater genocide in the countryside, against the population of the revolutionary support bases; it continues using the peasant communities as cannon fodder for the genocidal armed forces and for the countersubversive troops of the Ministry of the Interior, under Yankee command - to this end, they have made their *"new law on the rondas,"* promulgated during the first days of this new year, which shows how very much they are in a hurry, facing the thrust of our People's War. This government is reducing the wages, reducing the pensions for the old, the widows and the orphans, they are increasing the overexploitation and negating the economic and educational rights of the people, pursuing its campaign of empty, cynical, false promises that they do not have the slightest intention of fulfilling. Very revealing is the assignation, in the new General Budget of the Republic, of 3,373 million soles [approx. 1 billion USD] that do not exist (they call them tax expenditures), for education and for the Regions, for investments in transport, water, drainage, electricity and agriculture.

The Chairman of the World Bank (an instrument principally of Yankee imperialism) - in a clear reference to Peru, in an interview he gave to the magazine *Caretas* (Lima, November 28, 2002) - said: *"The other fundamental problem is the great social inequality existing"*. So, they are very worried about the development, favorable for revolution: During year 2002, 1,500 protest marches have been carried out only in

central Lima, not counting the rest of the country and excluding December, which is always a month where there are even more protests. The regime's fear-struck authorities have declared a compulsory vacation for more than 700,000 state workers from December 16 to January 3 this year, after having declared that they will not respond favorably to their demands. This means that the unmasking, the delegitimization not only of the regime but of the old state is advancing, drums beating, and the advance of the People's War is contributing to this. The trend is that the struggles and protests of the broadest masses march towards being fused with our People's War, to form one single torrent, and this is what is already actually taking place. This explains imperialism's great uneasiness, the constant voyages from Lima to Washington and from Washington to Lima by officials of Uncle Sam and of the Peruvian government.

They are "reforming" their Constitution and their laws, as part of the restructuring of the state. They are approving a new Constitution, violating fundamental principles of bourgeois law that establish the differentiation between the Constituted Power and the Constituent Power, the latter being the primary, from which the legitimacy of the former is derived. The current Parliament (Constituted Power) is, under the name of *"reform,"* giving itself the authority to dictate a new Constitution. Thus, just as the 1993 Constitution, this one is coming into being lacking all juridical validity, but they need it in order to use it against the people and principally against the People's War. As this is a central problem, a problem involving the very bases of the old state, the contention between the factions of the big bourgeoisie is being intensified, and in this way, they themselves are questioning the state and the revolutionary situation develops further (we should recall the great **Lenin: "that the lower classes should not want to live in the old way" and "that the upper classes should be unable to rule and govern in the old way"**).

Concerning this, it's fitting to recall that the President of the current Parliament, which has proclaimed itself as Constituent Power is - for the second consecutive period - the fascist Carlos Ferrero Costa, who in 1993 wrote: *"It should be said in passing that we may not all agree on the definition of Parliament today. Previously, it was said that it was responsible of lawmaking. The scholars have already for years been saying that it also has the right to scrutinize. But today, the new trends are not even saying that Parliament is the great lawmaker, which in addition can be shown not to be the case. And neither are they saying that it is the great scrutinizer, because the press has already outdone it. What is being said in the last instance, is that its great purpose is to be a resonance box, the echo of public opinion, the place where problems are debated, but that in the end, the great solving*

of the issues is in the hands of the Executive Power and that of the discrepancies in the hands of the Judiciary Power.” (in “Structure of the State. The Legislative Power”, Carlos Ferrero Costa, *Análisis Internacional, Revista del Centro Peruano de Estudios Internacionales (CEPEI)*, Issue #4. October-December 1993, p. 50 ff.) Thus, to this fascist, their own Parliament is good for nothing, apart from serving as an adornment, as part of the decoration, because if it is not legislating, the discussion on the problems neither makes any sense. The liberal bourgeois doctrine says that on the basis of the legislative debate, laws are made (the first function of the bourgeois Parliament). In the debate phase, the discussions in Parliament fulfill its task of forming public opinion (which in Peru is null, since the formalities for approving the laws are rushed through and they are approved “*behind closed doors.*”) and the function of control, of political control, which they do not fulfill either, apart from when it comes to the “*settling of business,*” for their collusion and contention.

As far as the “reform” of their laws is concerned, a typical case is what they are doing with their so-called “*anti-terrorist legislation,*” approved after the self-coup on April 5, 1992 as the Legislative Decree 25,475 (May 1992), which has been declared invalid by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), an organ subjected to the treaties and accords between the imperialist master and the countries of America. Thus it is demagogical, it is based on their so-called “*human rights,*” that is, the rights of the bourgeois man, of the individual, opposed to our rights of the people, which the U.S. use as a worn banner each time it fits them, in order to legitimate their imperialist intervention, as is the case in their “*low-intensity warfare.*” In the case we are dealing with, it is directly related to their “*legitimization,*” to a greater genocide against the people and to the principal reactionary task: annihilating the People’s War.

On regionalization. “*Regionalization*” is another question related to the central problem of the structure of their state, this is why they are not advancing and their collusion is further intensified, this divides them even more; we should keep in mind that it was proposed by the fascist and corporative APRA, it has its origins.

They called for elections for presidents of the Regions without having an Organic Law, then they adopted one that did not satisfy anyone, and they promulgated it in the middle of the election process; after their defeat, they sent a project to Parliament in order to modify it, under the pretext of the participation of “*civil society.*” It does not grant the regions any autonomy, for it does not give them any resources of their own, and the central government can intervene in their affairs whenever it feels like it. The fascist Ferrero explained

it in this way: “*It is not the case that a federal state has been created with federalization, it will not be a different, other, Peruvian state, but now the regional governments will have to attend to the needs of their populations, even though the neither will be able to give them everything they ask for.*” The Prime Minister Solari, a fascist from “*Opus Dei,*” said: “*There will be no transfer of funds to those who do not have the capacity to handle them.*” Hence the struggle for the booty is scheduled beforehand. In the late 1980’s, the Communist Party of Peru pointed out that: “**the comprador bourgeoisie is looking at how to participate amidst the accords with the U.S.**”. Today, basing ourselves on this, we put forward that this creature was conceived in a sinister way, this government is implementing it, and imperialism has the interest that it serves its own hegemonic plans. We sustain, as Chairman Gonzalo teaches us, that “**the nation is at risk,**” and this demands of us communists, that we denounce and crush the black plans. What are they aiming at? They want to divide.

As far as the revisionists are concerned, each day we see that their role is ever blacker and more ominous; they create new good-for-nothings such as the so-called *New Left* (of Breña, Moreno and Ludovico), which, they say: “*is for obtaining space on the stage.*” The ROL wants to desperately throw themselves into the hunt for seats in parliament and they are talking about participating in the “*political life,*” and to this end, of putting an end to “*the problems derived from the war.*” All these rats are, just like the comprador bourgeoisie, out to join the ranks and better serve their Yankee master.

Concerning their recent municipal and regional elections - which like all elections are an instrument for continuing to oppress the people - they have unfolded in sharp contention, amidst scandals, and despite the whole machinery set up to drag the people along, this has shown its rejection, which is confirmed not only by the more than two and a half million of the electorate who did not vote (according to the official figures), not counting the non-registered, nor the blank and invalid votes, but also in the fact that 331 polling stations never were installed due to the absence of their election officials, and thousands more were installed two hours late, due to the same cause, to which one has to add the massive fraud, which always takes place. There was a massive fraud in the elections in order to reduce the abstentionism in favor of the candidates and parties who controlled the bodies organizing the election, a fraud to cover up the abstentionism, the blank and spoiled votes, that is, to cover up the massive rejection. When agreements could not be reached on how to divide up the votes, this sparked violent acts against the election organizations in Ancash, Cajamarca, La Libertad, Pasco, Ica, Junin, San Martín, Tacna, Loreto, Ucayalí, Moquegua,

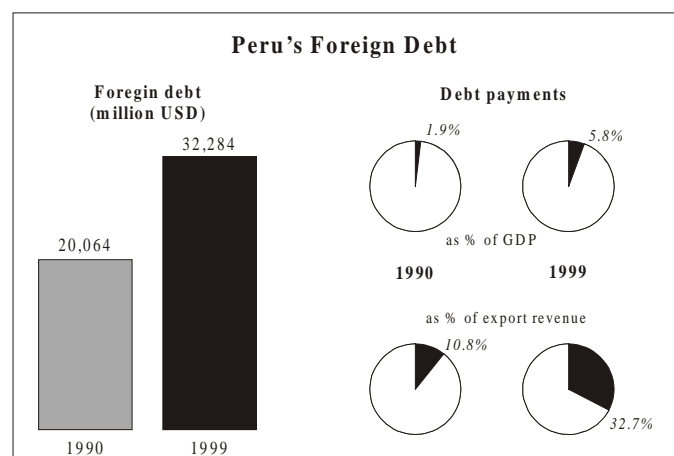
Arequipa y Piura. Toledo's party was totally defeated and battered. **The boycott tactic applied by the Party is fine, it develops the tendency of the people against the elections and it serves the People's War, as was shown once more in these last elections in November 2002.** Tuesta Soldevilla, Chairman of the National Bureau of Election Processes - ONPE - has in his declarations seen himself forced to recognize this tendency as follows: *"In countries like ours, the first thing the non-compulsory vote will bring about, is that the bulk of those not going to vote will be among the section of the poorest people . . . If it had been up to them, a lot of people would not have voted in these election"* (in an interview with the *La República* newspaper, November 30, 2002). Thus, they have not obtained their so-called democratic triumph, the government party has received a flogging and has ended up in a very dangerous position; the Yankees are maintaining it with all kinds of injections.

If this is the situation in politics, how is their economic process doing? They are not able to reactivate, they remain in recession since 1997, that is in a deeper crisis within their general and final crisis; but Toledo and the APRA-man Silva Ruete, with the help of the financial organs of Yankee imperialism, want to tell everybody the tale of reactivation, of sustained growth (see the news from the latest

ruvian foreign debt was estimated at 35,200 million USD, and the debt payment is higher every year and every quarter, and hence difficult to fulfill, which is a serious problem for them, even more so keeping in mind that their whole program centers of honoring the debt and on having foreign currency available for the imperialist companies to take home their profits. *"24% of the General Budget of the Republic goes to paying the debt, which makes public investment difficult,"* as their own Minister of Economy, the APRA-man Silva Ruete, pointed out, but the percentage is in reality higher. When presenting his budget proposal, he said: *"Firstly, the interest expenditure has increased by 24.6% in real terms, as compared to for 2002, because we have to honor the deadlines on the payments of the amounts borrowed, granted at the end of the 1990's."* And the debt will keep growing with the issuing of the so-called sovereign bonds - proclaimed as being a great success for the government - to pay this very debt and the deficit it generates. Country-sellers!

Yankee imperialism's plan and the foreign debt. Today, a global refinancing of the debt, like they did in the 1980's, is much more difficult and complex, because the structure of the creditors is different. This government has done it partially, thus worsening the debt payment situation, as the interests on the debt have gone up to 9%. At present, the imperialists, with the experience of the Brady plan, have the idea of applying a new plan for refinancing the debt; they talk of declaring our countries in insolvency in order to apply a process similar to the one existing in the laws of New York State for companies in the same situation. That is to say, they are making sure that they have all resources they need in order to intervene directly in the handling of the economy of our countries and squeeze the juice out of them to the benefit of imperialist finance capital. This new refinancing plan is within the framework of Yankee imperialism's hegemonic plan for all of Latin America, which in 2005, with the *American Free Trade Agreement (AFTA)* will be applied as the second part of their *"neoliberal program"* or *"Washington consensus."* They are already applying it in Mexico since 1996. The European imperialists are calling this process *"the regionalization of Latin America by the U.S.,"* in order to throw out their competitors from Europe, Asia and Oceania from their backyard, which according to these imperialists goes against their "ideal," *"globalization"* - this absurd and impossible tale of the joint and peaceful exploitation of the world by the international monopolies unified on the world level.

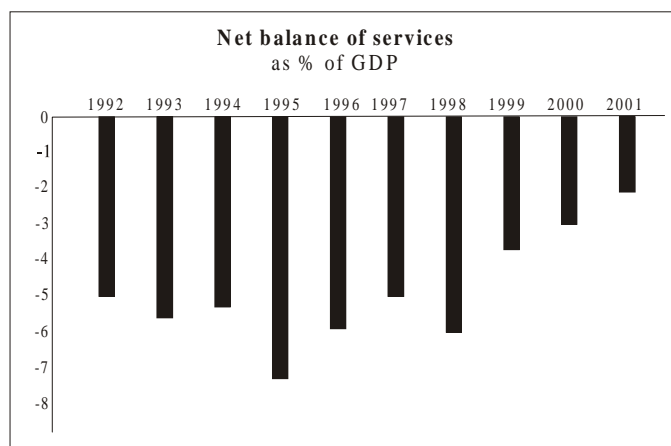
The national accounts. The reduction in the gap in the balance of payments as a percentage of the GDP from 1999 onwards, is due to the serious recession, contrary to what you might think, it is therefore not an indicator of an improvement in the economy, but of it's getting even worse.



CADE). But what is certain is that the fulfillment of the task of giving a new impetus to bureaucrat capitalism (the first reactionary task) is a historical and political impossibility.

Far from being solved, their problems are increasing. According to the *World Bank (WB)* criteria, in January 2002, Argentina, Brasil, Ecuador, Guyana, Nicaragua and Peru were classified as *"severely indebted"* countries, the current value of their payments on the foreign debt being over 80% of GDP and/or 220% of the export revenue.

At the end of the third quarter 2002 - according to the data collections of the European investigation institutes - the Pe-



In order to grasp the greater collapse of bureaucrat capitalism, one should also take into consideration the following observation by the magazine *Caretas* (November 7, 2002): "A recent revision "A recent revision by the INEI [Peru's National Institute of Statistics] of the national accounts for 1994 - base year for the current statistical projections - concluded that the GDP estimate for that year was overestimated by some 20%, and not about 10%, as was originally concluded in 1999. The report dates from August this year, and would, if confirmed, mean that the fiscal deficit is greater in relation to a smaller GDP, as well as in terms of tributary pressure. Prime minister **Luis Solari's** enthusiasm for statistics being well known, it would be a good idea for him to revive his knowledge. Obviously, *Caretas* does not mention that it would also mean that the pressure on the debt payments would surpass all estimates as a percentage of GDP, the National Budget, etc. But neither does it say, that this overestimation, this deceit, has been made by agreement with, or following the directives of, the IMF, the World Bank, the Yankee master, in order to catch the eye of imperialist capital, and so that the famous investors won't run a way, that is to say, the ones that are not in the know, by using this "comparative advantage" with the other semi-colonial countries of the region. This also means that it is not true that the level of production observed in 1987 was recuperated in 1995, and that it neither is true, that the 1997 GDP- in *per capita* terms - was similar to the one observed in 1973 (which was very similar that of 1962), but below that observed in 1973, and hence also the one for 1962. As far as the productivity is concerned, they have not recuperated the level of the mid-80's.

Their current account balance also has a deficit. Its balance in million dollars was: -1,817 (1999), -1,645 (2000) and -1,120 (2001). It is necessary to add the comment that the current account balance deficit had been twice as big, if the current transfers during these years would not have been 944 (1999), 976 (2000) and 1,024 (2001). These current

transfers are the money transfers from Peruvians living abroad, from the two million Peruvians, the immense majority poor, who have left the country in order to be able to survive and who, living abroad, are exploited by imperialism under the worst possible conditions, without rights, and who with their blood, sweat and tears contribute to the survival of their families. Even what the Peruvians are producing abroad, outside of the social and economical process of the country, goes to paying imperialism's direct and indirect investments. This expresses that the economic process, bureaucrat capitalism, is collapsing even more, its greater parasitism, and the greater imperialist exploitation and oppression. There have been three crises, within their general and final crisis, in less than a decade, from 1995 until today, and they have no way out. Everything they have applied and apply is to be found in the letters of intention signed with the IMF, that is, dictated by the central bank of the U.S., the Federal Reserve, in accordance with the permanent farce, ". . . which [according to J. Stiglitz, himself a former advisor to Clinton and former World Bank Vice President - note by RS] consists in that the country writes a letter with its intentions, giving details on what it plans to do, which it sends to the IMF; but it's the IMF that already before has told it what it should write: it has been dictated to them."

On the bedtime-story of the economic recovery. At the Annual Executive's Conference (CADE 2002), Toledo talked of his famous "macroeconomical" figures - inflated, manipulated figures, with which he wants to cover up the real state of the country. In view of the election campaign, the government increased expenditure and thus the deficit, with prior IMF authorization, which is why Silva Ruete traveled to Washington in late August. Toledo says that private investment grew by 4.5% in September, for the first time in eight quarters, and that tax collection has increased. As far as the investment is concerned, their situation is very serious, as the big bourgeoisie's own economists assert (Macroconsult, for instance); they need a long period of continued and sustained growth of this investment, at a rate of more than 10%, and a GDP growth much significantly higher than 7%, not to recuperate, but according to the very same sources, this would be just in order to maintain the current situation of collapse, hoping not to fall even further, only taking into consideration the annual growth of the Peruvian population by 350,000 persons per year. It's crystal clear: there is no other solution to the country's problems, other than culmination the democratic revolution with the countrywide seizure of power, by means of the People's War. The growth of investment in September is due to the handing over of the concession for the electrical transmission companies Etecén and Etesur to the Colombian company associated with Yankee imperialism, Interconexión Eléctrica S.A (ISA), in June; the 261 million USD check for

the concession rights was handed over to the minister of state Quijandría on September 3, 2002. Further, these investments figures will henceforth start generating profits and thus future money transfers abroad, in the proportion of three to four dollars per dollar invested, thus a net transfer abroad. In addition, as the very representatives of the banking sector say, these macroeconomic figures are the result of financial speculation. And the worst thing is that they do not have any new projects, as is confirmed by information from the newspaper *Expreso* (November 30, 2002): **"Macroeconomic figures are not enough, warns banker Raimundo Morales. Lack of new investments weakens economic recovery. Despite the favorable economic figures presented by the Executive, the absence of new investment projects worries the businessmen, who in this see a sign of weakness in the recovery process that could mean that this will not be sustainable over time. 'If we start noting the development of new investment projects, we would think that this growth can be sustained over time, but in order for this to happen, it is necessary that the investors start to feel a bit more comfortable with the Peruvian reality and with the legal and taxing norms', stated the banker Raimundo Morales during his participation at CADE 2002. The Banco de Crédito C.E.O. was cherished the hope that the present macroeconomic results don't correspond to a financial 'bubble' and that a growth in investment levels will manifest itself shortly, along with a greater transfer of capitals toward non-traditional sectors."** Thereafter, he says: *"I do not think that there is a significant slowdown . . . What does exist, is an important surplus of cash . . . the investment and the growth we believed would be coming, have not taken place."* Our comment is that they have not been able to reduce the slowdown, for their "reactivation" is not coming, and this slowdown is in spite of all the measures taken by Paniagua and the "Yankee with Indian hat" (Toledo) to favor the banks belonging to the imperialist big bourgeoisie and the Peruvian big bourgeoisie associated to it. The cash surplus in the banks reveals the tale of economic recovery, says the banker categorically: *"the investment and the growth . . . have not taken place."* So, apart from this bedtime story on growth, these figures that they have given for September, and later for the rest of the year, show that they are fomenting a "financial bubble" as the expression of the greater parasitism that bureaucrat capitalism generates in its moment of general crisis, in the process of its destruction. Concerning the increased tax collection, this is due to the tax increases and the measures imposed by the IMF in order to increase the financial plunder of the country, it is not due to a growing economic activity.

The character of the society of being a semifeudal and semicolonial society, in which a bureaucrat capitalism unfolds manifests itself in the very harshest way. The last

FAO report signals *"that Latin America's agricultural dependency has increased, that the internal production of foodstuffs has been penalized to the benefit of exportation."* In these conditions, the government applies the Yankee imperialist plans for the *"substitution of coca."* The Party sustains that this amounts to condemning the poor peasantry to more hunger and misery. Reality shows this truth with all the harshness you can imagine: At the end of 2001, the international coffee price reached its lowest level in the last twenty years. In Peru, this crisis affects about 130,000 families. The National Coffee Board (JNC) reports, that the price paid in the centers where the harvest is collected, is between 1.60 and 2.20 soles per kilo pergamino coffee, which equals less than 50% of the average production cost (5 soles). The same sources say that *"another factor in this crisis is the rural underdevelopment of the great majority of the coffee-producing countries,"* that is to say, their semifeudal character. This is why it is the case that in our country, agriculture represents only about 8% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It is because of to this very character, as our founder Mariátegui (the PCP was founded by Mariátegui in 1928) observed in the 20's of the 20th century, that Peru is an importer of wheat and its derived products like wheat flour, pasta, bread, etc. Peru imports slightly more than 1 million metric tons of wheat, as compared to a national production that ought to be around 100,000 tons. There is a dependency on dairy products as well, which to a great extent are imported from Australia, New Zealand and Europe. Other products imported are vegetable oils and meats, even though read meat to a great extent has been replaced by chicken, which means that we have been converted into big importers of corn from the U.S., as fodder. We are at present producing barely half the quantity of industrial corn needed. This import volume represents between 800 and 900 million USD per year, which for the Peruvian economy is a very significant sum, as the reactionary experts themselves say. They say: *"What should be achieved in Peru is a great effort for increasing productivity, and there is much to be done concerning education, concerning technology transfer."* But, as we know, this is not the solution, these are neither the causes of nor the cures for the current state of the country but, above all, the expression of the semifeudal and semicolonial character of Peruvian society; only triumphant revolution can definitively liquidate this old society and truly solve the national problem and the democratic problem. The reactionary proposal is based on us having to be more efficient in view of *"the opening-up of the market and competitiveness"*; the only thing one would achieve by that is a greater backwardness and domination by imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism.

Employment is not growing. The statistical data that appear in reaction's own mass media show that the Economi-

cally Active Population (PEA) is close to 12 million, of which only 15% have adequate employment, i.e., close to 1.8 million have adequate employment, of which 1 million are state workers, the rest are unemployed or underemployed, that is 85% of the population, about 8.2 million Peruvians - this, in a country where employment has been falling constantly since 1974, where in 1980, 1 million new workplaces needed to be created, in 1997, 4 million, and now, more than 8 million new workplaces.

Thus, in economy as well, this government, being a simple runt of imperialism, shows that it is the continuation of the fascist, genocidal and country-selling Fujimori government, totally subjected to the plan of imperialism and of the big bourgeoisie; the Letter of Intent signed with the IMF for the two-year period 2002-2003 confirms it. In clause 3 of this letter, it is declared that the reforms applied from 1990 to date have been successful until 1997, but that due to external factors and the "El Niño phenomenon," they have run into difficulties, and they promise to continue their policies for "structural reforms," that is, the privatization and the private-sector operating concessions (clause 7 in the Letter), to continue the selling of the country. In order to guarantee the payment of the debt and the charges paid to imperialist capital, they tie themselves up to a whole system of fiscal plunder of the country, unloading the weight of the taxes on the backs of the poorest masses, via the indirect taxes on consumption, etc., and on the income taxes of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, while preserving the low taxes and the tax-exemptions for the big capital of imperialism and for the big bourgeoisie, to wit, in order to promote investment "through security and legal stability."

Thus, ideologically, politically and economically, they are more and more collapsing in their general crisis, and they are daily being demolished by the People's War.

The principal task for Peruvian reaction is to annihilate the People's War. Fujimori and thereafter Paniagua and Toledo have cackled the defeat of the People's War, following the libretto written by their Yankee imperialist masters, just like the miserable rats of the revisionist and capitulationist ROL. Today, they are no longer saying that they have defeated us, they are only talking of "important advances." Toledo, being the continuer of Fujimori, said: "I must give Fujimori the recognition of achieving important advances in the struggle against terrorism, and we will not step back" (*La República*, December 2, 2002).

Reaction is panicking because of the boycott campaign successfully carried out by the Communist Party of Peru; they say: "Terrorism once more declares war on Peru with its armed action, which recently took the toll of the life of a police captain. But some ignorant people keep talking of residues and isolated action. The Shining Path has a new strategy in alliance with narco-trafficking, which is why they present themselves to the coca-growers in Apurímac with a new image, that hides the violence and disguises their political objectives behind the principal local demand. . . . And what the government is doing with its policy, is minimizing subversion, and its remedy decentralization, literally speaking is throwing oil on the fire . . . the country and the government have to recur to our ill-treated armed forces and ask them to once more go out and combat in the countersubversive war, and go out and sacrifice their lives before it is too late. The government should better think carefully about what it is doing." (Newspaper *Expreso*, December 2, 2002) As we see, the People's War is the principal problem for the old state, and they have to deal with it even as part of their contention.

Reaction is panicking because of the boycott campaign successfully carried out by the Communist Party of Peru

Earlier, on August 21, 2002, the Minister of the Interior, Gino Costa, declared to the newspaper *Correo*: "It is evident that the participation of the armed forces is necessary. We would appreciate if this legislature would approve a project making it possible for the armed forces to participate in operations with the police for renewable time-spans of 30 days, without having to declare a state of emergency." Here, the minister of state

is attempting to lie on his real intentions, for the reactionary armed forces are already participating actively in the anti-subversive war, as he himself recognizes (see the newspaper *La República*, Lima, December 28, 2002); what he is proposing is that broad powers be given to the armed forces to have the control over the entire country.

The enemy's "encirclement and annihilation" campaigns against the revolutionary support bases. The report in *Correo* of October 29, 2002, says: "The Minister of the Interior, Gino Costa, revealed that the Shining Path terrorists are intensifying their proselytizing actions, which is why he did not exclude the possibility of new attacks taking place in view of the upcoming November elections. He explained that both his office and the National Intelligence Council has information showing that the remaining groups of this terrorist movement have increased their propaganda action." And, almost thanking god, he said: "Fortunately, there have been no large-scale operations. Where hope that there won't be any, but the risk cannot be excluded." All this reveals the

panicking of the enemy before the advance of our invincible People's War. It is with the People's War that we obtain everything, without it, we would have nothing. The Party's plans are developing in a very successful way; thus, during the course of 2002, some support bases have been re-conquered and conquered and the operation radius has been widened, this by means of the powerful actions of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The Open People's Committees are



blossoming in our country, they are defiantly showing the beautiful reality of the new power, with our red flags with the hammer and sickle shining in the light of the sun. This new power is sustained by the barrels of the guns of our PLA. The enemy's campaigns have developed from failure to failure, they have crashed, being met by the PLA, which is more forged and steeled by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. The enemy is admitting his failure and is trying out a "change" of tactics, announcing that they are going to undermine the People's Committees from within, by using the repentant and the masses subjected by force (see the extensive article elaborated, in coordination with the reactionary armed forces' intelligence service, by a columnist of the newspaper *La República*, December 28, 2002). The actions of putting up flags, carried out by the Party through the PLA in very extensive areas of the country's territory, in the countryside as well as in the cities, is an irrefutable proof of that the Central Committee of the PCP asserts.

This is why the enemy is carrying out its "encirclement and annihilation" campaigns, and within these, their military operations, such as Thunderstorm I, II and III, against the support bases of the Principal Regional Committee, against the Huallaga Regional Committee, etc. This is the recognition of the great advances concretized during last year, and thus they are reporting that: "On October 29, two PNP [Peruvian National Police] helicopters took off from the Mazamari countersubversive base.

Their mission: strike against the Shining Path remnants that have installed themselves in the immediate neighborhood of the river Ene. . . . These interventions have intensified during the past few months, since after several reconnaissance and intelligence operations, it has been detected that the Shining Path is expanding the area they control. They have built encampments and agricultural fields on the left river bank of the Ene. . . . The National Police is trying to stop the terrorist from establishing themselves permanently in this area and converting it into a liberated area.

Therefore, they are out to destroy their encampments, generate panic in its ranks in order to promote desertions, destroy the sources of foodstuffs and progressively isolate the captive populations from the (fanatically ideologically indoctrinated) armed band" (Caretas, November 7, 2002). This shows the way they are applying their already failed "low-intensity warfare," seeking to, by means of genocides like those in the Ene against the populations of the People's Committees, isolate the guerrilla from the masses, "drying out the fish," while they keep spreading their lies as part of their war, such as this talk of "captive native populations."

These "encirclement and annihilation" campaigns - which they portray as mere operations, and for which they make so much propaganda, such as Thunderstorm I, II and III, and that each and every one have been failures for them - show that the countersubversive troops of the Ministry of the Interior, that is, mercenaries trained, equipped, replenished, transported, paid and lead by the CIA and the Special Forces, are the ones that are serving as the spearhead in the

current campaign against the People's War, as cannon fodder of the genocidal armed forces, which, as even the newspaper *La República* - tied to Toledo and to APRA - recognize (Lima, December 28, 2002), are taking part in this genocidal action. Mazamari is a Yankee base covered up as a counter-narcotics base of the Peruvian National Police (PNP). They want to hide the invention of army troops under the cover of war on drugs. In this way, they are covering up the new genocide being applied against the peasant population that lives from growing coca, in this way they are slurring over the greater intervention by Yankee imperialism.

The genocidal apprentice Führer, García Pérez, has declared the following to the newspaper *Correo* (Lima, December 29, 2002): *"I really think that there is an unnecessary ill-treatment of the armed forces. Two years have already gone by, and they have already been beheaded seven times. This has turned into a sport. Peru is facing internal risks. Nobody can doubt the fact that what remained of the subversive movement is going to start moving again. And when the moment comes to say that they are defending Peru against this, with which spirit?"* In this statement, he reveals the deep political crisis and the struggles between the distinct factions of reaction over the control over the armed forces, the existence of different factions in contention within the genocidal and country-selling armed forces themselves, and the failure of their principal task of annihilating the People's War.

The People's War is the principal problem of the old state. The successes for the Party are notable, and greater victories in the development of the People's War have already been conquered. The People's War is the principal problem of the old Peruvian state, the political proof is at hand; everybody, from the President, to his ministers of state, the members of parliament, the military and police commanders, their political parties, the members of the big bourgeoisie and their business and professional representatives, their judges and lawyers, their journals, reviews, radio and television, all focus their attention, their declarations and their discussion on the problem of "terrorism," that is, on how to combat the invincible People's War. They go from failure to failure and they need cheap victories, that is why they, for November 16 and 17 last year, the day of their elections, invented an "armed strike" **that was not called to by the Party.** It was a hoax, in order to later say that it was a failure, that the people didn't follow it, that democracy triumphed, etc. As evidence to the great and powerful actions carried out by the People's Liberation Army, we indicate examples in our list of actions. These actions have been carried out "before, during and after the November elections," as the newspaper *La Industria de Trujillo* says, when it publicizes the actions where flags have been set up, carried out by the

Party in the city Trujillo and in different provinces of the coast and sierra regions in the department La Libertad. These actions, in all of the country, within the area of the Principal Regional Committee as well as in that of Huallaga, and also in the capital and in the rest of the country, were part of the successful boycott campaign the Party applied. Villages were taken over and armed propaganda and agitation was carried out, as part of our boycott campaign. This is very important. With these actions, the Communist Party of Peru has stirred up the country, the application of the boycott has been very fine, the people's tendency in opposition to the elections has been developed further, and this serves the People's War. And the enemy's campaign of lies and hoaxes against Chairman Gonzalo and the Central Committee of the Party was crushed. A part of this the enemy's campaign, are all these apocryphal "letters" and "declarations," such as the one published by this second-rate journalist living in Belgium, a big trafficker and a bastardy chieftain, who is serving the plans of imperialism, of reaction and of the ROL. A pretentious nobody without principles who today is lining up with the impenitent revisionists that he so loudly claimed to be "combating," these ones who are hegemonists just like Yankee imperialism, these ones from the quasi-party of the black chieftain, who are dreaming of being in the parliaments of imperialism, these ones who oppose the people's war. All these, in Peru and abroad, **seek to annihilate the leadership, because it is the leadership that makes it possible to maintain the bearing and materialize it.**

The following statement by Chairman Gonzalo - who was talking about the fascist, genocidal and country-selling Fujimori government - fits like a glove for this government of the Yankee with Indian head, but in a situation of an even greater level of collapse: **"This government is in a situation that grows more difficult by the day, the most critical situation which Peruvian society has ever undergone and they will be unable to handle it. Any measures they may adopt cannot result in anything but transitory blossoming and general bankruptcy, and the principal instrument for their demolition is the People's War firmly rooted in the class struggle of the masses."** (*On the Rectification Campaign Based on the Study of the Document "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!"*, Central Committee, Communist Party of Peru, 1991)

SOME ACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

May 1, 2002

In Huanchaco (La Libertad), the PLA causes a black-out throughout the entire district. In addition, money is confiscated from authorities of the old state.

May 13, 2002

In El Tambo, Huancayo, PLA combatants detonate a bomb against the Supreme Court of Justice of Junín.

May 13, 2002

In an action coordinated with a roadblock against the Central Highway by peasants in the area, in the department Pasco, the PLA demolishes a high-tension Pylon in the area Batanchacra, leaving among others a mining company without electricity.

May 17, 2002

PCP sympathizers in Malmö (Sweden) carry out a brilliant propaganda action, which had a great impact. In support of the People's War of Peru, they place a large red flag with the hammer and sickle and signed PCP on the highest hill of the city, illuminating it with fire bombs.

May 18, 2002

Confrontation between the PLA and the reactionary armed forces, during an "encirclement and annihilation" campaign carried out by reaction against the support bases in the jungle region San Martín de Pangoa.

May 18, 2002

The PLA carries out actions in the districts Santa María del Valle and Churubamba (Huánuco department). The combatants hoisted red flags with the hammer and sickle, painted slogans of the PCP on several buildings in both districts, left leaflets containing threats against authorities of the old state, and carried out mass work, visiting the inhabitants in their houses.

Around May 20, 2002

The PLA carries out actions, painting slogans in Olmos (Lambayeque) and in Huarmaca (Piura) and warns four collaborators with the reaction army.

May 28, 2002

Confrontation between the PLA and the reactionary armed forces in the district Ayahuanco (Ayacucho). According to reports, various reactionaries were injured.

End of May 2002

There are reports on "a very strong penetration" by the PCP at several universities, among others those of San Marcos (Lima), Ucayali, Huánuco, Ayacucho, Juliaca and Cerro de Pasco.

June 2002

The PLA has painted slogans in the small towns Santa María del Valle, Taruca, Taulligan, Casha and in other communities in the department Huánuco. In the area of the Monzón valley, at least ten adolescents and youth between the ages of 12 and 25 have joined the PLA.

Around June 20, 2002

The People's Liberation Army "encirclement and annihilation" counter-campaign triumphs in the area Oreja de Perro (Ayacucho, Apurímac and Cusco). According to the press reports, the reactionary armed forces troops were running away like chickens from the hard blows dealt by the PLA. The reactionary armed forces had to be evacuated in helicopters, and the large number of wounded were secretly transported to the different military hospitals, while there the number of militaries dead was left unreported or covered up.

July 5, 2002

The PLA annihilates seven *ronderos* in the hamlet "9 de Octubre", 12 km from the city Aucayacu, in the department

Huánuco.

July 6, 2002

The PLA enters the place called Cabanilla (Puno) and hoists the red flag with the hammer and sickle, chorusing slogans in favor of the People's War. A sabotage action was also carried out, causing a black-out.

July 2002

In the department Piura, in northeastern Peru, a massive campaign was developed during the entire month of July, as part of the People's War. Throughout the month, the PLA painted numerous slogans in different hamlets in the district Huarmaca, in the Huancabamba province.

On July 27, in the very capital of the district, actions were carried out against the locales of three political groupings of the old Peruvian state. Messages were put up, signed with the hammer and sickle, warning the representatives of reaction not to run for candidate in the municipal election, and calling upon the people to boycott them.

On July 28, the old state's national holiday, the PLA painted yet more slogans in several schools in the district, carried out actions mobilizing for the boycott, and hoisted red flags with the hammer and sickle.

End of July, 2002

PLA action in the place called Cabana, Ancash.

July 28, 2002

In Satipo, the PLA captures some two soldiers from the reactionary armed forces, without firing a single bullet. The comrades take their weapons, carry out a meeting with them, and then let them go free. This type of action serves to undermine the reactionary armed forces and win the support from a large part of the soldiers in the reactionary armed forces, who they themselves have peasant or popular origins.

July 28, 2002

In a high-level action in the department Puno, the PLA takes a city with a population of 25,000. The city is situated in the middle of the plateau, about 4000 meters above sea level, but the PLA has despite this been able to take it by surprise, causing a black-out.

August 2 and 9, 2002

In the Vischongo district (province of Vilcashuamán, in the department Ayacucho), due to the advance of the People's War, *"panic has broken out"* among the leaders of the *rondas*, auxiliary forces consisting principally of masses who by force are obliged to combat the People's War. Among recent PLA actions in this area are various actions where red flags have been set up, for instance on August 2 in Occros, and in Cruz Pata, close to Ñuñuhuayco, on August 9.

August 4, 2002

Selective annihilation action by the PLA, wounding two representatives of the old state, members of Toledo's organization, in the community Canchabamba (Huánuco department). After this action, the mayor of Canchabamba has informed on reiterated death threats against him by the PCP: *"They are threatening us so that we will step down from our political posts and not candidate in the upcoming elections"*. These actions show how the new power is expanding in this central area of Peru as well.

August 5, 2002

In the department Loreto, in northeastern Peru, agitation and propaganda actions have been carried out by the PLA, acting in coordination with manifestations by the workers in the area. Workers in the reactionary Toledo governments' program "To Work" had been demonstrating against the delay in paying their salaries, and during these protests, they painted several slogans for their demands, as well as the hammer and sickle and the signature PCP, on offices belonging to the "Temporary Council for Regional Administration of Loreto" (CTAR-Loreto), on the "Bureau for Communal Development" and on other buildings belonging to authorities of the old Peruvian state.

August 28, 2002

PLA incursions in the two small towns Atacocha and San Pedro de Cachi (Ayacucho). The combatants entered the two small towns in the early morning of August 28 and held meetings with the inhabitants, calling them to join the PLA and the People's War, and confiscated foodstuffs and medicine.

September 2, 2002

Intense confrontation between PLA combatants and National Police forces in the hamlet Chilchir, Sarín district (Huamachuco province, in the department La Libertad).

September 15, 2002

The PLA confiscates a large quantity of explosives, being transported to a mine, on a road in the district Chongoyape, Chiclayo. In the early morning hours, the combatants set up a road block consisting of tree trunks and rocks, thus stopping a truck guarded by two agents from the National Police. Applying the PCP politics of conquering arms, the PLA took possession of a large quantity of explosives: 142 boxes of dynamite, 50 bags of anfo and 12 boxes of fuse.

September 15, 2002

Some 50 PLA combatants, many of them youth, enter the small town Ponunpuari, in the Ene river valley. They carry out mass work, explaining the role of Yankee imperialism and of the world anti-imperialist struggle, mobilizing them against the greater Yankee intervention in Peru. The combatants also confiscated medicine.

Around September 15, 2002

As part of the boycott, the PLA carries out actions of armed agitation and propaganda, painting slogans in San Miguel de El Faique, Huancabamba.

Around September 15, 2002

Boycott actions with the painting of slogans in the district San Juan Bautista de Huamanga.

September 17 and 18, 2002

In the first of a series of “encirclement and annihilation” campaigns by reaction, the so-called “Operation Thunderstorm”, one policeman is annihilated and eight others wounded, as the PLA fights back the attacks against the support bases on the right river bank of Ene, in the Apurímac Valley.

September 24, 2002

Overwhelming action of armed propaganda and agitation against the main office of the Swedish government in Stockholm, Sweden, in celebration of the tenth anniversary of Chairman Gonzalo’s masterful Speech. During the night of the 23, a small bomb detonated at the entrance of the office, spreading leaflets in the surrounding blocks. According to press reports, the leaflets were signed “Maoists September 2000” and contained slogans in support of the People’s War, the PCP and Chairman Gonzalo. The action has resonated on the world level; there have for instance been reports on the action in newspapers in all or almost all the Western European imperialist countries. But it has principally resonated in Peru, it was in the headlines of almost the entire media, the press as well as TV. The action has also forced the reactionary national press to recognize and inform on the support for the People’s War abroad.

September 29, 2002

Sabotage action carried out by a platoon consisting of more than 20 PLA combatants against the imperialist company Techint, which is carrying out the Camisea gas project, in the community Punay, in Huamanga province, in Ayacucho. The machinery was sabotaged and meeting was held with slogans in favor of the People’s War. The combatants also left PCP leaflets, explaining that the action was carried out partially in support of the struggle for demands of the workers exploited by this company.

October 1, 2002

The PLA assaults the military base Boca Tsomabeni, which had already been destroyed to a large extent, and burns what remained.

October 5, 2002

In celebration of the Day of the Party, the PLA carries out an action of armed agitation and propaganda in a village in Ayacucho, known as Chumpi, which has a population of 4,500 persons. The slogans “Long Live the PCP!”, and “Long Live Chairman Gonzalo!” had been painted on several houses.

October 24, 2002

Some 20 PLA combatants enter the community Señor de Luren in the remote area Alto Anapati, in the district San Martín de Pangoa, carrying out a meeting with the population on a village square.

End of October 2002

The PLA carries out boycott actions in Puno. By means of slogans painted in different places in the province Azángaro, candidates are warned not to run as candidates in the elections, or else they will be annihilated.

October 29 to November 2, 2002

Large-scale confrontations between the PLA and the reactionary forces are stirring up the Satipo, within the “encirclement and annihilation” campaigns of reaction and the PCP countercampaigns. Through the so-called operation “Thunderstorm II”, using troops from the so-called Special Operations Department of the National Police, reaction is carrying out genocide against the support bases in this jungle region, applying “steal everything, burn everything, kill everybody”. The genocidal police forces destroyed a total of 55 huts in these two People’s Committees, further details on the genocide being silenced by the reactionary press. Reaction entered the people’s committees in the areas known as Tibení and Anapati, belonging to the district San Martín de Pangoa, in the province Satipo, Junín, using artillery helicopters. The Party applied the basic guerrilla tactics of making the enemy turn around and searching his weak spot in order to strike him, which is why the majority of the Party members, combatants and masses had already retreated from the area, leaving a contingent to repel the attack.

Early November 2002

PLA actions in the province Satipo.

November 6, 2002

As part of the boycott campaign against the municipal and regional elections of the old Peruvian state, the PLA carries out a sabotage action against the Decentralized Bureau for Election Processes (ODPE) in Pampas-Tayacaja (Huancavelica). The PLA had also carried out actions painting slogans calling not to vote, signed with PCP and the hammer and sickle, for instance on some of the walls of the National Bank and on the house of the campaign chief of Acción Popular’s in Pampas-Tayacaja.

November 7, 2002

A PLA company - 60 combatants, half of them women - heavily armed and carrying radio equipment, enters the community Tambo Pacocha, in the province Huanta, in Ayacucho, calling to boycott the elections. A meeting is held with the population on the main square, and leaflets calling not to vote are handed out. Another action of the same type was carried out in Pampamacocha, in the same province, where warnings also were issued to representatives of the old state against their running for candidate in the elections. The minister of the interior himself, Gino Costa, acknowledged that, in the Andean departments Junín, Ayacucho and Huancavelica, only during the first two weeks of November, numerous incursions had been carried out by the PLA, as part of the boycott.

First two weeks of November 2002

Campaign with painting of slogans in favor of the People’s War and in defense of the life of the prisoners of war in several parts of Lima: Comas, Puente Piedra, Villa El Salvador and San Juan de Lurigancho.

November 15, 2002

Overwhelming PLA ambush against the police forces near the river Yanamonte, in the province La Mar, department of Ayacucho. One officer was annihilated and several others wounded.

November 15, 2002

Several incursions by the PLA in villages in remote areas like Río Tambo and Ene, where the population was called upon not to vote.

Around November 15, 2002

As part of the boycott, the PLA carries out actions of armed agitation and propaganda, painting slogans in San Miguel de El Faique, Huancabamba.

Around November 15, 2002

Boycott actions with slogans painted in the district San Juan Bautista in Huamanga.

November 17, 2002

Many boycott actions were carried out on election day itself, despite the extreme security measures reaction had taken. The

old state had drastically reduced the number of polling stations, concentrating them in order to be able to protect them better. 94.750 policemen were deployed all over the country, and in many areas the armed forces were mobilized as well, and several helicopters and even airplanes were used for surveillance. As always, reaction aims at silencing the actions in the People's War, and this time, they first launched a hoax on an "armed strike" the Party never had called to, in order to afterwards say that "it was a failure". After the elections, a spokesman of the National Bureau of Anti-Terrorism (DINCOTE) declared that: "There have not been acts of sabotage in any of the departments and everything has taken place in full normality", and a similar declaration was published by the Joint Command of the Armed Forces. Nevertheless, they have not been able to silence all actions:

The PLA attacked the polling station in the native community Colonia Caco Macay (in Iparía, Pucallpa).

In the school San Juan Bautista in Ayacucho, a PCP poster appeared in the polling station's toilets.

In Puno, a grenade was placed close to the main entrance of the school Glorioso San Carlos in Parque Pino, where the elections in the area were held.

In the area Tambo Quimbiri, in Ayacucho, an ambush was carried out by the PLA.

In La Libertad, in northern Peru, there was another ambush by the PLA. The combatants ambushed a National Police patrol, which was on its way to guard the polling stations in Sayapullo. The action was carried out on the road leading to the district Sayapullo, in the province Gran Chimú, and the intense armed confrontation lasted more than two hours. A few days after the elections, the newspaper *La Industria* (Trujillo) actions of armed agitation and propaganda had been carried out in the city Trujillo itself before, during and after the elections; red flags had been hoisted and slogans in favor of the People's War painted on the hills, public and private buildings. It was reported that the same activities had been carried out in the coastal and sierra districts of the department La Libertad. The heads of the armed forces and the police made declarations in public to assert the calm.

A red flag with the hammer and sickle was placed on the hill Ullachín, in the district Chaupimarca (Pasco).

In Chanchamayo, the town woke up to street covered with PCP slogans.

November 24, 2002

A platoon consisting of some 20 PLA combatants makes an incursion in Limonchayo, in the Upper Apurímac Valley, Ayacucho, and holds a meeting, calling the population to join the People's War.

November 27, 2002

In yet one more encirclement and annihilation campaign, "Thunderstorm III", there are confrontations between the reactionary forces and the PLA in the support bases in San Martín de Pangoa, in the people's committees in "Mapi I", "Mapi II" and "Alegria". Reaction set fire to and destroyed 67 houses. Once more, the great majority of the population of the people's committees had already retreated, while the combatants who remained caused damages among others to the helicopters belonging to the different special forces carrying out the operation. In order to try to fool the population and portray their genocide as if it was something "good," this time, the minister of the interior set up an entire hoax on reaction having saved persons "kidnaped by the Shining Path".

December 2002

A PLA detachment enters the Superior Institute of Technology in Huanta, hoists the red flag with the hammer and sickle, paints slogans in favor of the People's War, and others in favor of the demands of the students. They also distributed leaflets and shouted vivas to the PCP.

December 2, 2002

The PLA carries out actions of armed agitation and propaganda, painting slogans on schools in San Miguel de El Faique, Huancabamba. According to the reactionary press, the slogans were in favor of the People's War, and others referring to the struggle for demands of the students in these schools. Press reports also gave notice of the preoccupations of the local authorities of the old state over the PCP activities, pointing out that "an intense political work of the Shining Path has been detected in two institutions in Piura."

Around December 8, 2002

A platoon consisting of 40 PLA combatants enters several small towns in the district San Miguel de El Faique, Huancabamba, carrying out mass work and receiving contributions from the masses.

December 18, 2002

Action of armed agitation and propaganda with slogans painted in the province Azángaro, Puno.

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE:
PALERMO, JANUARY 4-5, 2003**

**FOR THE RECONSTITUTION
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES!
LONG LIVE MAOISM!
DOWN WITH REVISIONISM!**



**LONG LIVE THE NEW GREAT WAVE OF
THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!**

Maoist Communist Party (Italy)

Peru People's Movement (MPP)