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## Peru

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# Moscow orders civil war against García

by Gretchen Small

Jorge del Prado, secretary general of the Moscow-allied Peruvian Communist Party, announced on May 8 that the CP has begun preparations for civil war against the government of Alan García, and initiated a "dialogue" with the terrorist Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), to coordinate "mass actions" with "armed struggle." Del Prado told the CP's daily, *La Voz*, on May 8, "As things now stand, if no political agreements are reached . . . everything appears to be heading towards civil war. Furthermore, if a fascist regime is established, it will be the detonator for war. We have to be prepared for everything. . . . Reformist recipes have failed." Del Prado specified that if the government tries to impose a state of siege, or even announces a new plan in "agreement" with the Armed Forces on tougher anti-terrorist measures, that will be considered the sign of "a fascist state," to be combatted by civil war.

Del Prado's declaration comes as terrorist warfare has reached unprecedented levels. Since May 4, when terrorists bombed 14 main electrical towers, blacking out the capital for four hours and some provinces as long as three days, there have been: attacks on three factories (burning one almost entirely), bombings in a dozen-plus bank branches, assassinations of three heads of government regional development programs (two in Huancayo), the explosion of a car bomb 100 meters from the National Palace, and the dynamiting of the ministries of economics and of energy and mines. On May 13, terrorists "seeded" Lima with a kind of bomb activated by touch or a system of remote control said to be used by the Spanish terrorist band, ETA, but previously not known in Lima.

"Right-wing" forces blame the terror on García's refusal to crawl back to the International Monetary Fund, and demand the military impose a state of siege. Popular Christian Party leader Mario Polar Ugarteche threatened that García is making the same mistakes as Argentina's Juan Perón, and Chile's Salvador Allende—both overthrown by the military—during a heated debate on economic policy in Peru's Congress on May 13. In the same debate, the Socialist Inter-

national's ally, former Prime Minister Manuel Ulloa, demanded García get back to "dialogue" with the International Monetary Fund, and impose a corporatist "social pact," joining the State, labor, and capital behind a new austerity program.

García has resisted demands to match the barbarism of the terrorists with a bloodbath, instead turning to the Catholic Church to help mobilize against panic and pessimism. Two days after the blackout, García declared a national half-day holiday, to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the canonization of Lima's first black saint, St. Martín de Porras. Thousands of Peruvians, most from the poor barrios surrounding Lima where the terrorists recruit, joined the President and members of the cabinet and military, in an outdoor mass in Lima's Plaza de Armas officiated by Juan Cardinal Landázuri. The Cardinal invoked St. Martín de Porras—famed for having gotten a cat, a dog, and a mouse to eat from the same plate—as the image of reconciliation needed today. The Cardinal called upon Peruvians to join the Church in assuring that they and the Fatherland advance together, ending poverty and violence. Our people must be guided by the word of Christ, not foreign ideologies, full of hate and harm, the Cardinal urged.

## CP joins Shining Path, MRTA

Moscow's Communist Party weighed in decisively on the side of those seeking to create enough chaos, to cover a coup or an assassination against President García. The shift by the Communist Party to outright war on the government is no local decision. Except for the panic resulting from the terrorist war, García still enjoys enormous support as a President who has charted a path of morality and growth which other Western nations must, sooner or later, recognize as in their own strategic interest. García is still an obstacle to Moscow's efforts to turn the collapse of the Western financial system into an East-West conflict, along the lines mouthed by Fidel Castro.

The Communist Party began to mobilize its base behind the new phase of confrontation, preparatory to its National Congress, scheduled for late May. The May 8-9 meeting of the CP's regional organization in Huancayo, Junín, ended with agreement to prepare "to use revolutionary insurgency when the case is required," plans to "dialogue" with the MRTA, and the decision by the CP, a leading force in the country's second-largest political coalition, United Left, to break off all cooperation with the García government. "Not even tactical" agreements can be allowed, *La Voz* reported the regional CP had demanded.

"Dialogue" with the MRTA has already become a monologue. On May 13, *La Voz* published a two-page "interview" with the MRTA's "political prisoners' committee" in Lima's Lurigancho prison. "War will continue," in Peru, unless the government declares a general amnesty for all imprisoned terrorists, stops all payments on the foreign debt,

and “demilitarizes” the country, the MRTA commanders raved. “We cannot say if civil war is imminent . . . but everything indicates that we are marching towards it. . . . The people should prepare themselves for confrontation, strengthen their organizations, and keep [García’s party] APRA from dismantling the popular movement.”

Immediate CP efforts center on plans for a general strike against the government, organized by the CP-controlled General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP). The strike was called for May 19—the day after Shining Path has announced it plans to celebrate the seventh anniversary of its “Initiation of Armed Struggle” with bombings and killings, and four days after a possible national police strike, for which Shining Path’s newspaper, *El Diario*, has been organizing. CP protestations that any connection between Shining Path’s terror anniversary and the CP’s choice of date for the national strike is “purely coincidental”—the pathetic disclaimer issued by CP labor leader Gustavo Espinoza on May 13—did not stop *El Diario* from issuing a front-page statement of support for the strike on May 14.

CP leaders emphasize that the strike is political, aimed at the government. A laundry list of 56 demands, ranging from wage increases, to a general amnesty for those charged with terrorism, and a lifting of the state of emergency, has been drawn up. APRA Secretary General Luis Negreiros charged that, “more than a platform for a strike, these demands are a program for government.”

Claims by CP leaders that the strike will pull 2 million people out of work, are considerably exaggerated. Although the pro-International Monetary Fund policy imposed on the democratic trade unions by the America Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) over the past 10 years drove the majority of the country’s labor unions into the hands of the CGTP, the percentage of Peru’s workforce which is unionized is relatively small. A mobilization against the strike has begun by APRA organizers, leading members of the Catholic Church, and leaders of the United Left coalition who continue to support the García government, putting national interest over “ideology.”

By hooking the strike onto Shining Path’s planned terror wave, CP leaders hope to gain the appearance of greater support for their campaign against the government. Several of Peru’s media have aided the CP in this campaign. “A city without electricity—the blackout of last Saturday could have been a test run—which at the same time could be left without gas and without drinking water, is a matter to be considered,” speculated *Caretas* in its May 11 issue. “It’s not that Shining Path would join the strike . . . but that it would contribute to the instability of the regime. With this perspective, many people who in other opportunities would not participate in the strike, would prefer to stay at home to avoid risks.”

*Equis X*, a Lima weekly known for its accurate “predictions” of Shining Path’s next actions, outlined a scenario of warfare lasting into July, in its May 11 issue. “The great

subversive offensive which will last until the month of July . . . will come to its climax in the middle of the month of June . . . with audacious acts of sabotage and resonant as well as terrifying political assassinations, with which Shining Path will try to ‘commemorate’ the June 19, 1986 massacre of the prisoners accused of subversion. . . . In those days, according to a secret source, they have prepared with months of planning, the assassination of an important political leader whose name, of course, they have not wished to give us.”

## Moscow’s orders

When García came into office in July 1985, the CP labeled him a “national reformist,” but avoided public criticism, because of García’s great popularity throughout the continent. *América Latina*, the magazine published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences’ Latin American Institute, signaled the coming shift in its policy toward the García government, in October 1986, when the Soviet institute broke a year of silence on Peru, with an issue containing nine articles analyzing its situation.

Criticism of Shining Path, which *América Latina* admits matches Cambodia’s mass butcher, Pol Pot, in “irrationality, barbarous methods and total violence,” must be limited, Latin America specialist Tatiana Vorozheikina ordered, because, like the Khmer Rouge, Shining Path was born “of the genuine anger and authentic suffering of the people.” The gloves were taken off on García himself, accused of attempting to “divide the working class . . . and popular movement,” and maintaining a “flexible attitude” to Shining Path.

The United Left must stay independent of the government, the Soviet ideologues stressed, in order to remain “a strategic alliance . . . destined to become an alternative government and power.”

In March 1987, *América Latina* admitted that its goal is the final elimination of Western civilization in Peru, this time in a purported “cultural” review of the work of Peruvian indigenist-terrorist ideologue, José María Arguedas. The novels of Arguedas demonstrate how “prolonged resistance of the Indians” can bring about “the possible destruction of the political and social despotism of the . . . mestizo,” Soviet specialist Ivan Orzhitskii wrote. “According to this writer’s criteria, the autochthonous traditions must serve as the basis for unity, and it is only these which can help [build] resistance to inhuman Western civilization.”

The description matches Shining Path’s description of its self-appointed war on Western civilization in the name of “defending the Indian culture.” *América Latina* takes care to claim Arguedas as their own. Arguedas worked with the original leaders of the 1960s guerrilla movements in the Peruvian countryside, Orzhitskii notes; and his coffin was draped with the flags of Cuba and Vietnam, as well as Peru when he died. His first wife, Cecilia Bustamante, was a Communist Party member, who introduced Arguedas to the CP, “which influenced in considerable measure his world outlook.”