

# Summary Document of the First Congress Third Session\*

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru

1989

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*Summary Document of the First Congress.  
First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru.  
(Marxist congress, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Congress).  
Third Session.  
Preparatory Session.  
Report: On the Third Session and the Agenda.*

## GREETINGS

Receive a fervent greeting on behalf of the Central Leadership, the leaders, cadres, and members of the Party, the fighters of the People's Guerrilla Army (EGP), the masses of the New Power, and the masses who work closely with us, during these 9 years of expansive and victorious people's war.

Let us seal with resounding success the First Congress of the Party, a Marxist Congress, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Congress, Gonzalo Thought.

## 1 On the Agenda

The agenda should be seen within the framework of previous Congress sessions, but it has its specific issues. We propose that it be called the THIRD SESSION OF THE CONGRESS, keeping in mind that it is the final session of the Congress. The agenda would comprise three parts:

### I. THE FIRST CONGRESS

1. About the people's war.
2. Development of the Congress.

### II. GREAT CULMINATION OF THE PILOT PLAN

1. Actions.
2. Construction.
3. Rectification Campaign.

### III. GREAT PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT OF BASES AND CONQUEST OF POWER IN PERSPECTIVE

1. Foundation, conditions and perspective in which it is given.

2. GREAT PLAN.

3. Application of the Plan to the Committees and organizations.

## **How to Develop it**

In the first part, we have to develop the Congress and conclude a pending matter: analyzing the people's war, hence point 1:

### **1.1 Regarding the people's war**

Let's remember that in the First Session, we analyzed the ideological-political aspect, and in the Second Session, we covered the operational construction. For this point, each base has presented a report on the people's war, as agreed upon in the Second Session, accomplished at the level of the Steering Committees. At the Central Leadership, we believe that this provides a solid foundation for further development; in this Congress, it will be a study that leads us to subsequently draft a document on the people's war. Consequently, there is ample essential material to fulfill this pending point, which, although not the only one, is fundamental.

### **1.2 Development of the Congress**

Development of the Congress consists of evaluating this historical milestone in its three sessions and its implementation, specifically aiming to conclude the work of the Congress, to finalize this great task.

## **2 Great Culmination of the Pilot Plan**

In the second part, it is about taking stock of the plan, the second phase of the III Campaign of the Pilot Plan.

### **2.1 Actions**

We see a great leap in quality and quantity, with more than 60,000 actions in this campaign; the four forms of struggle are in full development, and the conquest of weapons and means, particularly modern weapons, stands out. The Party, with people's war, has stirred up the country in its most

remote depths. So much so, that the reactionaries, shaken, seek to rethink their strategy, unable to combat us. But whatever it may be, a well-directed people's war is and will be invincible. The great leap is evident in all party apparatuses, and some committees are already expressing their fundamental role. We should feel delighted about the actions of the people's war, especially because we are increasingly entering the mass war.

## **2.2 Construction**

Progress, particularly that of the EGP which has grown enormously, and this can only lead us to a growth of the Party; I emphasize once again that, for easily understandable reasons, as the vanguard of the proletariat, because the Party attracts the best of the class, and due to the nature of our society, the Party cannot grow so fast. However, the Congress is enhancing it ideologically, politically, and organizationally; therefore, we now have the elements to strengthen it even more every day. The New State has considerable growth, and the 4 forms of the Popular Committees are being expressed, and in some cases, the fifth form...

Thus, construction unfolds through people's war, a blazing and scorching forge that allows us significant progress in building the three instruments; and our practice demonstrates that Maoism is still valid, it is clear evidence of what Chairman Mao teaches us, that everything comes from the barrel of a gun.

## **2.3 Rectification Campaign**

We must raise our awareness that it is a specific way of handling class struggle within the Party, the struggle of two concrete lines, and strive to better manage this tool because it will enable us to prevent the formation of a revisionist Line of Demarcation. It is also what will allow us to face and resolve new problems that we are already confronting.

We ask for more firmness and sagacity in its application, guiding ourselves by its objectives of uniting, differentiating, and leading. We should not be surprised by problems in its management, especially if it is a new instrument. However, we must think that it should lead us to a qualitatively superior ideological leap from the beginning. It is a new challenge, a new goal, to conquer power throughout the country; first, a leap within the Party, in all its levels, starting with the ideological one, and secondly, a leap that will

happen within the masses, beginning with those who fight in the EGP, then with the masses already in the New Power, and finally with the broader masses, as we must unite 90%, of course, following the class criterion of which we are unwavering followers and even practitioners.

And, as we know, it involves in perspective the issue of the dictatorship of the proletariat, logically passing through the joint dictatorship in the new democracy, which must conclude the first stage of the Peruvian revolution with the establishment of the People's Republic of Peru.

Furthermore, its significance does not solely lie in what has been said but is also linked to our condition as proletarian internationalists, that is, to serve the world revolution, especially if we consider what is happening in the world today.

### **3 Great Plan of Development of Bases and Conquest of Power in Perspective**

#### **3.1 Foundation, conditions, and perspective in which it takes place.**

We must see that it is firmly grounded throughout the Congress and in previous party meetings, such as the IV National Conference and the I Plenum of the Central Committee (CC); furthermore, it is proven in practice for over two years, from 1986 to 1989, in the three campaigns of the Pilot Plan.

Placing it within the context of the international and national class struggle, particularly in the political conditions in which it occurs.

At the national level, it is important to observe the expression of the old society-new society contradiction. We must keep in mind the semi-feudal foundation of this old society, upon which the two imperialist superpowers operate, especially the Yankee, while also acknowledging the increasing penetration of social imperialism. We cannot ignore the actions of other imperialist powers. It is essential to understand how the crisis of bureaucratic capitalism deepens, which, as the Party stated in 1974, was born sick due to the semi-feudal basis of Peruvian society in its various degrees and the declining imperialism. We must also bear in mind that since 1980, it has entered its definitive destruction.

Analyzing how nowadays, in this old society, there has been a change of

authorities, an electoral juncture that will span a considerable time until the new administration takes office, whether it be a civilian or military regime. Observing that this intensifies the contradictions within the reaction, and the collusion and strife are everyday occurrences; the facts prove that what was agreed upon in previous sessions of Congress regarding the realization of the period is fair and correct.

But we must analyze more how the struggle against us unfolds on the ideological level; everyone is pointing at us, so we must carefully observe and differentiate, such as the role of the Church as an ideological shield, without neglecting its political role, which will grow even more. There are individuals like F. Guerra, ignorant and arch-reactionary, who, in *Expreso* on May 17, 1989, attacks Marx but ultimately targets us, labeling us as fundamentalists. This fashionable refrain started with F. Iwasaki, a small historian, anthropologist, or whatever he is. All those who now come out to “combat us on the ideological level,” dreaming of “sweeping away Marxism, communism, and communists,” are nothing more than the defenders of the old society, supporters of that outdated order. An ideological development of the bourgeoisie has no perspective.

The same can be seen in the revisionists and opportunists of the IU [United Left]; as for those from the “Unity” faction, they are very concerned because their political dominance over the masses is expiring. Their squawking about the Perestroika is nothing but a repetition of what their masters say, confirming what we agreed upon in previous sessions: they have embarked on a new counter-revolutionary revisionist offensive. In the June 15th issue of “*Cambio*,” they attack Gonzalo’s ideas, but the real issue is their anti-Maoism and their revisionist stance, about which they say nothing. They throw nothing but slanders against us, but their so-called “ideological struggle” lacks any foundation, as they deliberately distort what we say and even twist the words of Chairman Mao, whom they do not regard as being on par with Marx or Lenin. Also in “*Amauta*,” there is, among others, an article by Winer where they combat us as fundamentalists, but what do they want to tell us? That we have a religious background conception, just like the idiot F. Guerra, who repeats to an Englishman and ends up with indigestion and regurgitations. All of this is nothing but part of the old idea that ideologies have gone out of fashion, and this is not new; it’s been around for 30 years. Thus, on the ideological level, a struggle against us is more evident, and it couldn’t be otherwise. However, they encounter the most powerful and truly scientific and invincible ideology, which is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism,

principally Maoism.

Also, see the political content of the struggle they wage against us, pretending to contain the people's war. However, the people's war, if applied justly and correctly, following its principles, is invincible, and they will not be able to contain it, not with tanks, bombs, nor shattered helicopters, nor fighter-bombers.

To pay attention to the concern they have about our progress among the masses, both from the reactionaries and the revisionists and opportunists, as well as from the Church, and to see what methods they will use against the Party and the people's war. For example, they call for "unity," "change," and "Amauta," urging the mining congress to condemn us, just as their National Popular Assembly, a revisionist body that, by the way, does not move. These actions are clear signs that they are worried about our advancement among the proletariat. In the revisionists' congress of "Unity," a resolution is passed urging the class to fight against us, labeling us as genocidal, while they propose to the Apra that they will further generalize their repression. Also, we observe the stances of Villanueva, Mantilla, and even García, who, when faced with armed strikes, travel to request that they not be halted.

They are concerned about our progress among the peasantry. García has suggested that it is a mistake to fight those who cultivate coca, and "Amauta" has just discovered that those who grow coca are peasants who rely on it for their livelihood. If we combat them, they join our ranks, almost the same as before, but they only realize it after the Pentagon has stated it in their documents. They are pulling their hair out, seeing our advancement among the poor peasantry. For example, the PUM is discovering that the SAIS are useless, but they are realizing this 20 years after defending them, even under Velasco's wing. The writers in "La República" newspaper say that if SAIS Cahuide collapses, all the SAIS in Peru will collapse, and the Church in Puno is also acting against us. Confirm what the Party has been proposing since the 60s: the issue of land is critical, not only in terms of productivity but also land ownership. Land is the fundamental problem that drives the class struggle in rural areas. In Puno, we began land invasions, and the PUM followed Apra, demanding the government to implement its restructuring. The only difference was who was leading it. The agricultural strikes in Puno and Cusco, like the one in 1974, have also been used to pressure the government into implementing its plans and proving the signed agreements.

But, in addition, they are discovering that the peasant rounds can be



used by the reaction against the popular war and against the peasants' own interests, forgetting that those from IU along with the Apristas, Acciopopulistas, and other reactionaries approved them in Parliament. The Congress has already given its opinion on the peasant rounds and the specific policy we should apply; we have said that we must examine their class content, whom they serve, and that we are against armed organizations dependent on guilds, as the armed forces are directed by the Party.

In the intellectuals, the people's war is having an increasing impact, and they are beginning to differentiate themselves and turn towards us. The reactionary forces will also act against them to intimidate and push them away, applying even greater repression than they already do today. The revisionists, just like with the masses in general, manipulate their interests, and some are nothing more than false revolutionary intellectuals.

Thus, our progress among the masses, the act of expressing ourselves more as a war of masses, shakes and puts both the reaction and revisionism in serious trouble.

We must also see how the electoral situation reflects the contradiction between the old state and the new state. On one hand, there are those who are defenders of the current order and seek to preserve it. Their political issue is to collaborate and compete to see who gains more positions, with different specifications: the Apra aims to be in government; the outdated demo-liberals of FREDEMO and the IU, with their multiple ruptures and designations, present themselves as "socialists." Additionally, they always have the issue of a coup present. On the other hand, there are those who struggle for the construction of the new order through people's war.

Economically, the deepening of the crisis of bureaucratic capitalism is so evident that even they themselves are seeing the economic situation and its prospects in a negative light. What the Apra party is currently aiming for is to use the limited economic resources of the country for their electoral pursuits. This is why we must further expose all their lies about "projects," as they serve to continue oppressing and exploiting the working class, the peasantry, and the masses of our people, whose potential for unrest will continue to grow.

Thus, the class struggle in the country is intensifying day by day, both in ideological-political and military aspects, but mainly in the political realm, and the winds are blowing in our favor. All of this only reaffirms our positions agreed upon in the two previous sessions of the Congress, and we must define others regarding new issues.

Also, we must consider the conditions of the international class struggle. We have dealt with the Perestroika to some extent, and we must continue to combat it because it is part of that sinister counterrevolutionary revisionist offensive. In this session, we will delve deeper into analyzing the situation in China. We need to strive to identify the historical characteristics that China possesses. With a population of one billion people today, that immense mass holds weight in the world. When the democratic revolution triumphed in 1949, the balance of power in the world shifted, and the socialist camp expanded. Nowadays, we hear American spokespersons commenting that if the political situation in China couldn't be managed, military leaders would emerge once again, and the balance they strive to maintain would be disrupted. This is not surprising because the contradictions of the two imperialist superpowers and other imperialist powers converge there. However, there is also a proletariat, peasantry, and people in China, and what interests us is to see that there are communists, there is a left, and this left is finding expression. Considering China's geographical location is crucial in the Pacific basin where current conflicts are intensifying. It is the ocean of the coming century, and this isn't just geopolitics, but political understanding. What would it imply if the USSR were to interfere in China? Or the USA? Or France? Or Germany? Or Japan? Or England? It would result in a serious war of plunder, disabling its European stability. Gorbachev maintains a prudent silence; up to today, he has only expressed his concern. Bush has refrained from giving an official opinion, conveying it through his spokespersons instead. It could lead to a new fragmentation of China.

We must keep in mind everything that Chairman Mao told us because we are Maoists, and in his light, we must analyze and take positions as the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists that we are, as Communists, because it is our obligation. We need to view everything from a class perspective, guided by our invincible ideology. Chairman Mao told us that if China changed its color, it would shift from being red to black and become fascist. He informed us that since the year 1911, when the last dynasty was overthrown, no one has been able to govern peacefully. Chiang Kai-shek could at most maintain power for twenty years, and furthermore, they couldn't keep China united. He posed to us that it was very likely that after his death, the right-wing would seize power, but his life wouldn't be peaceful either. He teaches us that the restoration and counter-restoration that had occurred in China between slaveholders and feudal lords required a 250-year process of class struggle to ultimately crush the restoration of slavery. This process involved battles and

wars to regain usurped power. He also told us that it would be a fascinating spectacle, with both the right and the left claiming to uphold it to fight against each other. And, during the peak of the Cultural Revolution, he said, “We have at least 20 to 50 years of class struggle ahead in China.” And what do we see today? Chairman Mao passed away in 1976, not even 20 years have gone by yet, and what’s happening? The current events in China are rooted in this context.

Here, the class, the proletariat, the communists, the left, and this is the main thing, of course, the reactionary press is not going to spread this, but we have to see it. The left is expressing itself little by little until it acts as a strong erosion that moves to the offensive. Events like the appearance of portraits of Chairman Mao in the demonstrations won’t create a forest of red flags as we saw yesterday, but it’s already a sign of the communists’ action. The fact that three wretches threw ink at the official portrait of Chairman Mao makes us think that it might have been a trick by the sinister Deng to say: “They’ve even dared to go against Chairman Mao!” And this is manipulation because what he wanted was to provoke a reaction, but the strength of the communists, the proletariat, and the people is such that they haven’t been able to do it. They are already fighting their battles, and we must consider the dimension of the mass struggle on a larger scale. In Shanghai, three workers are sentenced to death. Is it the action of the class or not? To confront tanks of that reactionary, fascist army with simple Molotov cocktails, the fact that a group named “Dare!” has emerged—isn’t this what Chairman Mao has taught us, that the essence of making a revolution is to dare? Don’t we know the saying: “He who is not afraid to be torn to pieces dares to dismantle the emperor”? The methods of struggle they are employing, the heroism with which they face the situation, the fact that a banner bears a quote from Chairman Mao, “The people, and the people alone, are the motive force...” —isn’t all of this a resonance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution? I’m not saying that there’s a cultural revolution today, but we must perceive the underlying significance of these events. They are part of the ongoing process of struggles and wars through which the left, the communists, will regain power, overthrow the revisionists, and once again let Maoism shine in China.

The fact that the bourgeoisie claims it’s a movement for “freedom,” for “democracy” doesn’t surprise us; it’s their class position. For others to only see the massacre in Tiananmen Square is to miss the main point of the struggle. For “Amuta” or “Cambio” to chime in like the revisionists of the

USSR, aren't they followers of the baton? Why do they silence that heroism that only the communists, the class, the people can bring forth? Because of their anti-Maoism! Let's clearly and distinctly set ourselves apart.

Also, if one looks at the USSR, the problem of the Afghans is the same as that occurring in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. They are all national struggles that are also happening in Georgia, Armenia, and in Soviet Muslim republics, although each one has its own characteristics. Consider this: if the USSR loses one subjugated nation, in the end it will lose them all.

There are extremely serious and important situations, such as the problems in Eastern Europe. In Hungary, they have demanded justice for Nagy, who was sentenced and executed for leading the 1956 uprising. In Poland, we see fervent efforts to develop bourgeois political models more aligned with Yankee imperialism.

In their own system, there are serious issues between the imperialist superpowers and the Western imperialist powers. For instance, the agreement signed between the USSR and FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] subscribes to the principles of Perestroika, advocating for human rights above social classes. Why would it be endorsed by a Christian-democrat fascist? Because these ideologies fit him perfectly, and this is where the USA encounters problems.

Well, we present all of this because we see that this counterrevolutionary revisionist offensive has run into serious problems. They're facing questions of which path to take, what direction to follow, what the masses want and need. We must seriously examine the facts and primarily consider their perspective. The ground is beginning to shake beneath these supposed powerful masters of the Earth, as Chairman Mao teaches us with the analogy of the "handful of sand," and his words are indelible. They have gone too far, and when the right wing crosses the line, the masses begin to react and no longer allow themselves to be deceived. This is also a lesson the Chairman taught us. The world, therefore, is neither still nor at peace; winds blow and storms rise in favor of the world revolution.

## **3.2 Great Plan of Base Development**

It is the question of how this Great Plan leads us to strategic balance. There is a specific and crucial moment to transition from guerrilla warfare to maneuver warfare, even more so during the period when there is a change of reactionary authorities to preserve the old order. However, on the other

hand, there is the construction of the new Power through people's war, and this is within our grasp. It's also important to consider that the Great Plan brings us to tougher and more complex situations, but they are necessary for the conquest of Power throughout the country.

### **3.3 Application of the Plan to the Committees and organizations**

...This is what is incumbent upon all of us: to ardently strive through people's war to conquer Power throughout the country and engage in processes of constructing the conquest of Power. Considering the content of the Agenda we propose, we must keep in mind that this Third Session is within the Congress's legal framework. When we were preparing for this meeting in the Permanent Committee, we were quite concerned that since this session was concluding the Congress, problems could arise. Because, ultimately, endings sanction everything. Let's just consider if the people's war had to be discussed, and this is the main point, along with the construction as the foundation. The Congress is the guide, and everything is part of the Military Line, which is the core of the General Political Line. Furthermore, it's related to the selection of the Leadership, although we already reached an agreement on this in the First Session.

We consider that the current session is mature, the conditions are present, and it already has the advantage of two previous sessions. It is based on the brilliant and expansive people's war, which has been immensely strengthened. It will also be supported by immediate preparations such as the collective study of Chairman Mao's documents, Chairman Gonzalo's presentations, and the Party's publications. Furthermore, it is rooted in the World Revolution, which is the principal trend, and its success is within our grasp.

In summary, the Central Directorate considers that the Third Session of the Congress implies, on one hand, reaffirmation of everything already agreed upon, and on the other hand, development from the perspective of the conquest of Power.