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*In this issue we present the statement on Peru, collectively elaborated by the ILTF, which contains the program before the revolutionary events carried on by the exploited masses in that country. We also present the resolutions approved by the Foundation Congress of the ILTF on the political crisis and the counterrevolutionary coup in Honduras. The events in Peru and Honduras demonstrate that, while the US imperialism is disguising as Obama, its true general staff, in the hands of the financial capital and the big monopolies, goes on with its counterrevolutionary offensive in the continent.*

*Under the heat of these new acid tests of the world class struggle, we the revolutionaries fight in order that the proletariat and the masses can take in their hands a revolutionary program and meet with the leadership that will open the road towards the victory of the Socialist Revolution, defeating the class collaboration policy of the "Bolivarian Revolution"*

## "International Workers' Organizer"

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- Humanists for Revolutionary Socialism, of USA

## HONDURAS DOWN WITH THE COUP!



driven by the regime of the Republicrats" and the Yankee military base of the SouthCom

## DOWN WITH THE PACT!

prepared by Obama, the UN and the OAS, between Zelaya and Micheletti

## PERU DO NOT STOP WAGING OUR BLOWS AGAINST THE WICKED FUJIMORIST-FTA REGIME!



# RESOLUTION ON HONDURAS

of the Foundation Congress of the ILTF, in July, 2009.

1) US imperialism has combined two policies before the world economic crisis, the need to smash the masses and to make its imperialist rivals pay for the crisis. One is a form of “New Deal”, the other is fascism.

Almost 71 years ago, the foundation program of the Fourth International said: *“The bourgeoisie itself sees no way out. In countries where it has already been forced to stake its last upon the card of fascism, it now tobogans with closed eyes toward an economic and military catastrophe. In the historically privileged countries, i.e., in those where the bourgeoisie can still for a certain period permit itself the luxury of democracy at the expense of national accumulations (Great Britain, France, United States, etc.), all of capital’s traditional parties are in a state of perplexity bordering on a paralysis of will. The “New Deal,” despite its first period of pretentious resoluteness, represents but a special form of political perplexity, possible only in a country where the bourgeoisie succeeded in accumulating incalculable wealth. The present crisis, far from having run its full course, has already succeeded in showing that “New Deal” politics, like Popular Front politics in France, opens no new exit from the economic blind alley.”* (Transitional Program, 1938)

Before the present situation, the Transitional Program shows its rightness and its force again. Today, before the bankruptcy of the world imperialist capitalist economy and before the fear of revolution, the imperialist bourgeoisies are rising the “New Deal” and fascism as they did seven decades ago—considering the historical differences for the analogy-. Today, the “New Deal” is expressed in the agreements and pacts blessed by the UNO, the OAS and other imperialist institutions; in policies of “democratic fronts”, with agreements between the imperialist states and their multinationals with the native bourgeoisies of the colonies and semicolonies, including them as minor partners in the business, in exchange for the giving up of the richness of those nations and control and repress any



Supporters of Zelaya surrounding the militarized Tegucigalpa airport.

attempt of the proletariat to open the way towards revolution. In the same way, “fascism” is expressed as a direct counterrevolutionary policy, with direct attacks and invasions as in Afghanistan and Pakistan; with massacres and genocides as the Zionist state of Israel, gendarme of imperialism in the region, did in Gaza; with classic “fascism”, as we see in a half of Bolivia controlled by the bourgeoisie of the Media Luna and their fascist gangs; or with military coups as in Honduras today.

“New Deal” and “fascism” are two different policies, but both of them are applied by the financial capital and by the imperialist powers to as a way out for the crisis, downloading it against the exploited masses, and trying that the rival powers pay for the costs of it.

This way, the regime of the “Republicrats” and Obama’s government are simultaneously using the policy of “New Deal” and “fascism”: counterrevolutionary pacts and “open hands” before the bourgeoisies of the Middle East, the Iranian bourgeoisie and other members of the former “Axis of Devil” included; at the same time, reinforcement of the occupation in Afghanistan, bombings on Swat in Pakistan, and massacre of the Palestinian masses in Gaza, through its Zionist gendarme.

The French imperialism, subordinated to the United States by a French-North American pact, uses the policy of “New Deal”—pacts and agreements with

the native bourgeoisies- in the areas of influence that are in dispute with its imperialist rivals. But in its colonies and semicolonies, or where it reaches in association with the US, it openly applies the policy of “fascism”, sending French troops to Afghanistan, with the French military bases in the North and Central Africa, with the French troops settled in Ivory Coast, and with the support of Sarkozy and the Fifth Republic for dozens of fierce and bloody kinglets and dictators in the Magreb and the Black Africa.

2) Honduras is one of the crisis points where the imperialist offensive is using both of these policies as an open hand and a fist. The open hand is the democratic front of imperialism dressed in Obama’s disguise and the fist is the open counterrevolutionary policy as the coup d’etat in Honduras.

In Latin America we are seeing the results of the French-US provisional agreement forced on French imperialism by US imperialism to regain control of the sub-continent as its “backyard”. A first act of this new offensive was signalled by the Summit of the Americas early this year in Trinidad-Tobago, where Obama, supported by all the “Bolivarian” bourgeoisies laid out very clearly his policy to complete capitalist restoration in Cuba. The Honduras coup is a new act in this offensive where the US using its two handed policy—either through the conti-

nity of Micheletti and his coup makers, or by means of an agreement between Zelaya and these same coup makers—wants to turn Honduras into a beachhead for further counterrevolutionary actions in Latin America, i.e. an intervention in Cuba, or Guadeloupe or any country where the masses rise up against their exploitation and oppression.

3) Honduras is a country tied to US imperialism by three chains because of the CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement). Also, is a country transformed since the '70s into a virtual US protectorate, thus Honduras was the site of the barracks and camps where the “contras” —the paramilitary gangs planned financed by US imperialism against the Nicaraguan revolution— were armed and trained. Honduras was the place where the counterrevolutionary agreements of Esquipulas and Contadora —which strangled the Central American revolution in the '80s— were guaranteed, while the Honduran armed forces, actually an “occupation army” commanded from the US military base in this country, massacred the masses of poor peasants that were fighting for their land and against the United Fruit. Today, the US military base remains one of the most important ones in the region.

The coup in Honduras shows how the global economic crisis is being downloaded onto the Latin American masses. Like the massacre in Bagua, Peru, last month, the Honduras' coup is the result of the inevitable violence that goes together with the parasitism of the North American imperialism. The global economic crisis with its epicenter in the US has hit Latin America nations very hard, especially those tied to US imperialism by FTAs. Peru and now Honduras are at the moment the hot spots in this offensive.

Honduras has experienced 3 years of rapid GDP growth at 17% per year, the result of the massive expansion of maquilas (sweatshops) producing for export to US. Of course this short period of growth did not improve the living conditions of the Honduran masses. On the contrary it increased their superexploitation and worsened the already miserable conditions they were suffering.

In 2008-2009 the crisis hit Honduras heavily. 80% of Honduran exports mainly corn, bananas, coffee, sugarcane, gold and silver, go to the US. The crisis in the US and in the world econo-

my radically cut the demand for Honduran exports. At the same time the crisis brought the expulsion of thousands of Central American workers, including Hondurans, from the US. Thus thousands of workers have been deported to Honduras where they add to the numbers of unemployed already about 28% (official figures). The remittances from these deported workers running at around \$2.5 billion a year has of course stopped. To this growing pool of unemployed are added those suffering massive layoffs from the imperialist owned maquilas, plantations and mines in Honduras, now closing down because of the crisis.

So, at the same time that the dollar reserves in the Honduran National Treasury fall, a huge trade imbalance has arisen. Honduras exports to the US are now \$6 billion annually while imports are \$10 billion creating a deficit of \$4 billion.

Honduran workers and poor peasants, like in the rest of Central America, are being forced to pay for the crisis with increasing poverty, starvation and mass layoffs. The burden of inflation, around 12% annually, is rising every day. The international price of the staple food corn, as well as sugarcane, remains relatively high because both are used also as raw material for biofuels.

The situation of the exploited masses is desperate. In a country that produces food —corn, sugarcane, coffee, bananas, etc.- most of the population made up of workers, poor peasants and their families, are starving because they cannot afford even a handful of corn to eat.

The switching of production from the food staples of corn and beans in favour of exotic fruit which the transnationals such as Chiquita Brand, Dole, Standard Fruit, etc. can sell at premium prices in the US, has forced Honduras to start importing food from the US at the very high prices dictated by the big food and agro-transnationals.

Moreover, Honduras imports 100% of its oil which adds to its trade deficit. And if that were not enough for the masses to suffer, Honduras was hit in 2008 by Hurricane Mitch, which left 34 dead, many injured, 70,000 workers and poor peasants homeless, and caused \$154 million in damage to the economy. This tragedy prevented the sowing of beans and much of the corn. The prices of food and fuel has skyrocketed caused massive starvation. 70% of Hondurans live below the poverty line and 40% are starving.

Even Zelaya himself had to acknowledge publicly that 2 million Hondurans eat only once every three days.

4) Since 2007-2008 the Honduran masses have begun to rise against exploitation and oppression. In 2008 Zelaya has faced three general strikes against his government, demanding an end to the rising cost of living, for higher wages, against the FTA, etc. Zelaya responded to these massive mobilizations with repression, killing at least four leaders of the workers and poor peasants. Following the strikes, Zelaya then tried to win over a layer of the civil servants to support him by increasing their very low salaries marginally to the still very low US\$230 per month which barely pays for the basic family food basket. But to the rest of the workers, such as the striking workers of the maquilas and the plantations, Zelaya only offered more layoffs and repression.

In 2008, Zelaya, a wealthy landowner and businessman, coming from the center of the pro-US Liberal Party, “moved” to the ranks of the “Bolivarians” and signed-up Honduras to the ALBA (Alternativa Bolivariana para las Americas) the supposed ‘Chavista’ alternative to the US imperialist ALCA, (Free Trade Agreement initiative for the Americas).

This turn was the expression of the emergence of a sector of the Honduran national bourgeoisie that began to demand the renegotiation of deals with US and US monopolies to gain a larger slice of the super-profits expropriated from the masses for the pockets of the national bourgeoisie.

As a result of this turn, Zelaya and this pro-Chavez bourgeois sector got a loan from Venezuela in “petro-dollars” to finance the Honduran state deficit and cheap and subsidized Venezuelan oil.

Thus the Zelaya administration took on strong Bonapartist sui generis (with special) features. As a national bourgeoisie in a semicolonial country it is extremely weak in relation to the imperialist master. So the only way it can bargain the imperialism is by backing on the workers and the poor peasants, using the threat of a revolution to blackmail imperialism. Of course and at the same time, the weak national bourgeoisie must control those masses with an iron grip to prevent a revolution and the seizure of not only imperialist property but the property of the national

bourgeoisie. It exercises this iron grip through the statization of the unions to contain any uprisings and by openly and violently attacking the most militant vanguard.

5) These are the conditions that brought about the split of the Honduran bourgeoisie. The Zelayaist fraction of the Honduran bourgeoisie attempted to contain the anger and frustration of the masses with “Bolivarian” demagoguery and miserable crumbles from the state treasury. The other fraction of the Honduran bourgeoisie prefers delivering the masses real bullets instead of Bolivarian “carrots”. Zelaya was unable to put an end to this huge crisis, and the Honduran bourgeoisie split, not only to gain a bigger share of the shrinking profits hit by the crisis, but because of the disagreement about how best to deal with a mass upsurge and forestall a revolution.

6) Obama and the Republicrats regime took advantage of this split in the Honduran bourgeoisie to promote the civil-military coup on June 28 that dethroned Zelaya and dumped him in underwear in the main Costa Rican airport.

In front of the crisis and once the “general staff” of US imperialism had been reconstituted with Obama’s taking post as president, and defining the new political strategy, US imperialism could not go on allowing for a country as Honduras –site of a US military base and signatory of one of its FTAs– to continue haggling with the paymaster and flirting with the Bolivarian alternative of Zelaya and his fraction of the national bourgeoisie. So the Republicrats regime, from the US military base and together with the top of the Honduran armed forces, both the Catholic and Evangelist clergy, the parliament and the Supreme Court, organized the coup against Zelaya.

But the crux of the strategy of the US imperialist butchers is maintaining camouflage for Obama. Washington needed to disguise the coup as a “constitutional dismissal”. It was necessary that Zelaya renounced so the parliament could install Micheletti “constitutionally”. But they could not because the top Honduran generals, long used to stage coups absolutely unpunished, overacted; instead of staging an “elegant” pas de deux as it was planned, kicked their way into Zelaya’s home at dawn and left

him half naked in Costa Rican air strip.

However, leaving aside this “untidiness”, it is now clear that unless a revolutionary irruption of the masses takes place, imperialism will succeed: either through Micheletti and the leaders of the coup keeping the power up to the elections, or by means of a counterrevolutionary deal between Zelaya and the coup leaders under the blessing of the OAS, Obama and the whole Bolivarian team.

7) The World Social Forum and its “left” wing of Stalinists, populists and fake Trotskyists have come to the fore screaming that it was the US “right” which made the coup, not only against Zelaya but also against “Obama-the-democratic-champion”.

This crude lie is used to deceive the workers of the whole Americas and the rest of the world. The White House today has two players to protect its interests and the property of Chiquita Brand, Dole and the US maquilas in Honduras: on the one hand the coupist government of Micheletti, the armed forces, the parliament and the Supreme Court, backed by the US military base; and on the other, a real “democratic front” that starts with Obama, includes the UN, OAS, EU, the “Bolivarian” bourgeoisies, the Castroite bureaucracy, the World Social Forum (WSF) and the fake Trotskyists in the US, Latin America and worldwide who all together call on the masses “to pressure” Obama asking him to be “consistent” by calling home his ambassador in Honduras and applying “all the necessary measures to reinstate the legitimate government” of bourgeois murderer and exploiter Zelaya.

In either case it will be a win-win for the US imperialism: if the coup emerges victorious, the government that stays would be directly managed by imperialism in Honduras; if Zelaya returns with limited powers up to the next elections (to be held in 4 months) he has already guaranteed Obama that no Constituent Assembly is to be convened, the officers that conducted the coup will be amnestied and no one of them will be removed. In short, both ways guarantee US imperialism to keep Honduras submitted to the US military base, as a beachhead for counterrevolution in the continent. For the Pentagon this is essential, especially in a moment when the conditions in Honduras are generalized throughout the rest of Central America. There is a great risk for impe-

rialism that Nicaraguan, Salvadoran and Guatemalan masses begin again an upsurge, overwhelming the control of their governments which are presently preventive popular fronts imposed by the former “commanders” of the Sandinista and the FMLN movements, now turned direct agents of the US imperialists and managers of the FTAs and of the worst attacks against the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan masses.

8) Three weeks since the coup has witnessed the huge mobilizations of the Honduran masses, general strikes, pickets, roadblocks, etc., which have been subordinated by their leaderships to the infamous politics of the democratic front. Each day this goes on, while Zelaya calls for “popular insurrection” from his safe haven in Guatemala, the workers and the poor peasants give their blood and who have their bones shattered in the Honduran jails.

Meanwhile the two bourgeois factions confronting each other and US imperialism gauge precisely the situation, so as to know when to best seal the deal or how to close the gap open in the Honduran ruling class. All bourgeois factions coincide in the task to prevent by any and all means the combat of the masses from turning into an independent irruption that defeats the coup in the streets giving rise to revolutionary processes.

9) We, revolutionary internationalists, have to say crystal-clearly the truth to the masses: the working class and the exploited cannot be neutral in this confrontation between the two bourgeois camps. We have to say that even though bourgeois democracy and fascism (in this case, a military coup) are both imperialist-national bourgeois policies, they are not exactly the same for the working class and the exploited masses.

Bourgeois democracy leans on the control of the working class organizations, in corrupting them, in bribing and buying their leadership; while fascism –and in this case the military coup– attacks with the intention of smashing physically the working class and the exploited and has ultimately the aim of destroying the worker organizations. Activists and fighters of Honduras denounce that those on the side of the coup kidnap and make disappear the leaders of the popular and workers orga-

nizations with black out at night entering the houses of the popular and workers' houses with squads to kidnap them. We know without a doubt the death squads which come in the black of the night breaking into the workers' and popular leader's homes to kidnap them are trained, through the "School of Assassins in Ft. Benning, Georgia, USA.

Therefore, while this gap between the two bourgeois camps continues, we call the working class to defend democracy against fascism, but only in the way that Trotsky and the Fourth International held for Spain in 1936: i.e., the working class must not defend democracy with the methods of bourgeois democracy but only with the methods of proletarian revolution.

Furthermore we call the Honduran workers and peasants to smash in the streets the civic-military coup. Build a revolutionary general strike! Build worker, rural worker and peasant armed committees to confront and defeat the coup in the streets! Armed workers and peasants: March to the garrisons and call upon the rank and file soldiers, children of the workers and peasants in uniform, to disavow their officers who staged the coup, and call them to set up rank and file soldier committees to join with their weapons the committees of the fighting workers and peasants and to workers and peasants militia to smash the coup!

Armed workers and poor peasants: march on and dissolve the parliament and the Supreme Court responsible for the coup! March on the US military base to defeat and drive out the US marines, murderers of the Latin American peoples, murderers of the Iraqi, Afghani and Pakistani people!

It is necessary to direct of all fire at the imperialism which prepared and is funding the coup; it is urgent to hit Wall Street where it hurts the most. Therefore we call for expropriation without compensation and under workers control of Dole, Chiquita Brand, all the transnationals of the maquilas and the mines! Down with the infamous FTA's that crushes under a heavy imperialist yoke the Honduran nation!

Both Zelaya and Micheletti are plotting together against the masses and will end up embracing each other while the blood of the Honduran workers and peasants is still fresh in the ground, as it was still fresh the Colombian resistance's blood when Chavez and Uribe

embraced each other a year ago!

From the trenches of the combat for smashing the coup in the streets, we have to confront recklessly the perfidious politics of the democratic front. Hands off Honduras Obama and the murderous regime of the Republicrats, the UN, the OAS and the rest of the institutions of the imperialist butchers! No deal with those responsible of the coup! Down with the deal between Zelaya and Micheletti that is being hatched in Costa Rica!

If Zelaya returns as a product of a reconciliation deal with Micheletti and the coup leaders, with the blessings of Obama, Insulza and the OAS, the outcome will result neither more democracy nor any national independence for the Honduran people, or even less, more food, jobs, land or anything favourable for the exploited masses. Contrariwise, what will result is either Zelaya or another puppet in its place supported in the same caste of pro-coup armed forces officers, supported in the same weapons of the US military base to deepen the FTA, tie Honduras to imperialism with new chains, make the Honduran masses pay for the crisis and secure the country again as in the '80s as a beachhead and a key garrison for counterrevolution in the continent for the sake of the US imperialist interests.

Smashing the coup, defeating the class collaborationist policy of the democratic front, would open the way for the only real solution for the Honduran workers and peasants to conquer the national independence, land, food, jobs, health and education, so they can live in their own country without having to migrate and be enslaved as outcasts in the US. That solution is the building of a workers and poor peasants' government based on their self-organization and armament, the only one that can free the nation from imperialism and expropriate the expropriators of the workers and the exploited masses.

10) Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Salvador, Panama and the rest of the Central American nations are invented countries; their frontiers have been delineated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by the United Fruit, the transnationals and the rest of the US monopolies to control and exploit the masses in the whole region.

The Salvadoran and Nicaraguan masses have paid with their blood, with

starvation, with 25 years of sufferings and submission of the nation because of the betrayals to their revolutions by their leaderships, i.e. the imposition of the counterrevolutionary deals of Esquipulas and Contadora which meant the strangling and the surrender of the Central American revolution in the '80s. In those years, Fidel Castro and the Stalinist Cuban bureaucracy sought to put off the Central American revolution telling the proletariat and the popular masses that neither Nicaragua nor Salvador should be "new Cubas".

Today we revolutionaries say clearly: for a new Cuba in Honduras, for a new Cuba in Nicaragua, for a Cuba in Haiti, in Guadeloupe and Martinique, in the whole of Central America and the Caribbean! Not Stalinists new Cuba but under a genuine revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat ruled by the Soviets of the workers and the peasants! For a political revolution in Cuba in order that Cuba goes really revolutionary, without Castroite bureaucrats that are getting ready to consummate the capitalist restoration in the isle hand in hand with Obama!

For the Socialist United States of Central America and the Caribbean where the working class and the exploited speak Spanish, Creole and French as in Haiti-Dominican Republic, the Antilles, etc., English as in Jamaica, Trinidad-Tobago, Grenada, etc., Dutch as in Aruba and Curacao, but free from the French, British, US, Dutch imperialists and also having their mainland and island nations (Cuba included) cleared of imperialist military bases and murderous armies! Hands off Central America and Caribbean US imperialists! Hands off Guadeloupe, Martinique and Guyana, etc., French imperialists! Hands off Guyana, Belize, Trinidad Tobago, etc., UK imperialists! Hands off Aruba, Curacao, Surinam Dutch imperialists! For the military defeat of all the occupation troops under the commando of the UNO in Haiti; both, the imperialist troops and those sepoy troops sent by the Bolivarian bourgeois Lula of Brazil, Kirchner of Argentina, Morales of Bolivia and Bachelet of Chile!

In order to open de road to the Socialist United States of Central America and the Caribbean, the first step today is smashing the coup in Honduras. General Strike in Nicaragua, Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and the rest of Central America and the

entire American continent! For a Day of Struggle of the world proletariat in support to our class brothers and sisters in Honduras!

In response to the military coup in Honduras and while the workers and the exploited masses are being repressed, murdered, jailed, the various reformists, as syndicalists, anarchist and fake Trotskyists grasp at the coattails of the democratic front and raise a criminal and perfidious pacifist policy, which leaves the masses confronting with sticks and stones their enemies - the murderous Honduran army- armed with tanks, airplanes and machineguns provided by the US military base. No one of this reformists demands: Arms for the workers and the exploited in Honduras so they can smash the coup in the streets!

To the contrary, we revolutionaries call for all the worker organizations in Nicaragua, Guatemala, Venezuela, Salvador, Cuba, the entire continent to mobilize and to convene immediately for the recruitment of international worker brigades to go to Honduras and fight for smashing the coup.

In the '80, Reagan had no problem arming the Contras from Honduras in order to smash the revolution in Nicaragua and Salvador. We claim the same right for the working class! The Nicaraguan and Salvadoran workers that had their parents, brothers, sisters, uncles and aunts massacred by the Contras, have all the right and legitimacy to make an appeal to the whole Latin American working class and build up from Nicaragua and Salvador international worker brigades to go and smash the coup in Honduras!

**11)** The coup in Honduras poses immediate international tasks before the North American working class, because, as it has happened with Afghanistan and Iraq, each counterrevolutionary triumph of Yankee imperialist bourgeoisie against the exploited peoples of the world, has reinforced its power and has led to further attacks against the gains and the standard of living of the North American working class itself, extremely deepened under the bankruptcy of the world imperialist economy, and the North American economy in the first place.

It is necessary to clearly denounce, before the eyes of the North American workers and its combative vanguard,

that the regime of the "Republicrats" and the government of Obama have propelled the coup in Honduras and that they are also responsible for the democratic front to restrain the Honduran workers and exploited masses from smashing the coup in the streets with the revolutionary general strike, the armament of the masses and the workers and soldiers committees. It is a central task for the internationalist Trotskyists to denounce the two policies of the Yankee imperialism -New Deal and fascism- before the North American workers. Internationalists must confront the reformist left of the United States, and particularly the renegades of Trotskyism that subordinated before the democratic front and limit the worker's movement to a policy pressure on Obama.

The North American working class must stand up once more, supporting its brother workers and poor peasants of Honduras! The North American working class must rise up breaking with the subordination to the government of Obama and the Democratic Party, and fight to smash the pro-imperialist coup in the streets by the Honduran masses! We call on the Million Workers March to unite with the dock workers of Oakland, and other fighting workers organizations against the war to build strikes and demonstrations against the pro-imperialist coup.

Down with the coup in Honduras driven by the regime of the "Republicrats" and the Yankee military base of the SouthCom! Obama hands off Honduras! Down with the pact prepared by Obama, the UN and the OAS, between Zelaya and Micheletti! Go into the streets of the United States supporting the Honduran workers and exploited masses! Call for strikes, boycotts and mobilizations to stop all delivery of arms, supplies or troops for the Yankee military base in Honduras and those directed to the coup regime! Arms for the Honduran masses to smash the coup! The Dockers workers of Oakland and other combative organizations of the working class in the United States can call for setting up international brigades to go into Honduras and smash the pro-Yankee coup! If the Yankees can go forward with the coup in Honduras, they will be closer to imposing, jointly with the Castroist bureaucracy, the capitalist restoration in Cuba: The North American workers cannot allow that!

The struggle for the defeat of the coup in Honduras with the methods of the working class is inseparable from the struggle for the military defeat of the Yankee imperialist troops in Iraq and Afghanistan and for the victory of the mass resistance in those nations; from the struggle for the defence of millions of immigrant workers -mostly Latin American- under slavery in the United States, who are massively expelled or confined in the dungeons of the "Republicrats" regime. For the military defeat of the Yankee troops in Afghanistan and Iraq! Free the anti-imperialist prisoners of Guantanamo Bay! Immediate and unconditional liberation of Mumia Abu Jamal and the thousands of immigrant workers imprisoned by the regime of the "Republicrats"! Punishment for BAR police, assassin of the young black worker and father Oscar Grant in Oakland!

Down with the chauvinist trade union bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO, servant of its own imperialist bourgeoisie! Down with its reactionary cry of "American jobs for the Americans"! Immediate North American citizenship, full economic, political and social rights and equal wage for equal job for all the immigrants in the US! Down with the NAFTA, CAFTA, and FTA's that submit the Latin American nations to the Yankee imperialism and enslave the Mexican, Honduran, etc. workers in maquilas! In the plants and maquilas that the multinationals of the United States have in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean: equal wages in dollars and equal working conditions as in the plants of these same multinationals in the US!

Only by breaking with the subordination to the Democratic Party and Obama, defeating the bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO and rising all the demands of their class brothers and sisters of the semi colonies oppressed by the Yankee imperialist bourgeoisie and of the nations occupied by its troops, as well as the demands of the superexploited immigrant workers in the United States, can the North American working class join its ranks to effectively confront the attacks against its gains and wages and open the way for a counteroffensive in order to make the capitalists, the parasites of the superbanks and of Wall Street, pay for the costs of the crisis. •

## RESOLUTION ON PERU OF THE FOUNDATION CONGRESS OF THE ILTF, JULY 2009

Peruvian workers and peasants are shouting in the streets, the barricades and the pickets:  
*"The spilled blood will never be forgotten!"*

### **Workers' and peasants' Peru stands up again FORWARDS! DO NOT STOP WAGING OUR BLOWS AGAINST THE WICKED FUJIMORIST-FTA REGIME!**

For a national congress of rank and file delegates from the CGTP and from the organizations of the peasants, the Amazonian exploited and the combative youth's organizations.

*Let's unite all the pickets in a national committee of self-defense*

**To organize now the  
 REVOLUTIONARY  
 GENERAL STRIKE**

**To demolish the Fujimorist-FTA regime and overthrow Garcia**



*The youth of Bagua confront the repression.*

**We must build up a Fighting Front to centralize our forces and impose the way to the revolutionary general strike**

**Down with the bloodthirsty government of Alan Garcia and the Fujimorist regime!  
 Unconditional freedom for all the political prisoners! Stop chasing the Amazonian fighters!  
 Down with the Stalinist traitors of the CGTP, PCP and Patria Roja leaderships!  
 Down with the farcical "Bolivarian Revolution"!**

**For a revolutionary provisional government of workers and peasants that breaks with imperialism,  
 give the land to the peasants and expropriate the expropriators!**

**Latin American working class: stand up alongside Peruvian working class and exploited in revolt!  
 Give a go! to the beginning of the Peruvian revolution!**

In the morning of June 5th the police tried to vacate Belaunde Road in the place called "Curva del Diablo", close to Bagua in the Amazonas department. The struggle of the Amazonian exploited brothers and sisters has been going on for 3 months. The struggle focused on the derogation of a set of laws that hand out the rainforest to the transnationals, which are part of the new legislation tailored to the FTA signed with USA. The struggle of the poor peasants, Amazonian indigenous people and settlers remains a struggle of the class with a deep anti-imperialist content, with democratic-revolutionary demands that attack the heart of the FTA-regime,

which is giving the Peruvian resources away and ties this oppressed nation to US imperialism. Unions in the Amazonian districts immediately supported the struggle, during almost two months of successful strikes. The worker-peasant alliance was built up in the streets, in the struggle. During those months, April, May and June, there were oil wells occupations, challenging the interests of the Peruvian bourgeoisie and their chief partners, US, British, Spanish and French imperialists with their companies Hunt Oil, Repsol and Total.

The bourgeois attack was unexpected, brutal and perfidious, as Rocca Autukai (one of the leaders of the

revolts) declared some days later "*The police won because that day we were leaving before 10 am; that had been the agreement. We were about to leave*" (IPS report, June 13, 2009)

A police battalion arrived, supported by armored cars and two artillery-armed helicopters, while snipers were set on the sides. While climbing a hill to get a better place to kill the demonstrators, one of those sniper groups met a working-peasant picket, which disarmed them and used those weapons to defend the blockade; thus they showed the right way to conquer the armament of the proletarians.

That right and heroic action couldn't



prevent the rest of the snipers and the armed helicopters from murdering over 100 peasants, only 6 of which could be found; there were some leaders among them, what proves the action of snipers and police intelligence. Santiago Manuin, leader of the struggle committee in Condorcanqui, tried to talk with the cops and was shot point blank, as the rest of the blockers. The people of Bagua Chica, Bagua Grande and Jaen won the streets. They occupied and burn APRA's and state offices. In Jaen they went over police stations, and the cops had to run over the roofs as frightened rats; however they kept fusillading the exploited people from their new positions. *"They only talk about the dead cops and say 5 indigenous people have been killed, but things are different. There are over 100 dead brothers and sisters"* denounced Daysi Zapata, president of AIDSESEP that is the organization of Amazonian indigenous peoples (*El País*, Madrid, June 14, 2009).

When the fighters at Petroperu's 6 plant -where 20 cops were held as prisoners- heard of the killing, they decided to give "an eye for an eye" reply.

The bourgeoisie and their hunting dogs used this event to point to the "savagery" of the fighters. Alan García was the first one to call the fighters, "savages" and the executed cops, "democracy martyrs". We Trotskyists must say that taking hostages was not invented as a method by the working class and the exploited. To speak only of the last decades, military dictatorships as well as "democratic" governments have detained and jailed without any evidence or right our leaders and most active fighters to destroy our struggle organizations and make them surrender. During the dirty wars fought on us by Belaúnde, García and Fujimori administrations, any worker or peasant leader was a "terrorist", and whole families were used as hostages; those governments went on threatening the exploited struggles with taking hundreds of hostages, jailing working leaders without evidence, or even killing them. Weren't García and Mansilla who killed Castilla, the miners' leader? Weren't APRA's thugs who shot the members of Sendero Luminoso (Shinning Path) that had surrendered in El Fronton? Wasn't Fujimori who massacred half of the leadership of the CGTP between 1991 and 1992? Isn't it true that in all these years of democracy each government has taken hostages, under the cover of "legally" punishing the exploited for blocking, fighting and

claiming? In these years of "democracy" under Paniagua, Toledo and García's command, the "democratic" army and police have murdered the best sons and daughters of the exploited people. Puno, Cusco, Pucallpa, Ancash, Casapalca are soaked in workers and peasants' blood. How can these parties (all of them taking part of the murderous Fujimori's regime of 1992-93) dare to call "murderers" and "savages" those fighters who are defending themselves? Why are now these bloodthirsty jackals -so used to feast among the corpses of their victims, showing such hypocritical fastidiousness?

**Enough is enough!** The Peruvian working class and peasants will not allow those gangs of bourgeois and transnationals, who sack the nation, who keep their power by spilling the blood of the exploited nation, to try to put themselves as the victims: they are the murderers of Peruvian workers and peasants. **We revolutionary socialists defend unconditionally the sacred right of the masses to defend themselves from the bourgeois murderous state; we defend without hesitation their unrestricted right to rebellion.**

Bagua fighters had taken cops as hostages precisely as a guarantee, because they knew that if the government attacked it would not stop before anything. The government chose to declare war, so the exploited had no other choice but to take "an eye for an eye". Would they let the enemies go free after they had killed elderly men and women, pregnant and unarmed women and children? Weren't the Amazonian fighters eager to do everything possible to avoid the clash? Hadn't been theirs a peaceful, defensive struggle during weeks, only occupying wells and land and blockading roads, but avoiding waging offensive blows?

They could not allow a serious defensive measure, as is taking cops as hostages to defend their lives, to end as a joke. In front of the barbaric repression, the fighters' revenge is fair, sacred; the defense of our class brothers and sister is above any illusion about the "justice" and "balance" by the state and the regime which serves the exploiters. Only traitors as César Levana (CP leader), from the columns of the Bolivarian paper "La Primera", can call this revenge "unacceptable". Carmela Sifuentes (CGTP leader) in an ILO meeting "paid a tribute" to the cops who fell in combat! These people are the same traitors that consider as "crimi-

nals" the members of the Ilave commune who revolted in 2004. They are the same who praised the murderous general who surrendered in Moquegua in 2008. In the meantime the "radical" Stalinist and the fake Trotskyists refuse to defend the right of the fighters to reply repression with any means they want to.

As Trotsky said, the whole life is based on diverse forms of violence, on the opposition of some kind violence over the other, and to repudiate the liberating violence means supporting that of the oppressors that are currently governing the world.

To condemn the violence of the exploited towards the exploiters, as the treacherous misleaders (Stalinists, reformist of all coats, Trotskyist renegades included) do means in fact to renounce revolution and the emancipation of the exploited. This is Marxist's ABC, but all those traitors have long renounced Marxism.

After the army entered in Bagua and with the zone already militarized, they declared the permanent curfew to avoid meetings or demonstrations of the workers and indigenous peasants. They established censorship and close local radios so no one could know how the army got rid of the bodies of our dead brothers and sisters, as was denounced in Lima by the leader of the Indigenous Student Movement to the National Radio Coordinator on June 6. As the *Institute of Legal Defence* denounced on June 11, the army kept the zone closed for 5 days and didn't allow the entrance even to the Red Cross. The army so created a "military-political zone", as in the worst years of the dirty war: they detained dozens of fighters, they were even pulled out of the hospitals and sent to the barracks and tortured. They chased fighters, who had to hide in the woods, far villages or churches. AIDSESEP, which is the leader organization of the Amazonian peoples, was declared illegal and Alberto Pizango, its main leader, had to go underground and then finding political asylum in Nicaragua.

Under the surveillance of the armed forces, the Amazonian fighters were forced to leave Bagua and go back to their towns in trucks. The cops and the army officers broke open the shelters, chasing the fighters, detaining sick and wounded, or expelling them from Bagua. They tried to humiliate them, calumniating them as being "savage murderers", but Bagua exploited people recognized clearly their brothers and sis-



ters, and even under the threat of the machine guns, demonstrated their emotional support and empathy: “170 indigenous people lie as refugees in the Franciscan nun’s shelter. Many are wounded and sick. Inside the shelter, the natives are thoroughly searched by the police, who deprive them from their belongings, throw them to the floor, look for any “evidence” to prove the alleged sedition... Those who are “clean” are put on a truck, after being registered in the state prosecutor’s office and at the ombudsman’s, and sent back to their homes. As they climb on the trucks the natives are cheered and applauded as heroes by the public: “Keep on fighting, brothers and sisters!”. Some women with kids in their arms give them bags with fruit, cookies and water.” (*El Comercio*, Lima, June 13, 2009)

**The ripples of Bagua’s events are spreading all over the country.**

**The treacherous bureaucracy of the CGTP keep the Lima workers separate from those in the rest of the country to prevent a revolutionary general strike that throws down the government and imposes the demands of the exploited**

The response of the masses to the massacre was outrage and rebellion. Immediately the CGTP bureaucracy moved slightly to the left and declared a “national day of struggle” on June 11th. That day was a demonstration of the workers’ strength, in spite of the overt boycott of the union bureaucracy.

From Thursday, June 11th to Tuesday, June 23rd when an agreement was signed with the government, the workers and peasants in Andahuaylas imposed a general work stoppage. The governor –actually a kind of “prefect”, a representative of the government- was hidden in the Andahuaylas garrison, while the police locked themselves in their police station. The struggle committee, integrating local unions and peasant organizations, was in fact the master in the city; a de facto dual power was instituted locally. The only point in the struggle committee’s program was the resignation of Garcia and all his cabinet of ministers.

The workers and peasants of the province of Canchis tried to occupy the Cusco airport; they succeeded in blocking the departures from Cusco to Puno and Bolivia. In Cusco, the (popular)

Council of Machiguenga-Urubamba River (COMARU) and the Revolutionary Agrarian Federation of Cusco (FAR) tried to organize, with other organizations, a departmental indefinite strike in the Cusco region (including the city) but the Stalinist bureaucracy of the CP betrayed the workers once more, refusing to march with the Cuscan peasants in a strike on June 24th.

A week before, a march of ethnic Awajun and Shipibos poor peasants, together with conscript soldiers that had just been licensed, reached Pichanaki, in the Junin department, in their way to La Merced, declaring that their final goal was Lima (the capital). But when the government signed the agreement with the Amazonian workers and poor peasants, they stopped marching.

On June 11th the readiness of the workers and the middle classes of Lima to fight against the regime was clearly showed. In spite of the CGTP leadership call for “day of national struggle” with the aim of decompressing the fighting mood of the workers and peasants, and of dividing the workers and peasants in the province from the proletariat of the capital, 20,000 protestors –construction workers, teachers and students- went into the streets in Lima. The old union bureaucracy could not prevent that the most militant protestors –students and construction workers- clashed with the horse-riding police, and teargas grenades and police assaults, trying to cross the barrier that separated them from the Parliament and government palaces for two hours.

Though the agreements signed by the government have defused for the moment the struggle in the Amazonian rainforest region and in Andahuaylas, the struggles did not stop. An ever increasing hatred against the wicked Fujimorista-FTA regime is taking momentum.

In the end of June, peasants blocked the roads from Arequipa to Puno; in the province of Azangao-Puno a strike was declared and staged for 72 hours; poor peasants unions in Cajamarca, Ancash and Cusco threaten with a generalized struggle if the mining companies deprive them from their land and water. Coca growers in La Convención, in the Cusco region, demand a better price for their crop to the state company Enaco. The poor peasants of Ashaninka Central in Ene River denounced the state concession for the new Paquitzapango Hydropower Central Project that will

deprive them from the water they need for their crops. After a first period of resistance, the workers of the struggle committee of the province of La Oroya had to accept the treacherous Acta (agreement) signed on June 23 by the strikebreaker bureaucrat Luis Castillo with the imperialist bosses. Castillo, an old cadre of the CP, could do that because the Lambertists disguised him as “Trotskyist” for a few months. The national unions are demanding the repeal of the anti-labor laws; the port workers struggle in defense of their jobs.

Then came the combats of July 7th, 8th and 9th. In these days, the new “Bolivarian” freak, the Front for Sovereign and Life, which subordinated the CGTP and Aidesep to Humala, did everything to stop the dashing of the masses. Although, overcoming the contention, the masses took effective mass actions that paralyzed several Departments, like Ayacucho.

**It is crystal clear that conditions to throw down Alan Garcia and his whole government and to demolish his Fujimorista-FTA regime are more than ripe. It would only be necessary to organize a powerful revolutionary strike, centralizing the self-defense pickets, taking control of the roads, and attacking the possessions of the transnationals and the bourgeoisie.** If this has not been achieved yet, it is not the fault of the exploited, for lack of conditions or determination for the struggle; it is because of the betrayal of the leaderships of the CGTP, CP, Patria Roja, backed by the renegades of Trotskyism, who are preventing the road to the revolutionary general strike that could impose the revolutionary overthrow of the government and the FTA regime.

**The workers and peasants’ uprisings, the local quasi-insurrections, the revolts, have left in crisis the Fujimorist-FTA regime**

What we have seen in Bagua is the opening of the civil war; the “normal” and “peaceful” relationships between the classes are broken. The classes have begun to clash directly between them. This civil war is developing in the provinces, but now threatens to hit directly in the capital, stepping up and becoming in an independent action of the masses that could open the Peruvian revolution.

Before the threaten of a revolution,

there was an attempt to make a massacre to stop the way towards revolution. The intelligence Services, the Digenim, have warned the government –the administrator of the opprobrious regime- that there was a feeling of insurrection. To prevent this perspective the government launched a beat with the massacre in Bagua, which was answered with the counterattack of the working class and the exploited masses. Before the cold blood of unarmed peasants, the exploited people answered with sacred and right anger.

The Fujimorist regime of the FTA tried to stop the process of insurrection with iron an blood and to go a step ahead of the mass eruption, but it could not foresee the heroic and effective answer of the masses. It was forced to retreat, to derogate the “laws of the jungle” against which the poor peasants revolt, to get the stop of the struggle from the leadership of the Aidesep. But, as the former Prime Minister, Simons, said, it was “one step back to give two steps forward”.

And they did so. While the leaderships of the masses like Aidesep went into negotiations, the old trade union bureaucracy constrained the masses and decompressed their hatred with days of struggle on June 11th and July 7th-9th, dividing the struggles, and annulling the semi-dual power of some of the organizations, such as the Struggle Committee of Andahuaylas, by the subordination to the Bolivarian bourgeoisie (Humala), building up the “Front for sovereign and life”.

Meanwhile, they set up a new cabinet with a majority of the APRA, the party in government. This shows the increasing Bonapartization of the regime, its armor, while it still threatening the working class and the exploited masses. Alan Garcia himself wrote an article published in a rightwing newspaper, calling “the majorities without voice, which are not represented by the ultra leftist minority” to defend democracy, in action, by any means. This is an open call to set up bully-gangs –as the “búfalos”, the APRA gangs- to confront the proletariat and the exploited masses.

The right wing of the bourgeoisie rejected to join a National Unity government, the first policy of the APRAist government, because the government of Garcia is eroded and if the masses rise into combat and in independent actions, they could overthrow it and begin the revolution. The attempts of the APRA to rebuild the broken bourgeois front are

stagnated. It uses the Bonapartization as an answer before the accusations of “weakness” launched by the Fujimorists and the Social-Christians against the government of Garcia and the APRA, to show their imperialist lords that the APRA can save their businesses.

Something is crystal clear, as the Wall Street Journal reported: the government –and the whole regime, we add-, are in their *worse crisis since... July 2006*” (quoted by *El Comercio* de Lima, June 8, 2009). We are before a Bonapartist government in crisis, that tries to armour itself with the armed forces.

Meanwhile the Bolivarians, with Humala at their head are preparing an ordered way out for the crisis. They are negotiating with Toledo –an “indigenist” who has signed the FTA with the Yankees- a future transitional government in case that Garcia is overthrown. This way, the Bolivarians are showing their subordination to Obama. The have to demonstrate the Yankee embassy that their government would not touch the interests of the Yankees in Peru. That is why they discuss with the rabble that signed the FTA!

This way the broken Peruvian bourgeoisie is discussing on how to save themselves and how to save the interests of the imperialist lords. But without a defeat or a deviation of the struggle of the working class, partial measures will not resolve anything in favour of the exploiters. And the Peruvian workers must know that the defeat that they may suffer is not here at this time, but in Honduras, if the coup finally triumph, or if it finishes strangling the masses with a counterrevolutionary pact, as in Bolivia; and in Cuba with the restoration of capitalism, which is the worst defeat that the imperialists, the Bolivarians, Castro and the treacherous leaderships of the continent are preparing.

In order to develop this way, the working class and the poor peasants have to defeat the politics of the CP and Patria Roja, that before the huge struggle of the exploited masses, not only have defended the Fujimorist regime –who feed them with privileges, while thousands of pariahs are starving-, but preventing the beginning of the Peruvian revolution, they do as much as possible to help the restoration of capitalism in Cuba, they prepare new defeats for the working class as in Honduras, where the Bolivarians, the reformist left and the renegades of Trotskyism, centralized by

the World Social Forum, try to submit the working class to the bourgeois alternative of Zelaya.

### ***Peru of the workers and the poor peasants stands up***

Imperialist pillage has left Peru, that is, its workers and poor peasants, completely ruined. Imperialism-induced FTA imposed by lackey Peruvian bourgeoisie and their Fujimorista regime, has meant transforming Peru into a true big “maquila” (sweatshop) and a source of raw materials for the transnationals. The bankruptcy of the imperialist capitalist world economy, with its epicenter in the US today in recession, has hit very heavily those countries in Latin America that are trebly tied with submission chains to US imperialism through the Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) signed with it. This is the case of Mexico, the Central-American countries, Peru, Chile, Colombia, among others.

The crisis has not only depressed the international price of raw materials that these countries export, primarily to the US or to the Pacific market –as minerals, oil, etc. That also means that the imperialists transnationals that have settled their maquilas in those countries, today are closing plants, suspending and laying off workers, wholly unrestrained –as Doe Run company has done in the metallurgical complex of La Oroya in Peru- while US imperialism intensifies the pilfering of those nations to extract up to the last drop of blood from them.

The present situation in Peru is only the most advanced outpost in the combat of the Latin American workers and exploited against the submission to the FTA, against the intensified imperialist pilfering and against the imperialist chains that strangle those nations and suffocate the worker and peasant masses.

Today the Peruvian exploited are raising against the UK-US imperialists companies as Doe Run, Barrick and the rest of the mining companies that get millions and more millions every day by super exploiting semi-enslaved proletarians –more than 70% of them are subcontracted and unregistered workers, with no rights or benefits-making them work long work hours and die as insects every day; they are even denied a proper tomb, engraved as they are in the pits or destroyed to pieces by the dynamite blows in the bottom of mines without any invest-

ment in infrastructure.

The workers' wages are at an underground level while the profits of the capitalists are reaching the skies. For the exploited there are neither decent wealth benefits nor education systems and the ever rising cost of living is a lash permanently castigating the masses.

In the rural areas, the FTA meant the complete ruin of the poor peasants. The oil transnationals –the imperialist bloodsuckers of Hunt Oil, Repsol, Total-Petrobras–, the mining, chemical, pharmaceutical companies, the usurer sharks of the imperialist banks with the help of their junior partners –the regional “Bolivarian” bourgeoisies who administrate the crumbs of the sacking of the nation's resources and the agrarian-trading bourgeoisies– are determined to take the most and best part of the lands, dispossessing the ruined peasants, and those rascals do not stop even at massacring them to achieve that aim.

While the ruined peasants leave their starving families working in the tiny plot of land that cannot even support their miserable subsistence, dozens of thousands they move to the city shantytown and are used by the bourgeoisie as an enormous industrial reserve army that manage to survive by going sporadically in and out of precarious jobs –if they are lucky enough to get any– in the productive process. Meanwhile, millions are condemned to abject misery, social decomposition, which the bourgeoisie take advantage from for manning its narco-industry/traffic, prostitution, death squads, etc.

So, in the country there is an overt and brash sacking and appropriation of lands on the part of the transnationals. Imposing the FTA on Peru and other Latin American countries meant a heavy concentration of land in the hands of the transnationals, even liquidating the miserable subsistence economy of the poor peasants that had not yet lost their tiny plot. Along side these very poor peasants a rural proletariat coexists brutally overexploited by the food and seed transnationals and the landowners dedicated to the production of food and industrial crops. These thousands of rural workers have been abandoned by the CGTP leadership that refuses to organize them in its unions, leaving them to their fate's mercy in an absolute modern slavery.

This is the submitted to the imperi-

alist domination of the FTA Peru: pillaged by the transnationals that extract the strength of the proletarians in exchange for miserable wages; appropriation of the land and the natural resources by the oil and mining companies; hundreds of thousands of ruined peasants that emigrate to the cities trying to survive, and with an army of rural workers working as slaves from dawn to sunset.

These are the conditions that push the Peruvian proletarians and poor peasants to the present uprising. That's why in the country the rural workers are heading the revolts and drawing before them the ruined peasants, becoming the natural nexus (by facilitating the incorporation of the oil, mine, urban, etc. workers, NT) for a revolutionary worker-peasant alliance. The proletariat, leading the ruined and expropriated poor peasants, is the only social force that can confront and defeat the imperialist transnationals, the native bourgeoisie and its state. This is the social basis of the mass combats and the strength that began to move and that pushes towards a revolutionary irruption.

On the other hand, the middle-class peasant -who is tied to the transnationals by many links and exploits the rural worker; the middle-class peasant who sends his/her children to the universities trying in this way to climb the social ladder, that is, the rural petty bourgeois- is the social basis of Humala and his party and of the class collaboration organs as the “regional fronts”. It is the rich peasant that wants to retain some crumbs from the pilfering of the nation by the transnationals, and that is why he/she claims demanding “equity” in the sharing of the oil and mining royalties. This sector tries to become a national bourgeoisie that haggles with imperialism about the spoils of the nation. From the departmental governments, this sector tries to take advantage of the rage of the ruined peasant and the impoverished urban middle classes to control the rural worker and use it to pressure on the central government of Garcia, with the aim of receiving its own portion in the sacking of the nation.

But in Peru, as in every semi colonial or colonial country, the two fundamental confronting classes are the proletariat and imperialism. Only the Peruvian proletariat acting as chief of the oppressed country can take the majority of the

country, that is the poor peasants, out of the ruin by raising in the streets a program, giving a response to the question of the land, and to the question of the liberation of the nation from the imperialist yoke, by sealing the workers-peasant alliance.

Because its role in the production, It is the proletariat who can expropriate the factories to give tractors and technology to the ruined peasants; it is the proletariat who can expropriate without compensation the usurer banks that ruin the poor peasants, declare null and void all their debts and give them cheap credit to run their plots; it is the proletariat who can impose the monopole on the foreign trade and guarantee collective farms to produce food and all kind of necessary crops efficiently under heavy investment of the state in equipment and technology.

To impose this course the proletariat must have at its head a truly revolutionary leadership to guarantee the worker-peasant alliance, preparing the way for the imposition of a revolutionary workers-peasants' government.

In order to achieve this, the current rebellion must not be stopped; far from that, it must be deepened and centralized to give a full blow against the enemy. The treacherous leadership of the proletariat that is entrenched within the CGTP is trying to prevent this prospective. It is imperative to defeat this leadership! It is imperative to conquer without delay a congress of the rank and file workers and poor peasants that prepares a great action of the masses for a **revolutionary general strike** to defeat the government of murderous Garcia and to destroy the Fujimorista-FTA regime, in the way to impose: expropriation without compensation and nationalization under workers control of the oil and mining transnationals! Expropriation without compensation of the new agro-exporter landowners, for the benefit of the poor peasants! Expropriation without compensation of the usurer banks and creation of a unique state bank under the control of the workers to impose the immediate annulment of all the debts of the ruined peasants and give them cheap credit! Collective farms with strong investment from the state! Down with the FTA and all the political and economic agreements, treats and accords that tie the nation to imperialism! Deep Peru, worker and peasant Peru is starting to stand up, let's do not stop it!

***The Bolivarian bourgeoisie, supported by the Stalinist leadership of the CGTP, is working to contain the masses.***

***Down with the farcical "Bolivarian Revolution"!***

***It is imperative to make the worker organizations break with the bourgeoisie and advance in the way to socialist revolution!***

The open civil war in the provinces left the bourgeois power in crisis. Immediately, the partners of the party government, together with the opposition of Humala, asked for the resignation of the entire cabinet of ministers. The bourgeoisie began to shiver in panic: it was the exact moment that a revolutionary leadership would have chosen to raise the entire worker-peasant Peru to give the definitive blow. But once more the union bureaucracy of the CGTP, the PCP and Patria Roja (Maoists) alongside the entire reformist "left" came out in defense of the regime, and delayed the response of the masses for the following week, putting all kinds of obstacles to the centralization of their forces.

First, the bureaucracy of the CGTP called for a **national strike as late as July 8th, that is, a long month after the massacre of our class brothers and sisters in Bagua.** These traitors want to convince the exploited that their problems can be resolved by moving this or that minister, but leaving the whole government, the corrupt slave-owners' institutions, without destroying the murderous officers' caste of the Fujimorista army, without expelling the transnationals, without breaking with imperialism, without imposing the power of the exploited masses.

So the bureaucracy and the reformist leaderships try to save time to prevent that looming volcano of the Peruvian workers and peasants rage from erupting, and its revolutionary lava from destroying the citadel of the capitalists' power and all their institutions.

The leaders and spokespeople of the so called "Bolivarian Revolution" see very clearly that if the Peruvian revolution starts, and manages to achieve its first victory by sweeping away the Fujimorist-FTA regime, all the counter-revolutionary pacts and agreements in the continent between the Bolivarian governments –junior partners to French imperialist government and transnation-

als, all of the supported by the World Social Forum- and the governments that are direct agents of US imperialism in Latin America, would be in danger. We have seen these pacts working in the embrace between Chavez and Uribe over the spilled blood of the Colombian resistance massacred with the applause of all those governments; in Venezuela to expropriate the anti-imperialist fight of the masses; in Oaxaca, Mexico, to isolate the workers-peasants' Commune and to prevent the struggle of the Latin American exploited from raising in a revolt of the most exploited sector of the US proletariat fighting against Bush government and its occupation wars.

These pacts are those counterrevolutionary pacts that have subordinated the US proletariat to bloodthirsty Obama; they are part of the politics driven by Fidel Castro, the World Social Forum and the Kirchner to abort the revolutionary combat started by the Argentinean masses in 2001; the same counterrevolutionary pact is today acting in Bolivia where Evo Morales pacts with fascism to defeat the proletarian revolution started in 2003-2005. With counterrevolutionary pacts a full "final" blow to the international proletariat and the whole exploited people is prepared: the consummation of the capitalist restoration in Cuba from the hands of the Castro and Obama.

The revolutionary combat of the Peruvian masses today question all this counterrevolutionary display. That is why the treacherous leaderships of the international proletariat are concentrating their forces in preventing the beginning of the Peruvian revolution, which would mean the re-opening of a revolutionary process all over Latin America, after the expropriation by the "Bolivarian Revolution".

It is not accidental that Humala is now talking about meeting Toledo –that alleged "pro-indigenous" former Peruvian "Indian" president that signed the FTA and devoted to massacre workers and peasants during his government- and perhaps build an alliance with him. Humala is getting ready to abort the struggle of the proletarians in the cities and of the poor peasants and the rural workers in the countryside, submitting the exploited masses to the bourgeoisie through the trap of "indigenismo". He is preparing to use the spilled blood of the workers and peasants to enhance the business deals of the Bolivarian bourgeois gang -agent of the French transna-

tionals that scramble with the US monopolies of the FTA for the spoils of the Peruvian nation.

To reach his goal, former soldier Humala has to lean on the leadership of the CGTP to prevent the revolutionary irruption of the proletarians in Lima, which could be the starting point for a revolutionary general strike that could dethrone the government of Alan Garcia and his Fujimorist regime. Humala is an enemy of the workers' and peasants' revolution!

On his part, Evo Morales, after having sent a letter to the summit of the Peoples in Puno (Peru), last May, calling to fight for the "second independence" (?), and from his position as one of the commanders of the "Bolivarian Revolution" and representative of the counterrevolutionary pacts in the continent, is declaring hypocritically that "*what happened in Peru is the genocide caused by the FTA, the privatizations, the sell-out of the Amazon Rainforest of South America to the transnationals*" (Agencia EFE, June 13, 2009). Cynic! Morales, who expropriated the Bolivian revolution, who signed a pact with the Media Luna fascists, and who ferociously attacked three times the Huanuni mineworkers... dares to speak about "genocide" in Peru! He is merely trying to hide that he himself has his hands soaked in the blood of Bolivian miners, workers and peasants! He who has kneeled down before Obama asking him to "re-establish historical relationship", that is to say asking not to be left out –he and his bourgeois fraction- of the business deals in exchange of keeping the counterrevolutionary pact between MAS (Morales' party, NT) and the fascists, now speaks of "second independence"... for Peru! A thousand times' cynical rascal!

We the internationalists that sign this declaration want to warn the masses about the "Bolivarian Revolution", with Humala and his lackeys of the union bureaucracy of the CGTP and its servants of the reformist left, are getting ready to prevent a revolutionary down-throwing of the government and are eager to pact another "peaceful" transition, conquering for the Peruvian bourgeoisie a Bolivarian government on the basis of spilling workers and peasants' blood.

We cannot feel surprised: we have already seen the Bolivarians dealing pacts with fascism in Bolivia and with Uribe –US imperialist gendarme- in

Colombia; we have also seen Bolivarians in the governments administering the imperialist CAFTA (Central America Free Trade Agreement) as is the case of the Sandinista government of Ortega in Nicaragua and the FLMN government (Frente Farabundo Marti of National Liberation, former petty bourgeois pro-Castroite guerrilla, NT) in Salvador...

Down with the "Bolivarian Revolution"! Forwards to the workers and peasants' revolution! No to a new "provisional government" of the Peruvian bourgeoisie as that of Paniagua in 2000 (after Fujimori-Montesinos' fall, NT) that spared the Fujimorist regime and prepared the government of Toledo and the imposition of the FTA! For a revolutionary provisional government of the direct-democracy and self-defense organizations of the fighting workers and peasants!

***The exploited have an immediate task:  
Revolutionary general strike NOW!***

***To conquer bread for the people, jobs for all the workers, land for the poor peasants; expelling the transnationals, breaking with the FTA and throwing down the murderous government of Garcia and the Fujimorista-regime!***

The workers and peasants' alliance conquered in the streets, in the struggle against the police and the army is based primarily in the program that was conquered by the masses: stop the exploitation by the transnationals and their servants! Down with the Fujimorista regime and with Garcia government that today embodies this regime!

The poor peasant, instinctively, turns its head towards the only allied it has: the urban working class. That's the reason for the marches to the cities, the setting up of joint fighting committees that have guaranteed the occupation of the oil wells, attacking the imperialist interest along two months. This has also meant the breaking of the peaceful relationship between the classes; on one side the imperialists and their junior partners, the Peruvian bourgeois; on the other side, the workers and the rural exploited. The clash, the civil war, turned unavoidable.

Alter two months in fight, the AIDSEP has suspended the Amazonian strike after signing an agreement ("Acta") with the government,

which is no more than wet paper. How many times has the government signed acts pledging to meet the peoples' demands? The regime, knowing that it is too weak "to give a lesson" to the workers and the exploited people, seek for a little more time to be able to re-arm, divide the struggles and deactivate them by means of cheap demagoguery. And while the union bureaucracy of the CGTP and the reformist "left" leaning on the middle class peasants, make the workers and the exploited people accept the betray of the Actas, the APRA's government (Garcia belongs to the traditional bourgeois APRA party, NT) and the Fujimorista-FTA regime get time to reconstruct the bourgeois front.

So the government is armoring itself calling the genocidist officers' body of the army to take control of the departments where the workers are still fighting or threaten to re-start their fighting. It has militarized Cusco, Apurimac and other departments. The mass-murderous officers' body, the so called "Vladi-generals" (Vladimir Montesinos was an infamous secret police chief who in the times of Fujimori and under his orders created a parallel army within the army, devoted to the persecution and torture of the oppositionists, specially of thousands of workers, students, professors, and "lefts" in general, and also amassed together with Fujimori and other cronies huge fortunes through an entangle of contracts, bribes, extortions, slanders, cheap yellow media campaigns and private crimes, NT) who show themselves as the patrons of the Fujimorista-FTA regime. Meanwhile the government is deepening its Bonapartista characteristics; it leans on the armed forces and threatens the bourgeois opposition, from social Christians to Humalistas, saying it is going to dissolve the congress if the Prime Minister Yehudi Simon receives a censure vote.

The results of the activities of the CGTP's leaders have been shown: for weeks they have left the peasants and rural workers isolated in the forest, to be massacred by the police and the army. The revolutionary program must be developed on how to centralize and transform the semi-insurreccional local rebellions, hard strikes by sector, mass mobilizations accompanied by attacks to the private property, etc., that is, all those half deaf; half-dumb, half-mute uprisings, into a powerful mass action to overthrow the government, the Fujimorist-FTA regime, and destroy the

murderous Peruvian bourgeois state.

**For a revolutionary general strike NOW to conquer the bread, the jobs, the land for the poor peasants; to expel the transnationals, to break with the FTA and defeat the government of Garcia and his Fujimorist regime!**

**For a revolutionary general strike NOW, so that the fight of the exploited masses does not stop, for conquering justice for the martyred comrades murdered by the bourgeois state!**

**From the fighting committees, from the union rank and file assemblies, from the pickets of the rural workers, from the mobilizations.... We have to impose on the CGTP that it breaks with the bourgeoisie, to recover it and to put it to the service of the struggle of the workers, defeating the misleading union bureaucracy and imposing the Revolutionary General Strike for the conquest of all our demands.**

In that way, and impelling and organizing an action that unifies all our forces and demands, we exploited must organize a powerful **WORKERS' CONGRESS OF RANK AND FILE DELEGATES OF ALL THE FACTORIES, WORKPLACES AND MINES FROM ALL OVER PERU; WITH DELEGATES REPRESENTING RURAL WORKERS, THE TRUE AND FIRMEST ALLY OF THE URBAN WORKING CLASS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, A CONGRESS WITH DELEGATES FROM THE POOR PEASANTS, THOSE THAT SCARCELY SUBSIST ON THEIR PRODUCTION IN SMALL PLOTS OF RUINED LAND.** It is imperative to conquer a workers' and peasants' parliament that represents the largest majority of the Peruvian people, which centralizes the self-defense committees and pickets in an only one **NATIONAL WORKERS AND PEASANTS SELF-DEFENCE COMMITTEE.** Before the danger for the fighters in Andahuaylas and Cusco of being massacred, we have to set up this national congress right there in the south of the country.

**It is necessary to set up a dual power, that is to say, the power of the exploited confronting the power of the transnationals and their government, in order to go forward in the way of defeating the government and its Fujimorista-regime, to impose the breaking with imperialism, expropriate the transnationals and give the land to the peasants, a task that can**

**only be guaranteed by a revolutionary workers' and peasants' provisional government.**

Set on foot the workers' and peasants' revolution! The actions of the masses must not stop! impose the Revolutionary General Strike! Centralize the exploited in a national workers' and peasants' congress in order to reach victory! Down with Garcia! Down with the armored Fujimorist regime! Out with the transnationals!

***Down with the class collaborationist leadership of the CGTP!***

***Down with all the union bureaucracies!***

***Long live for the workers democracy!***

The Stalinist leadership of the CGTP and the different variants of reformism, fake Trotskyists and Castroites, have put all their weight to the effort of preventing this breakthrough, keeping the combat of the masses in the provinces divided from the fight of the proletarians and the youth in Lima, the Peruvian capital. Their policy is to subordinate the masses to Humala and the Bolivarian bourgeoisies. **Down with the leadership of the CGYP! Down with all the union bureaucracies!**

It is clear that the spontaneity of the Peruvian masses has been a thousand times more efficacious and perspicacious than the political cowardice of all the reformist general staffs put together; far from calling the masses to carry on any of these actions, the treacherous leaderships became frightened and run to help the bourgeoisie and its institutions. In their spontaneity the masses have demonstrated an enormous degree of consciousness: independent actions, attacks to the bourgeois property, committees of self defense, against the government and the FTA, against the sacking of the transnationals, for the land to the poor peasants. This is the starting point and the way to be developed in order to defeat in the streets the class enemy and its lackeys.

But this enormous spontaneity of the masses has a big limitation. If the combat of the exploited is not centralized by conquering their own national organ of direct democracy, there will not emerge a dual power regime to open the way to the triumph of the revolution, and then the bourgeoisie, supported by the treacherous leaderships of the proletariat, will re-organize its forces and defeat the

struggle of the masses.

It is imperative to conquer the workers democracy. That means the conquering committees in the factories, workplaces, etc., in Peru. With the method of Assembly we have to impose the building of factory, mine, workplace, etc. committees and organize the forces of the rural workers with a delegate every 50 workers to set up and organize the absolute majority of the Peruvian working class; when self determined and with the method of workers democracy the class will be able to put at its head its most remarkable and combative leaders. The fight for the workers democracy is inseparable from the fight for defeating the union bureaucracies and for conquering the independence of the unions and of all the workers organizations from the state and from all the political forces of the bourgeoisie.

***For a revolutionary program to impose the alliance of workers and poor peasants in the streets***

In order to lead the worker-peasant alliance in the streets the workers have to unite our ranks, guaranteeing our demands making our exploiters pay for them. Misery and starvation are reaching unheard of levels. Peru is officially in recession. Capitalists are not even capable of guaranteeing us the opportunity of earning our daily crumbs.

It is necessary to unite the workers' ranks in one and only cry: **Generalized wage rises! A minimum movable wage that covers the necessities of the families and goes up according to the inflation! Decent jobs for everybody! Sliding scale of wages and work hours to share all available work among all the capable hands! All the workers must be registered in the permanent payrolls in all the companies! It is necessary to set up unions for the rural workers that are brutally exploited by the transnationals!**

Before the misery and starvation in the countryside, where the poor peasants are oppressed and expropriated both by the commercial middlemen, the new agro-exporting landowners and the imperialist banks usurers and oil and mining companies: **For the expropriation without compensation and under workers control of all those blood-suckers! Nationalization of the land propriety in order to give productive plots of land, cheap credits and tech-**

**nology to the rural exploited! For collective farmers with heavy investment by the State under the control of the rural workers! Annul all the debts the poor peasants have taken with the bank usurers! Expropriation of the banks without compensation and creation of a unique state bank to guarantee credits, cheap machines and fertilizers to the poor peasants!**

It is imperative to expropriate the wicked Peruvian bourgeoisie without compensation and to nationalize those factories and enterprises under workers control. Expropriate the Romeros, the Benavides, the Chlimpers, etc., as well as the "Bolivarian" bosses -as those of Conveagro, who super-exploit the poor peasants; expropriate the regional bosses that take part in the sacking of our resources as junior partners of the imperialists, through the mining or oil rents.

Expropriate without compensation any factory or workplace that closes or sacks its workers! I.e., **expropriate without compensation and under workers control the entire textile industry, which has fired dozens of thousands workers! We must recover La Oroya from the claws of imperialist Doe Run, which is in the brink of firing all its workers! For factory-, mine- and workplace-committees that guarantee the production occupying all the pits, plants and shops!**

The bosses say: "There is no money!" No money for wage increases, keep the jobs untouched, meet the peasants' demands, and give health and education to our children... **THEY ARE LYING! There IS ENOUGH MONEY, AND MORE!** But the imperialists are carrying it out of the country, helped by their junior partners, the Peruvian bosses!

It is necessary to kick off the country the imperialist transnationals, expropriating them without compensation and under workers' control; it is necessary to expropriate Yanacocha, Barrick, Hunt Oil, Doe Run, Repsol, Total-Petrobras. That is the way to liberate the nation from the imperialist yoke.

The only government that can guarantee completely and effectively these demands of the exploited masses is a **government of the workers and poor peasants based on the self-organization and armament of the proletariat.** This is the only government that can guarantee the breaking with imperialism and the agrarian revolution.

A very tiny minority of bourgeois shareholders, bankers, managers and

straw-men of the imperialist transnationals gangs exert a ferocious dictatorship against the large majority of the exploited of the Peruvian nation. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported in the poor peasants will be able to conquer the most democratic government, one that is a genuine representative of the wide majority of the Peruvian nation, and solve the most urgent demands of the exploited people. No doubt it would become a stronghold of the socialist revolution in Latin America and the world. The entire forces of the Trotskyists and revolutionary workers are aimed at the starting, deepening and triumph of the worker-socialist revolution in Peru.

**Against the repression of the murderous bourgeois state and its Fujimorista regime: The self-defense pickets must be generalized and centralized to conquer a workers-peasants' militia!**

For that huge, heroic and so necessary task, we need our own national workers-peasants' self-defense. Our enemies, the US, Spanish, French imperialists and their junior partners, the Peruvian bosses, will not abandon the battlefield without a fight. Bagua has shown that, in spite of all those that do not want to recognize that.

The enemy is sharpening their weapons; they call for help their auxiliary corps, the "buffalos" (the bloodthirsty thugs of the old union bureaucracy of the APRA party); they have put them to march on June 16th in front of the CGTP headquarters in Lima, under the attentive look of bloodthirsty Mantilla (Garcia's secret police chief, NT); that gives them legitimacy to act, applying the law that enforces the "simple citizens' right to take someone under arrest" who is thought to be behaving "incorrectly". Workers and poor peasants love peace, but in order to free ourselves, to end with exploitation we are obliged to use violence and reply iron with steel.

"Using violence –will say the well known treacherous leaders- *would leave us in a false position at the eyes of the people*". To neutralize this fallacy, it is sufficient to remember: How many peaceful national marches have staged the construction workers, and how much support from the people have they won? Compare that to the fight of the Amazon workers and poor peasants. Is it not true

that the "wild" and "violent" Amazon fighters have won the empathy and the support of the exploited people and even of the well-off middle classes of the cities, as is shown by the dozens of thousands of private university students (only the children of the rich can go to those universities, NT) who went on a rally on June 11 in Lima and other cities (Trujillo, Chiclayo, etc.) in support of them? This means that to **"go for all", i.e., using revolutionary methods, as occupation of imperialist plants, self-defense pickets, etc., is the sure way to victory, and also the way of winning over the rest of the exploited and the middle classes' respect and support.** Contrariwise, these same middle classes pass indifferently along each February peaceful rally of the construction workers federation before the offices of the World labor organization of the ministry of Labor.

But the traitors don't stop talking. From "La Primera", this rag subsidized by petrodollars, Cesar Levano calls the union bureaucracy and the "Bolivarians" to smash the working class fighters; he calls the so-called "workers guard" of the CP to give a good beating to the "infiltrated people" that fought back the police battalions in Lima on June 11th. Another additional reason to throw down the old Stalinist union bureaucracy: instead of organizing the revenge for the proletarian blood that was spilled, they plan a massacre against the fighters. We cannot fight with the threat of the servants of the bosses, this fifth-column shooting us from behind.

It is imperative to guarantee our and our families' life. Every struggle we begin will have to confront the army's guns or the handguns and the batons of the "buffaloes"; on top of it, we will be chased and attacked by the union bureaucracy and its thugs. Against the wild repression of the hounds sent by the bosses and imperialism, we must unify all the pickets in a unique Workers and Peasants' National Self-defense Committee.

The "buffaloes" are a relatively minor nuisance: we can defeat them easily if we are decided to. Actually, the problem lies in the army. The bourgeois armed forces are the essential support of the bosses' state. There are fake revolutionary clowns (as "Lucha Marxista", "Tribuna clasista") that believe the armed forces can be dissolved by a decree, showing that they are frightened reformists, despite their red phrases\*\*.

There are reformists as Mario Huaman (member of the *Frente Unitario Revolucionario*), or the ML19 or the PST-LIT, that say we ought to befriend the police, and demand for their "rights" to win them as "allies". Don't pay attention to them, comrades. All these "organizers of defeats" tell lies and poison the consciousness of the workers. The way to win over the soldier, to win his support, has been clearly pointed long ago by that strategist of the October insurrection and creator of the Red Army, Leon Trotsky, in his book **"The History of the Russian Revolution"**

*"...The more the soldiers in their mass are convinced that the rebels are really rebelling-that this is not a demonstration after which they will have to go back to the barracks and report, that this is a struggle to the death, that the people may win if they join them, and that this winning will not only guarantee impunity, but alleviate the lot of all-the more they realize this, the more willing they are to turn aside their bayonets, or go over with them to the people. In other words, the revolutionaries can create a break in the soldiers' mood only if they themselves are actually ready to seize the victory at any price whatever, even the price of blood. And the highest determination never can, or will, remain unarmed.(...) The street fighting began with the disarming of the hated Pharaohs (police), their revolvers passing into the hands of the rebels. The revolver by itself is a weak, almost toy-like weapon against the muskets, rifles, machine guns and cannon of the enemy. But are these weapons genuinely in the hands of the enemy? To settle this question the workers demanded arms. It was a psychological question. But even in an insurrection psychic processes are inseparable from material ones. The way to the soldier's rifle leads through the revolver taken from the Pharaoh."* Leon Trotsky, **"The History of the Russian Revolution"**, Volume One: The Overthrow of Czarism - Chapter 7: FIVE DAYS (February 23-27, 1917). Written in 1930)

The workers and peasants' congress must centralize the already existing self-defense pickets in a workers and Peasants' National Self-defense committee, against the murderous, anti-exploited people caste of Fujimorist officers commanding the Peruvian army. **For the revolutionary general strike it is imperative that we can count on organs to defend us and be able to show**



**to the rank and file soldiers, who are our class brothers under military rule, that we are ready and decided to go to the end.** Only then the soldier will put aside his doubts, choose to support his class brothers and sisters and join the struggle against the regime that is starving the people and selling out the nation. It is necessary to call for the formation of **rank and file soldiers' committees that disavow the officers' caste and send their soldier delegates to the workers and peasants' congress. Destroy the murderous officers' caste of the Fujimorist Peruvian army! Form workers, peasants and soldiers' committees!**

Governments have come and gone all these last years, but the core of the Fujimorist regime hasn't changed. The recent "pageantry" of Fujimori's trial was the cover for the impunity enjoyed by the murderous regime and its components. The anti-working class repressive forces strike here and there and continue going thoroughly unpunished, the courts are mere offices of the transnationals and the bourgeois parliament a diver where corrupt hand-raisers legitimate everything imperialism asks for. Every struggle of the exploited is replied by the regime with bullets and jail. **Freedom for the more than 8000 political prisoners who lie -and are tortured- in the dungeons of the Fujimorist regime! In order to achieve justice for our working class, peasant and student martyrs: workers' and popular tribunals that punish the murderers of the workers and the poor peasants! For the dissolution of the entire state repressive apparatus! For the dissolution of the bosses' justice and its judges, who are in the payroll of the transnationals!**

***For a new revolutionary regroupment of the vanguard to centralize our forces and impose the way to the revolutionary general strike!***

So it is imperative to conquer a superior and centralized action of the masses, able to hit with one and only fist for the demands of the exploited. To impose this way that the exploited need, it is imperative to centralize right now the already existent struggle committees, which have been born under the heat of the combats and which are at the head of the most militant and dedicated portion of the proletarians and the poor peasants. It

is imperative to set up a Fighting Front to guarantee the road to the revolutionary general strike in order to conquer the bread, the wages, the jobs, the land, to kick off the transnationals from the country and to defeat the government and his Fujimorist regime.

**The Andahuaylas Struggle Committee that is centralizing the workers and poor peasants of the region, who are on a war foot; the Bagua fighting organizations and all those that are also struggling all over the Amazon region; the joint struggle committee of the metalworkers and the exploited people of La Oroya; the combative unions and struggle committees of Moquegua, etc. have gained all the authority to call right now to form rank and file assemblies of all the unions and fighting organizations of workers and poor peasants, to set up a Fighting Front to prevent a new betrayal and centralize the forces of the exploited to march on Lima without delay and impose the road to a general strike to conquer all our demands. We have to take advantage of the call to a national strike on July 8th and organize without delay the revolutionary general strike up to the downfall of Garcia government and the Fujimorist-FTA regime.**

The left that claims to be for the working class and socialism must break right now their subordination to the bourgeoisie of Humala and to the union bureaucracy, and put their entire forces to the service of conquering a Fighting Front now. They speak in their papers and statements about "the urgent task of unifying the workers' struggles with those of the Amazonian Indians to make Garcia go away". But in fact they stand for unity only to subordinate our fighting organizations to the "Bolivarian" bourgeoisie.

Thus, currents as *El Militante* proposes the formation of a Fighting Command together with the Nationalist, that is together with the national Bolivarian bourgeoisie that tries to use the workers and peasants' blood to the service of their business deals as agents of French imperialism. In the same sense, the LIT vindicates the formation of the Front to the Defense of Life and Sovereignty, a new class collaboration organ headed by the Nationalist Party together with the regional "indigenous" bourgeoisie. Meanwhile, currents as the Argentinean PTS copy the same politics of the LIT (in a left colored version)

demanding a wide and democratic coordination of the rank and file unions, the indigenous and peasant organizations... with the regional fronts headed by the regional bourgeoisie and Humala.

They are the left wing of the World Social Forum and its policies of class collaboration. All of them, breaking with the Trotskyist program and with the Permanent Revolution theory, adopt openly the "Maoist theory" about the "main contradiction", which says that above the antagonism between proletarians and bourgeoisie, there is the antagonism or contradiction "nation vs. imperialism"; this fake "theory" claims that the national bourgeoisie that poses as "nationalist" (i.e., defenders of the oppressed nation) in oppressed countries as Peru, is capable of playing a progressive role; so that this "lefts" subordinate to that bourgeoisie. This is the root of their appeals to the formation of "anti-government", "anti-Garcia", "anti neoliberal" fronts; their politics serves to subordinate the proletarians to the Bolivarian bourgeoisie of Humala.

**Enough is enough!** This policy of subordination to the bourgeoisie has ruined the Peruvian proletarians' prospects many times in the revolutionary uprising of workers and peasants in the late '70s. The Peruvian masses, turning to the left, went to the FOCEP (Worker-Peasant-Student-Peoples' Front) which was led by currents that claimed to be Trotskyist with renowned left leader Hugo Blanco at their head. But those currents put all their strength and the authority won before the workers, to the service of the bourgeois regime, renouncing the development of the "defense fronts" –true embryos of soviets that in those years were mushrooming all over Peru; on the contrary, they bet all their stakes to the constituent assembly. Far from using the constituent assembly as a platform to expand and centralize the organs of direct democracy of the masses and the workers' militia, they subordinated to the constituent assembly the entire revolutionary drive of the exploited masses. This policy prevented the proletariat from being the chief of the alliance between workers and peasants. This alliance –submerged in total impotence– finally broke up allowing the total decomposition of the conditions for revolution.

Today, the renegades of Trotskyism return once more over their steps of those days... Break with your subordination to the Bolivarian bourgeoisie!

We call the left organizations that

claim to be for the working class and the exploited people, the Movimiento Cumbre de los Pueblos (Movement of the Summit of the Peoples), which influences the Amazonian organizations; the PST-LIT influent in Loreto; the Liga Socialista (Socialist League) of Cusco that influences the construction workers and students in that city; the Partido de la Clase Trabajadora (Working Class Party) influent on the miners' rank and file and on the Lambayeque regional of the CGTP; the FUR (Revolutionary United Front) that influences the university students in Lima; the wide tendency Huaynalaya that is the opposition to the SUTEP (teachers' union) leadership and is present in the universities; we call all of them **to break their subordination to the Bolivarian bourgeoisie, and begin working to centralize and unify democratically our fighting organizations setting up a Fighting Front that put all its forces to the service of defeating the union bureaucracy of the CGTP and conquer a workers and peasants' rank and file congress.**

They criticize the bureaucratic leadership of the CGTP; they say they stand for the unity of the masses. Well, we call them to put the walking where they do the talking. If they don't, they would be exposed before the eyes of the proletarians and poor peasants; this "left" would have proven not to be interested in putting their influence in order to defeat the CGTP bureaucracy, but instead avid runners in the race for its replacement by a new "left" bureaucracy, if necessary bringing again Hugo Blanco at their head, to support Humala's Bolivarian bourgeoisie alongside the Stalinists -that backed Toledo so he could sign the FTA, as today they back Garcia against the outrage of the exploited.

We internationalists do not trust the leaders of the parties of the renegades of Trotskyism. They have been backing and supporting the farcical Bolivarian revolution that has been so ruinous for the international proletariat. However, we do trust the honest workers and youth in their rank and file, we trust their strength and their eagerness to fight for the victory of the proletarian revolution. So we call them to conquer a new revolutionary regroupment of the vanguard to the service of defeating the treacherous leadership of the CGTP; of setting up the dual power of workers and peasants; of going forward to a revolutionary general strike to defeat the government and the regime opening the course for the second Peruvian revolution.

### ***The fight to set up a revolutionary leadership for the Peruvian proletariat is becoming red hot***

The World crisis has shown that the reformists, from social democrats and Stalinists to fake Trotskyists are used by their masters -who pay for their privileges, their high salaries in the unions and parliaments- for constraining the fight of the masses that are trying to reply with socialist revolutions to the imperialist attack.

That is why to the usual work of the union bureaucracy of the PC, Patria Roja and SP in the CGTP heights, to support the government and the Fujimorist regime, now new reformist parties are set up, which become a new obstacle for the centralization of the workers and the people in organs of direct democracy and self defense, in the way to seizing power.

The FUR, the "Cumbre de los Pueblos" (Summit of the Peoples) Movement, the Party of the Working Class, etc., are only reproducing the schema of the "anti-capitalist parties" to the service of the regime that has been proved many times in Latin America, and is repeated today in the imperialist countries, with the NPA of O. Besancenot in France and all the rest of the contraptions of the so called "European anti-capitalist left". Putting themselves to the left of the old CPs and SPs, they cover the latter's left side to prevent the masses as long as possible from throwing down these treacherous leaderships and meanwhile they get ready to be the next reformist leaderships. The Trotskyist renegades play a principal role in the formation of these new reformist parties, having turned themselves into Castroite-Stalinists, as they have broken with the program and the principles of the Fourth International of 1938. It is enough to say that the Lambertites that are the leadership of the Partido de la Clase Trabajadora in Peru, are supporting Luis Castillo, showing him as a consistent revolutionary (Castillo is the general secretary of the mine and metal workers federation, and a strike-breaker that sold out and betrayed the miners of Marcona a few months ago, and who is now betraying and selling out the miners of Doe Run-La Oroya).

Against the politics of the renegades of Trotskyism that was the cause of cruel

defeats for the proletarians and the poor peasants in the late '70s; when these renegades are plotting together with the Bolivarian bourgeoisie a similar trap to that which ruined the masses in those years, and are preparing for a bourgeois renewal in the government -and even for the old trap of a new Constituent Assembly- to strangle the struggle of the exploited, the combat of the internationalist Trotskyists to give the Peruvian working class the revolutionary leadership that it deserves and needs to triumph, is becoming red hot.

Our forces are still weak, but the program we fight for is strong. Gathering together around the lessons of the hottest developments of the world class struggle -the Bolivian revolution, the Greek struggle, the combats of the proletarians in the French colonies, the Palestinian resistance, etc. - we are conquering a program that, today and in the future, allows us to establish the necessary links with the revolutionary fighters all over the country to build up a revolutionary internationalist fighting party with them.

That new generation of revolutionaries already exists. Years of struggle combining both the economic and the political struggle, the minimal demands and the fight against the regime, give to this new generation of fighters the class consciousness, ferocity and hatred against the exploiters that are necessary to carry the masses forward. That's why the bourgeois say in fear that this new generation of revolutionaries do not believe in the solution of "*their demands via the procedures established by the state... no routines are built for negotiation, they do not respect the standards of the institutionalized politics*" (*La República*, Lima, June 14, 2009). What this young generation of revolutionaries need is an immaculate flag around which to organize.

The Trotskyists of the FLTI put our modest forces to the service of gathering together the Peruvian revolutionary workers and youth, which will not be possible without a ruthless fight against the old CPs and the new "anti-capitalist parties". As we have said, we know that we have only the force of a small nucleus of revolutionary internationalists. But these forces are put to the service of setting up in every corner of the country direct democracy, self determination and self defense organs of the fighting workers and exploited, expanding the and centralizing them at a national level. We know that in those organs, under the vigi-

lant eyes of the masses, both leaders and programs are put to the test at every moment, and very soon traitors and reformists are exposed, the wolves in a lamb's skin that prepare to strangle the fight of the masses get unmasked. On the contrary, even a small nucleus of revolutionaries can be quickly increased its forces because in those organs the masses can understand the correctness of our program and our strategy through their own experience and get rid of the treacherous leaderships. The condition for that change is that the revolutionaries tell frankly to the masses at each step who are their allies and who are their enemies, and do not stop our ruthless fight, even for an instant, against every, overt or covert, enemy of the proletariat.

But the building up of a revolutionary, Trotskyist and internationalist party of the Peruvian proletariat is not a "national" task, as it is not "national" the action of the treacherous and reformist leaderships, which, on the contrary, are systematically and very precisely centralized in a continental level, from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, and from the Pacific to the Atlantic Oceans, in the meetings of the World Social Forum, in its encounters and summits, under the blessing of Chavez, the "Bolivarian" bourgeoisies and the Cuban restorationist Castroite bureaucracy.

A revolutionary, Trotskyist and internationalist leadership of the Peruvian

working class will only be able to be born as an inseparable part of the combat to put on its feet a revolutionary general staff that unifies the class conscious and revolutionary workers of the world, in the backward countries as in the imperialist powers, to defeat the counterrevolutionary general staffs, guided by the legacy and the program of the Fourth International of 1938. We have to regroup at an international level all the revolutionaries that show the same ferocity, audacity and centrality showed by the counterrevolutionary general staffs and their hirelings within the workers movement: reformists, Stalinists, social democrats, and former Trotskyists.

We come from a common internationalist congress of the Trotskyists of the South African WIVL, the HRS from the US, comrades from Sao Paulo's that come from a split with the sister organization of the PTS in Brazil; the Núcleo Revolucionario Internacionalista (Internationalist Revolutionary Nucleus) of Argentina, together with groups in Bolivia, Argentina, Brazil, New Zealand, Chile and Peru that integrated the FLT. That congress discussed and resolved the setting up of the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction or ILTF. This is a small but important milestone in the way of Trotskyists towards building up a revolutionary General Staff, an international centre as the one of the Third International under Lenin or the Fourth

International in 1938. We call upon the honest revolutionary fighters to join us!

July, 2009

### **International Coordination Secretariat of the ILTF**

#### NOTES

\* The Digemin, General Direction (Leading Office) of the Interior (Home Security) Ministry, "is considered the most powerful intelligence organ in the country. It receives the support of the US Embassy and generates strategic intelligence in all the areas" (Caretas Magazine, Lima, June 11, 2009). Under the government of Alan Garcia, Agustín Mantilla came back to the intelligence services. Mantilla, Garcia's right hand, is widely know for organizing death squads in the APRA government of 1985-1990 (first Garcia administration)

\*\* "For the elimination of the bourgeois army and police through the seizing of power" ("Tribuna clasista", February, 2009). That is, they propose the seizing of power in a peaceful way, without destroying the armed resistance of the bourgeoisie.

*The most internationalist task for the Peruvian proletariat:*

## **To defeat the coup in Honduras, to destroy the regime of the TLC**

The Peruvian workers and exploited masses, tighten to the Yankee imperialism, as our class Honduran brothers and sisters, must rise for the defeat of the coup in Honduras by the workers and the exploited masses with proletarian methods: General Strike to overthrow the dictatorship and all the institutions where the coup was prepared and launched; to destroy the Honduran parliament and general staff! It was the Yankee imperialism who organized the coup. For the expropriation without payment and under workers' control of the maquilas and the mines of the Yankee butchers! For the destruction of the Yankee military base and for the defeat of the marines! Let's build up workers' and poor peasants' committees to organize the revolutionary general strike. From the committees and the militias the soldiers could be called to change their side and join their class brothers and sisters.

The tragedy is that our leaderships subordinate us to the bourgeoisies, Bolivarian or not, and to Obama and the

"democratic front" settled up by them, supposedly to "fight against the coup, when it was the Yankee imperialism itself who organized the coup and the dictatorship imposed with blood and fire.

The vanguard of the workers and the exploited masses must impose the break of our fighting organizations with this "democratic front". Let's break with Zelaya, Chavez, Lula and Obama! Let's call upon the COB (Central Obrera Boliviana), the oil workers' trade unions of Ecuador, the Conlutas, the Local 10 of the ILWU, and other trade unions and leaders, who have met in the ELAC last year, to break with the "democratic front" and to put themselves to organize a continental general strike for the victory of our Honduran class brothers and sisters!

In Peru, the workers and exploited masses will give an important push for that task by uprising and demolishing the Fujimorist regime of the FTA: The Peruvian revolution must be set on foot!

## THE MEANING OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE PERUVIAN PROLETARIAT FOR THE LATIN AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

The global economic crisis of the imperialist financial capital has clearly demonstrated before the eyes of the exploited, the complete bankruptcy of the capitalist system. The proletarians have responded to the attack by the bourgeoisie, imperialist as well as semi colonial and colonial, that seek to make the workers, exploited and oppressed peoples in the world to pay for the crisis, with enormous revolutionary combats in different zones in the planet. Before the terror of the proletarian revolution, the international bourgeoisies have centralized the forces of the world labour aristocracies and bureaucracies and their reformist parties in order to prevent a true generalized revolutionary uprising of the world masses that could make the exploiters pay for the crisis they have caused.

Therefore, only for the moment, the reformist leaderships of the proletariat and their parties have succeeded in containing the masses in their revolutionary combats as in Greece, France, Madagascar, Martinique and Guadeloupe, to name only a few. The world bourgeoisie, frightened by the revolutionary action of the masses in the midst of the crisis, leans on the help of the treacherous leaderships of the world proletariat. Sharpen its senses and is giving new counterrevolutionary blows. We have seen the in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and we are seeing in Honduras today. Imperialism is reaction all along the line.

We are before a world situation that has decisive confrontations between the classes in the works, because not only the entire world proletariat but also some imperialist power/s must pay for the cost of the crisis. Under these conditions, we are witnessing revolutionary flashes on the part of the masses. In the edges of the enormous contradictions of the world situation, there are fissures that creak and break, incapable of containing the hatred and the legitimate reaction of the masses before such terrible conditions of exploitation and unheard of sufferings. Today the breach is opened in Peru where workers and peasants try to stand up and fight back.

The international character of the mass struggles in Peru is shown by the fact that the Peruvian workers and poor peasants are questioning everything.

From their barricade combats, violent confrontations, land and oil wells occupations, from their strikes and pickets, the Peruvian masses are telling the international proletariat that under the conditions imposed by the capitalist bankruptcy, if one wants to achieve anything, even something as elemental as the daily bread, jobs, wages, land, education and health, the masses are obliged to fight for the everything, against the transnationals and imperialism, against their puppet governments and regimes, against the capitalists' property.

Therefore, the combat of the Peruvian masses live today the factory sit-ins with bosses and managers taken as hostages that we saw in France, the workers and youth's barricades as in Greece, the worker and peasant militias of Madagascar, the revolutionary resistance combats as those in Palestine and the Middle East, the mass combats to get free from the imperialist colonialism as in Guadeloupe and Martinique. And in the struggle of the workers and exploited masses in Honduras against the coup of Micheletti and the Yankee transnationals. It cannot be denied that the coup in Honduras, a maquila of the Yankees, as Peru, is another answer of the Yankee imperialism before the possible rebellion of one of its quasi-colonies of the FTA, Peru.

All these combats are today living within the rebellion of the working class and the peasants in Peru. The forces of the Latin American proletariat that try to face the farcical "Bolivarian revolution" forces, to be able to break all the counterrevolutionary pacts and agreements between the Bolivarian bourgeoisie and imperialism designed to defeat the working class, resist and nestle there. The Peruvian workers and peasants in revolt have in their hands the key for the Bolivian proletariat to stand up again and recover their fighting organizations as the COB from the hands of the treacherous class collaborationist bureaucracy, breaking with Evo Morales and smashing fascism.

If these forces can develop in a revolutionary direction, they will question the counterrevolutionary international politics of the Cuban Castroite bureaucracy. That is why the Castro brothers and their restorationist gang support Humala in

Peru; just because they have to prevent a revolutionary process that question the settlement of the farcical "Bolivarian Revolution" that barred the victory of the proletarian revolution in the continent, concentrating their counterrevolutionary forces in Argentina, Ecuador and fundamentally in Bolivia, to make the bourgeoisies in crisis prevail in spite of the revolutionary assaults of the masses.

The Castroites support Humala because the eventual opening of the Peruvian revolution would mean an enormous impulse for the Cuban workers and peasants to revolt against the process of capitalist restoration that has been started by the Castros and is marching on in the isle led by them and by the imperialist butcher Obama.

As we have said, today the Peruvian workers and poor peasants are showing the exploited all over the planet that under the conditions of capitalist bankruptcy, to conquer even the most minimal demand it is necessary to fight for the whole: for revolution. Therefore Peru puts into question the kernel of the politics and the strategies of the World Social Forum and its left wing, the renegades of Trotskyism that openly speak up for class collaboration, as in the Encuentro Latinoamericano y Caribeño de Trabajadores (Latin American and Caribbean Encounter of Workers = ELAC) led by the Morenoite LIT-CI to strangle the left wing of proletariat, from the Latin American to the North American vanguard, represented by the Local 10 of the ILWU, the Dockers of San Francisco, who had led the struggle against the imperialist war and the struggle for the rights of the most exploited workers, the black and the immigrants.

The combat of the Peruvian masses must be the point where the Latin American working class digs up to stop retreating and to be able to impose a true counteroffensive of masses that exposes definitively and reduces to fragments the farcical "Bolivarian Revolution" and reopens the way to the proletarian revolution. This is the decisive importance of the Peruvian developments for the international proletariat. The Latin American and world working class must stand up alongside the Peruvian exploited!

# The LIT and its PSTU, with CONLUTAS and the ELAC, at the feet of Lula, Humala and the bloodstained monopolies

The PST, Peruvian section of the LIT, calls the exploited masses to “reaffirm the unity achieved in the Front for Life and Sovereignty, uniting the workers and popular demands and give the government a due date to meet these demands, by the CGTP’s approbation of the National Strike for next July 7-8-9”. The Front for Life and Sovereignty is a movement organized by the Nationalist Party of Humala



Morales, Chavez and Humala. The “Bolibourgeois” minor partners of imperialism

alongside the regional “indigenous” bourgeoisie that in their confrontation with Alan Garcia aims to carry the exploited masses at the feet of the oppositionist bourgeoisie.

Once more the LIT is supporting the Bolivarian bourgeoisie; now in Peru. However its job is far from being completed. The LIT and its mother party, the Brazilian PSTU, that conduct CONLUTAS and the ELAC, reproduce the statement of the PST and do not say even a word about the enormous interests of the Brazilian bourgeoisie, junior partner to the imperialist monopolies that are sacking Peru and threatened by the uprising of the masses.

Because there are Total-Petrobras, the construction companies as Odebrecht, Camargo Correa, Andrade Gutierrez, Queiroz Galvao, the OAS Company, together with Eletrobras (energy); steelmaker Gerdau; Cia Vale do Rio Doce (iron mining), Ocean Air (Airline); Natura (cosmetics based on rainforest species); AmBev (drinks); Votorantim (Cellulose, paper and mining) and Azaleia (shoes) –to name only a bunch of the most important ones- which are sacking gas, oil, mining and other resources of the Peruvian Amazon; they also have in their hands the infrastructure business as the inter-oceanic highway -1000 km of roads that connect Brazil with the Pacific Ocean ports; the enlarging of the Callao port in the Peruvian Pacific coast; the hydroelectric power plants that are constructed as well as those in project, etc.

The CONLUTAS and its ELAC under the leadership of the PSTU/LIT –with their miserable muteness- are covering up the business deals of the Brazilian bourgeoisie –junior partners of the imperialist monopolies settled in the MERCOSUR/MERCOSUL, of the French Total in the first place- which have their tentacles firmly engaged in Peru, as well as in Ecuador and Bolivia. This yellow bureaucracy with all their forces is preventing the Brazilian proletariat from going to the streets to fight to help their class brothers and sisters that have revolted in Amazonia, on the other side of the common border, against the same monopolies that enslave the Brazilian

proletarians for the sake of making them pay for the crisis created by imperialism

These renegades of Trotskyism that usurp the flags of the Fourth international for decades, are who prevent the exploited in the great urban working class concentrations in Sao Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, etc., from taking in their hands their internationalist tasks and launch their war cry: **Expropriate without compensation and**

**under workers control of Petrobras, the construction companies, the Gerdau, and all the companies that are sacking Peru, Brazil, etc.! Set up Assemblies in all the workers, land-less peasants and combative students’ organizations to break their subordination to Lula, PT, CUT and to pronounce immediately about the Peru events and the internationalist tasks for the Brazilian exploited!**

So the CONLUTAS and the ELAC –that have not even promoted a minute of solidarity strike with the fighting masses that were massacred by the lackey Peruvian government, though they lead hundreds of workers organizations (unions, factory committees, movements, grass-roots working class organizations, etc.) in the continent- do not play on the side of the struggles of the Peruvian workers and peasants; on the contrary, they are an additional obstacle that prevents the reopening of revolution in South America, and take special care to impede the reopening of the Bolivian revolution.

The CONLUTAS and the ELAC, in the hands of PSTU/LIT, are covering the backs of the slave-owing Brazilian bourgeoisie and the monopolies that have their hands soaked in the blood of the Peruvian exploited; because there were the Brazilian bosses and their imperialist chiefs who, from Brasilia, financed the massacre perpetrated in Bagua by the murderous lackey Alan Garcia; now, from their *Folha de Sao Paulo* – they commend not to be too vocal “for the moment Brazil must not pronounce about the crisis in Peru, but the situation is being accompanied by the international advisers of the Planalto (= Brasilia) (*Folha de Sao Paulo*, Fávía Marreiro, June 11, 2009)

The Morenoites, taking advantage of all the weight of the organizations they control and their political influence, are mounting a new fence around the combat of the exploited Peruvian masses –in the same way they did with the Bolivian revolution- helping the Bolivarian leaderships to defeat the struggle of the Peruvian proletarians and peasants against imperialism and its Peruvian and Brazilian lackeys and keep the power in their hands.