

Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

Documenting the
Peruvian Insurrection

*Published in Cooperation with
the Princeton University Library*

A Microfilm Publication by

Scholarly Resources Inc.
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ISBN: 1-57803-343-8

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Printed and bound in the
United States of America

2005

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Collection Overview.	iv
Introduction.	vi
Editorial Note.	xii
Acknowledgements.	xiii
<i>Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection</i>	
Group A	
<i>I. Manifestos and official publications.</i>	1
<i>II. Chronological file.</i>	3
<i>III. Outside agencies, news media, etc.</i>	9
Group B	
Box 1	
<i>I. Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional.</i>	12
<i>II. Servicio de Inteligencia Externo.</i>	13
Box 2	
<i>III. Ministerio del Interior.</i>	14
Box 3:	
Confidential Documents from the Guardia Civil, Fuerzas Armadas, Policia de Investigaciones de Perú, and other institutions.	15
Box 4:	
Confidential Documents including psychological assessments of members, reports on subversive and countersubversive actions, and other police reports.	16
Group C: <i>Sendero Luminoso, a collection of pamphlets, serials, flyers, and party congresses, 1962-1985</i>	
Subjects:	
<i>Partido Comunista del Peru/Partido Comunista Peruano.</i>	18
<i>Movimiento Universitario, 1971–1978.</i>	21
<i>Movimiento Intelectual 1975.</i>	25
<i>Movimiento Femenino, 1973–1976.</i>	26
<i>Movimiento Obrero (1973)/ Centro de Autoeducación Obrera.</i>	26
<i>Movimiento Magisterial, 1969–1979.</i>	27
Supplement: <i>El Caballo Rojo.</i>	30

COLLECTION OVERVIEW

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection is a collection of ephemera that includes printed materials authored by the Sendero Luminoso and reports of the Peruvian government institutions trying to contain the insurrection launched by this group. In general, these materials were collected by Gustavo Gorriti Ellenbogen and served as the primary sources for his *Sendero: Historia de la Guerra milenaria en el Perú* (Lima: Editorial Apoyo, 1990).

Group A

Group A was first made available to researchers in 1991 and contains three sections. Section I comprises manifestos and official texts published by various political and revolutionary groups in Peru. They are general in nature and do not apply to specific incidents. Section II contains publications, reports, and accounts from the news media, most of which are filed chronologically. Some of these items are issued by government departments; some are interviews; and others are untitled and unsigned notes. Frequently information from several sources on a single incident is included. Section III holds items of international origin (from the United Nations, United States, etc.), news reports, and articles related to the topic of the insurrection, all of which were collected by Gorriti.

Group B

Group B, first filmed in 2004, is divided primarily by box. Box 1 contains documents written by the Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional and the Servicio de Inteligencia Externo. These confidential reports describe the Sendero Luminoso's subversive activities, as well as its members, parties, and affiliate groups. The Peruvian government's defense situation is also documented. Finally, Box 1 includes weekly, monthly, and trimestral intelligence reports. Combined, they cover most of the Sendero Luminoso's activity from 1984 to 1986.

Box 2 contains confidential documents from the Ministerio del Interior. These items include information on subversive and countersubversive actions, assessments and studies of these actions, Sendero Luminoso's projections, and, finally, the government's response to all of these.

The contents of Box 3 are drawn from a variety of sources, including the Guardia Civil, the Fuerzas Armadas, and the Policía de Investigaciones de Perú. More specifically, Box 3 contains information regarding terrorists and attempted attacks, evidence of groups that aided Sendero Luminoso, and documentation of the government's attempts to reinforce their defense situation. Also included are a personal letter, a press release, and a handwritten itinerary.

Confidential documents including psychological assessments of Sendero Luminoso members, as well as a range of items detailing subversive and countersubversive activities, are included in Box 4. Police reports on suspects and police measures designed to stop Sendero Lumimoso attacks complete the survey.

Group C

The third major grouping assembles a collection of pamphlets, serials, flyers, and party congress resolutions from the years 1962–1985. The materials are subdivided into the following subject categories: Partido Comunista del Peru/Partido Comunista Peruano, 1962–1985; Movimiento Universitario, 1971–1975; Movimiento Intelectual, 1975; Movimiento Femenino, 1973–1976; Movimiento Obrero (1973)/Centro de Autoeducación Obrera; and Movimiento Magisterial, 1969–1985.

Supplement

The final four reels consist of issues of *El Caballo Rojo: suplemento dominical de el diario Marka* (Lima) and covering the weeks from April 18, 1980 to December 15, 1985. *El Caballo Rojo* was the Sunday magazine of a highly successful daily newspaper and was noted for the especially creative treatment of culture and politics it manifested under the leadership of the acclaimed poet Antonio Cisneros.

INTRODUCTION

Between 1980 and 1993 Peru lived through the most violent armed conflict of its history. According to the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which worked in the country from 2001-03, the number of dead and missing approached 70,000 people.¹

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection contains primary source materials that shed light on several important peculiarities of the Peruvian war. The most horrifying of these is that approximately half of those killed were the victims of the Shining Path-Communist Party of Peru (Partido Comunista del Peru-Sendero Luminoso, or PCP-SL), a small Maoist group largely unknown at the beginning of their armed struggle to the majority of Peruvians and the intelligence agencies of the state. Due to the sheer number of its victims, as well as the cruelty of its actions, the PCP-SL is a unique case in the study of internecine conflict in Latin America. Commonly the greatest perpetrators of violence in other internal armed conflicts that took place in the region were agents of the state or state-associated paramilitary groups. The intensity of *senderista* violence is even more surprising because its firepower was never comparable to that wielded by other subversive groups from the region, such as the FARC of Colombia or the Salvadoran FMLN.²

Equally unusual is the fact that the PCP-SP initiated its “popular war” on May 17, 1980, the eve of the first democratic elections in Peru in seventeen years. On that day the country completed a complex democratic transition, only the second of a great wave of such political transformations between 1979 and 1989 that would finish off nearly all the dictatorships in the region. The 1980 Peruvian election followed by one year the nation’s approval of the most progressive constitution in its history. The new constitution granted the right to vote to the illiterate, by then mainly the indigenous peoples of Peru, and permitted for the first time the participation of leftist parties in political life. One of the first measures enacted by the new president, Fernando Belaunde, was the restitution of an unrestricted freedom of the press. In contrast, therefore, to developments in the countries of the Southern Cone and Central America, which had also been rent by political violence, the internal armed conflict in Peru grew under democratic governments and the establishment of a free press.³

Gustavo Gorriti

The journalist who assembled the material in this collection, Gustavo Gorriti Ellenbogen, emerged during this period as one of the most distinguished investigative reporters in Peru or Latin America. He is currently co-director of *La República*, one of the most influential daily newspapers in Peru, and was previously co-director of *La Prensa*, the most prominent daily newspaper in Panama.

In the beginning of the 1980s, the young Gorriti worked at the prestigious Lima weekly *Caretas*. Always interested in military topics, he seemed the natural candidate to cover the first skirmishes of the conflict whose devastating consequences no one suspected at

the time. Gorriti took on the assignment with passion, audacity, honesty and journalistic rigor. The reporter traveled tirelessly throughout the country, especially through the Andean region of Ayacucho, where the conflict began and where the greatest number of victims and atrocities were recorded. In addition to conducting interviews, Gorriti collected all types of documents, and it is these items that comprise the present collection. Thanks to his personal credibility and the prestige of *Caretas*, Gorriti also gained access to intelligence agency documents and the counterinsurgency apparatus of the state.

Gorriti courageously chronicled the conflict in articles and opinion pieces published in *Caretas* and other foreign and Peruvian magazines. The most important result of his work in those intense years, however, was the 1990 publication in Peru of *Sendero, Historia de la Guerra Milenaria en Perú* (1990), one of the first books to explore the Shining Path insurgency. *Sendero* is now translated into English and entitled, *The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru* (1999).⁴

Gorriti's text contains an exhaustive reconstruction and analysis of the first years of the *senderista* war, but the author's collecting was not limited to this moment. He salvaged items from earlier times that chart the birth and growth of the Shining Path, as well as texts produced throughout the entire decade of the 1980s.

In 1992, threatened and persecuted for his outspoken opposition to the April coup d'état of President Alberto Fujimori, Gorriti was forced to abandon Peru. Amidst a ferocious Shining Path offensive on Lima and a spate of disappearances and atrocious crimes tied to paramilitary groups supported by the state, Gorriti fled. Fortunately, his valuable archive left the country with him, and he deposited these papers at the Firestone Library of Princeton University with the proviso that they be opened to the public beginning in 2006.

The Collection

The documents that comprise *Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection* constitute the second important corpus regarding the Peruvian armed internal conflict to be found in the public realm. It is surpassed only by the TRC archives,⁵ and the Princeton collection remains the only one in existence outside of Peru.⁶

The collection is composed of diverse materials, mostly ephemera such as pamphlets, leaflets, manifestos, bulletins, communiqués, and newspapers of partisan or social organizations. A great many were produced by mimeograph, while other important partisan documents were published on craft presses. The set facilitates study of a range of topics crucial to an understanding of the internal Peruvian armed conflict, thus advancing comparative studies in more than one discipline.

External Ideological Debate: China vs. the USSR

The papers grant insight into the Shining Path's ideology and organization. In the opening years of the conflict, the Shining Path appeared to the majority of the Lima press and, thus, to the public, as an almost illiterate movement. It produced hardly any public

written documents and was not interested in communicating through either radio or television, despite the increasing importance of those media. Some analysts therefore concluded that it was an indigenous, or indigenist, movement that opted not to speak, or, rather, to speak only through its actions. The Shining Path had developed a brutal symbolism of electrical power outages produced by the demolition of transmission towers, of boulder blasts, and of “exemplary punishments” against their enemies.

This collection serves to rectify the image of the so-called “Sendero Silencioso,” and to confirm that the Shining Path did not appear overnight, nor was it an indigenous movement. Rather, the PCP-SL is exposed as one episode in the long history of the Peruvian left and international communism, whose debates it instantiated with great intensity. Here, the evolution of the Shining Path’s international affinities can be traced through documents that date as far back as the 1960s, the decade of the historic schism between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). This schism, which had an impact on the Marxist left around the world, was also reflected in Peru. Items that date from 1964 to 1979 allow one to follow the genealogy of the PCP-SL through successive divisions of the original Peruvian Communist Party.⁷ Revealed is a Shining Path that takes the side of the Chinese Communist Party, enthusiastically embraces the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966-76, remains faithful to Mao Zedong even after his death, and condemns what it considered Deng Xiaoping’s betrayal of the Maoist legacy or “Mao Tse-Tung thought.”⁸

In this sense, Shining Path might be compared to a classical Leninist party. It was extremely respectful of the written word and especially so when regarding works it considered canonical. Once the party achieved hegemony at the University of Ayacucho,⁹ it initiated one of the most important national debates of those years, a debate that led to the Academic Reform instituted by the reformist government of General Velasco (1969-75). Sendero’s political campaign around this question is well documented in the collection.

Internal Ideological Debate: The Shining Path and Latin American Marxism

The collection also permits a better understanding of the ideological and methodological differences between the Shining Path and the rest of the Marxist left in Peru. While the majority of small groups that comprised the Peruvian left in 1970 were attempting to leave the university to “build the party” among blue collar and field workers, that is, those considered “the basic classes of the revolution,” the leadership of the PCP-SL remained confined to the cloisters of the Universidad de Ayacucho. The degree to which the *senderista* leadership self-consciously chose this orientation and the degree to which they were impelled by political events is yet to be clarified. This question is beyond the scope of this presentation.¹⁰ It is clear, however, that the *senderistas* concentrated on their ideological development, intently studying the work of the founder of Peruvian Marxism, José Carlos Mariátegui, and focused their proselytizing efforts in a quite different social sector, that of professors, university students and schoolteachers. The teachers, since 1973, had assembled in a powerful national labor union, an organization in which PCP-SL had had a presence from the beginning.¹¹

By scanning the many documents of university organizations and teachers' groups, one can see that the Shining Path was more than a small regional movement. Even during the first few years of the 1970s, when its leadership was mainly concentrated in Ayacucho, the group began to send cells to different universities around the country. These cells, in turn, began the construction of small party nuclei.

Women and the Shining Path

There is another aspect of the Shining Path even more fascinating and exceptional for the era, for the parties of the Peruvian left, and for Latin America in general: the *senderista* emphasis on female labor. Documents assembled here contain extremely valuable information about the phenomenon that the PCP-SL designated "popular feminism," and, more specifically, about the development of the Popular Feminine Movement. Related items contribute to an understanding of the leading role that women played during the 1980s in the leadership of the Shining Path, including its Central Committee and Political Bureau, certainly the most important national leadership bodies of the party.¹²

Government Surveillance

Since the collection also includes material from governmental agencies, it illuminates one of the nagging questions in *senderista* studies: Did the intelligence agencies collect information about PCP-SL before the conflict exploded? From this collection, one can see that there was, indeed, surveillance of the Shining Path before the beginning of the group's armed actions. Nevertheless, the documentation of the Shining Path was flawed and insufficient. The intelligence services, instead, concentrated their surveillance efforts on non-*senderista* leftist groups that were active in the most important wave of social movements in the history of contemporary Peru. These mobilizations climaxed in two national strikes, one in 1977 and one in 1978, and were strong enough to contribute to forcing the military to return to its barracks. We must remember that such parties were also then illegal, and they, too, proclaimed armed combat as an avenue to the seizure of power.¹³

The government documents that date from the 1980s allow one to better locate the errors and blind spots that transformed the first few years of military intervention in the conflict (1983-1984) into an indiscriminate massacre of civilians in Ayacucho. At the same time, they attest to a complex learning process that culminated at the end of that decade in a new strategy that expedited the defeat of the Shining Path.¹⁴

Psychology of Resistance

Complementary to what might be called the counterinsurgency section of this collection is a set of psychological analyses and profiles of the subversive leaders, though at times these analyses offer a better understanding of the police mentality than that of the *senderistas* themselves. Also included in this section are exceptional, unedited documents useful for any future biography of Shining Path founder Abimael Guzmán. These include his marriage certificate, his personnel file from the Universidad de Ayacucho,¹⁵ and even an article written by Guzmán in a university magazine about the award of the Nobel Prize in Literature to Alexandr Solzhenitsyn. This article is a rarity because it's the only

document published by Guzmán in a legal magazine. Due to the trials suffered by the Universidad de Ayacucho during the 1980s, copies have been practically impossible to obtain.

U.S. Involvement

Even today, despite the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, one of the least explored aspects of the internal Peruvian armed conflict is the participation of the international actors, especially from the US, who played such an important role in the region. This collection includes documents from the U.S. government, requested by Gorriti through the Freedom of Information Act, even before the existence of the National Security Archive. Many of these documents are telegrams issued by the American Embassy in Lima between 1982 and 1987, reports from the State Department to Congress, and others that contribute to filling a persistent void in the historical reconstruction of the era.

Facts of War

Last, though by no means least important, is another set of documents about specific events, facts of war, and massacres that had a great impact on the unfolding of the Peruvian conflict.¹⁶ Here, one also finds items pertaining to geographical areas where the conflict reached exceptional dimensions, such as the jungle of Ayacucho or the valley of Alto Huallaga, the latter then the largest producer of coca leaf in the world.

This collection provides ample material for any case study of post-war Latin American history and politics, the rise (and fall) of democracy in Latin America, and the ebb and flow of resistance and counterinsurgency. Students and scholars of peace studies, gender and labor rights, Latin American culture and history will find ample material in *Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection* that can serve as a lens for research in these topics.

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Translation from the Spanish by Jason McGahan

¹ The number projected by the TRC is 69,270 with a margin-of-error of 10%. See the final TRC report at www.cverdad.org.pe.

² FARC is the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia). The FMLN is the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation (Frente Farabundo Martí por la Liberación Nacional), which waged a bloody conflict against the Salvadoran state about the same time as Shining Path.

³ This does not mean that self-censorship did not exist for the majority of the media, or that there weren't pressures and threats against journalists who covered the conflict. Journalists were also murdered in the war zones, as many by agents of the state as by the Shining Path.

⁴ Chapel Hill, University of Carolina Press 1999. Translation and introduction by Robin Kirk.

⁵ All documentation collected by the TRC has been available since 2004 in the archives of the Defensoría del Pueblo (Ombudsman Office). It is accessible to researchers, lawyers, human rights groups and relatives of victims.

⁶ The National Department Against Terrorism (Dirección Nacional Contra el Terrorismo - DINCOTE), a specialized body under the Peruvian Ministry of the Interior, has also managed to accumulate enormous amounts of material about the conflict, but these are not presently available to the public. The Peruvian TRC itself had only limited access.

⁷ The Peruvian Communist Party was founded in 1930 and remained fundamentally united until 1964.

⁸ The Shining Path refused to use the new Chinese spelling, considering it part of the rightward turn of the CCP after the death of Mao and the fall of the “Gang of Four.”

⁹ The official name of the campus is the National University of San Cristobal de Huamanga (Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga --UNSCH).

¹⁰ About the topic, see: Carlos I. Degregori. *El surgimiento de Sendero Luminoso. De las luchas por la gratuidad de la enseñanza al inicio de la lucha armada*. Ayacucho 1969-1979. Lima, IEP 1989.

¹¹ The Sole Union of Scholar Laborers in Peru (El Sindicato Único de Trabajadores de la Enseñanza del Perú - SUTEP).

¹² It remains a matter of debate whether, despite their elevation to the cusp of party leadership, women in Shining Path continued to be submissive to the figure of the unobjectionable patriarch embodied to this day by Abimael Guzmán, the undisputed founder and leader of the PCP-SL.

¹³ As we said, it was no earlier than 1980, while PCP-SL was initiating its “popular war,” that those parties correspondingly stepped onto the democratic stage.

¹⁴ Regarding this new strategy, see the *Final Report* from TRC, volume II, chapter 1.3.

¹⁵ Abimal Guzmán, a philosopher by profession, worked as a professor at the Universidad de Ayacucho between 1962 and 1974. Between 1969 and 1973 was University Director of Personnel and, as such, member of the Executive Council which governed the university.

¹⁶ Like for instance Soccos, Huancasancos, Parcco-Pomatambo.

EDITORIAL NOTE

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection comprises items from the *Collection of Ephemera from the Peruvian Insurrection: First Series* and *Second Series* as well as from items filmed by Princeton under the title *Sendero Luminoso*, all housed at the Firestone Library at Princeton University. The latter portion of the collection has been cataloged by Princeton as *Sendero Luminoso* [microform]: *a collection of pamphlets, serials, fliers, and party congresses, 1962—1985*. The *First* and *Second Series* are also known as the *Gorriti Collection on the Peruvian Insurrection*, an alternate title that refers to the primary collector, Gustavo Gorriti Ellenbogen. Gorriti is a Peruvian journalist, and highly celebrated as the author of *Sendero: Historia de la guerra milenaria en el Perú* (Lima: Editorial Apoyo, 1990).

El Caballo Rojo (1980—1985), the *El Diario Marka* Sunday supplement that completes this microfilm publication, may also be found in the Firestone Library collection.

Organization and Format

All the items have been published in the order and within the sections provided by the Princeton curators. The organization was developed and the content described by Penélope Johnson for the Princeton University Library. The only exception to this rule may be found in the guide to Group C. Here, the contents have been indexed at the item level by the editorial staff of Thomson Gale. In all cases, the best copy available has been filmed.

The reader will find two cases in which the filming order does not correspond exactly to the guide. In Group A, Reel 1, Box 1, Folder 3 appears before Folder 2. In Group B, Reel 10, Box 2, Folder 3 will be found after Folder 4. In all other circumstances, the correspondence between guide and film is reliable.

Notice of Density Variances

There are five reels in this collection which contain images that have extreme light and dark variances in density. In order to produce the best images possible for research use, a light reel and a dark reel have been included for the five reels where the variances were found. The reels in which there are two copies: Reels 1, 9, 10, 11, and 12.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project would not have been possible without assistance from many individuals. Thomson Gale wishes to thank, in particular, Fernando Acosta-Rodríguez, Frank Fonseca, and Amanda Whitehead, the exceptional staff of the Latin American Collection at Princeton University, for their commitment to making these resources widely available and for their support of this project. Thomson Gale is indebted to Carlos I. Degregori for the fine introduction to the collection that he crafted. Jason McGahan provided the translation of this essay from the Spanish. Bennett Lovett-Graff served as acquisitions editor and Christine Gauvreau worked as project manager, reviewing all the files, preparing materials for microfilming, and creating the guide to the collection. A special thanks is due to Barbara Phoenix, who functioned as manufacturing project manager, and to JoAnn Lebel for overseeing the smooth manufacturing operation.

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

GROUP A:

REELS 1 - 8

I. Manifestos and official publications. This section contains items published by various political and revolutionary groups in Peru. They are general in nature and do not apply only to specific incidents. Publications of these groups, which are more specific in nature, appear in Part II of the collection.

REEL 1

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 1

Círculos de Estudios y trabajo

Círculos de Estudios Maximo Velando

Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo

Confederación Campesina del Perú

DCU

DEEUCET

Federación Departamental de Comunidades y Campesinos de Ayacucho

Federación Universitaria de Arequipa

Federación Universitaria de San Marcos

Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario

Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario - Base de Derecho

Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario - Base Química

Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario - Círculo Jorge Dimitrov

Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario—Economías

Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario - Universidad Federico Villareal

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 2
Fuerzas Populares Revolucionarias

Juventud Comunista Revolucionaria

Línea Roja M-L

Movimiento Clasista Barrial

Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria

Movimiento de Obreros y Trabajadores Clasistas

Movimiento de Unidad Estudiantil

Movimiento Juvenil Popular

Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 3
Partido comunista del Perú

Partido comunista del Peruano

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 4
Partido Comunista del Perú

Partido Comunista del Perú M-L

Partido Comunista del Perú -Patria Roja

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 5
Partido Comunista del Perú - Sedero Luminoso, 1981-1984

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 6
Partido Comunista del Perú - Sendero Luminoso, 1984-1986

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

II: Chronological File. In this section publications, reports, and accounts from the news media are filed chronologically. Some items are issued by government departments; some are interviews; some are untitled and unsigned notes. Frequently there will be information from several sources on a single incident. More information on the persons or bodies who issued this information can be found in the index.

REEL 2

BOX: 2 FOLDER: 1

Partido Comunista del Perú - Sendero Luminoso

BOX: 2 FOLDER: 2

Partido Comunista del Perú - Sendero Luminoso

Thumalpu - Movimiento de Resistencia Nacional

Pueblo en Marcha-UDP

BOX: 2 FOLDER: 3

Datos biográficos tempranos de Abimael Guzmán (de los 60 y los 70)

Abimael Guzmán - Expediente personal (Universidad San Cristobal de Huamanga)

BOX: 2 FOLDER: 4

Resultados electorales significativos de las elecciones constituyentes, generales y municipales, 1978-1985.

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

REEL 3

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 1

Notas sobre la insurrección procedentes de la inteligencia militar (1979)

Cuadro resumen de detenidos...a partir de junio 1980

Hechos de carácter subversivo recientemente acontecidos (1980)

Mapas

Robos de armamentos (1980)

Atentados terroristas (December 31, 1980)

Estadísticas de ataques al 12/80. Relación de atentados 1980

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 2

Informe del Ministerio Publico de Ayacucho a G. Ortiz de Zevallos sobre la situación subversive (1982).

Version DIRCOTE del manuscrito de Sendero Luminoso en Cuzco, incautada...

Estadísticas, evaluaciones, comentarios sobre derechos humanos, fundamentalmente Guardia Civil (1982).

Estadísticas de acciones de terrorismo desde mayo 1980 (1982)

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 3

Anónimo pro-senderista: Carta abierta al pueblo latinoamericano – 1983

Acciones DIRCOTE 1983

Ministerio de Justicia. Analisis del decreto legislativo no. 46 sobre terrorismo.

Analisis DIRCOTE 1984

Perú. Fiscalía del la Nación. Instrucciones generales para la tramitación ... sobre desaparecidos (August 29, 1984).

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 4
Guardia Civil. Caso Socos (Soccos)

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 5
Policía de Investigaciones; Ministerio Público. Documentos
octubre 1984

Investigaciones 1980-1984

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 6
Documentos relativos al distrito de Hancasancos, Ayacucho,
1983-1987

Sendero en el Alto Huallaga (1984)

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 7
Anónimos Policía de Investigaciones-Guardia Civil- Guardia
Republicana: denuncias contra jefes y oficiales (1983-1984)

Apreciación Guardia Civil sobre Sendero Luminoso en el Pasco--
notas DIRCOTE (1983-1984)

DIRCOTE: Destacamentos urbanos -notas sobre Sendero

El caso de los fusiles HK. Información sobre gastos.(1983-1985)

Notas de inteligencia: acciones terroristas junio-julio 1985

Nota apócrifa de Sendero Luminoso, intentando una extorsión
económica (1985)

REEL 4

BOX: 4 FOLDER: 1
Visita del grupo no gubernamental presidido por el Sr. Dr. Adolfo
Pérez Esquivel. (July 4, 1985)

Denuncia de Amnistía Internacional (Presidencia del Consejo de
Ministros, octubre 1985)

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

BOX: 4 FOLDER: 2

Denuncia de Amnistía Internacional (Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros, octubre 1985) [duplicate]

Captura de militantes del MIR chileno en Tacna (October 1985)

Comisión investigadora sucesos Accomarca (1985)

Otros documentos sobre el caso Accomarca (August 1985)

Presuntas declaraciones de un senderista (October 1985)

Enfoque Guardia Civil de la insurrección y contrainsurrección (1985)

Acciones subversivas - Ayacucho (1985)

BOX: 4 FOLDER: 3

Detenidos DIRCOTE 1985; otras estadísticas DIRCOTE (1980-1986)

Leyes orgánicas de las FF.PP. Edición extraordinaria de El Peruano, 5 febrero 1986)

Apreciación semanal de inteligencia ... frente interno (March 14 to 20, 1986)

Notas policiales sobre MRTA (March-April 1986)

Balance del C.Z.G. de acuerdo a las bases (DIRCORTE April 1986).

Reunión Nacional de Dirgentes y Cuadros (notas DIRCORTE, Abril 1986).

Documentos varios sobre derechos humanos (May 1986)

Documentos policiales (Guardia Civil, DIRCOTE (May 1986)

BOX: 4 FOLDER: 4

Estudio analítico de la documentación incautada (August 1986)

How the Shining Path divides up the war [Gorriti?]

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

Ministerio Público. Investigación sobre denuncias de desapariciones... (October 1, 1986)

El caso de Teófilo Rímac Capcha

Carta de situación... accionar subersivo (December 5-11, 1986)

REEL 5

BOX: 5 FOLDER: 1

Caso de Parcco y Pomatambo (1986)

Caso Pajuelo (1986)

Documentos con cantidades de enversion pública en la Zona de emergencia Ayacucho (1986)

Estadísticas policiales (1982-1986)

Investigaciones PIP-Labor desarrollado por la DIRCOTE (1986)

BOX: 5 FOLDER: 2

Testimonios en Ayacucho y Huamanga (1985-1986)

BOX: 5 FOLDER: 3

Tesimonios en Huancavelica (1985-1986)

BOX: 5 FOLDER: 4

Testimonios en Cangallo (1985-1986)

BOX: 5 FOLDER: 5

Sendero en las carceles (1980-1986)

La matanza en los penales (1986)

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

REEL 6

BOX: 6 FOLDER: 1

Análisis DICORTE sobre Sendero Luminoso (June 1987)

Leyes orgánicas de las Fuerzas Armadas, Ministerio de Defensa y Defensa Nacional. Separata extraordinaria “ El Peruano” 27 septiembre. 1987

Proceso de adquisiciones de armamento y equipo de las FFPP principalmente (1983-1987)

BOX: 6 FOLDER: 2

Informe Comisión Ames

BOX: 6 FOLDER: 3

Análisis de Sendero Luminoso--DICORTE, diciembre 1987.

La estrategia del Partido Comunista del Perú - SL (1987) (Servicio de Inteligencia de la Marina)

Bases para el diseño y planeamiento de una estrategia contrasubversiva, (1987).

Plan de búsqueda de informaciones

El caso de Sivia ; historias de otros pueblos en la selva (1984-1987). Incluye fotografías.

BOX: 6 FOLDER: 4

Apreciaciones generales por area y estadísticas.....(DIGIMIN 1987)

Misión franciscana de Kutibireni

Expedientes judiciales de varios juicios a presuntos terroristas

BOX: 6 FOLDER: 5

Carta a Gustavo Gorriti, con artículos de la Prensa (March 1988)

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

BOX: 6 **FOLDER: 6**

Manuscritos y diarios senderistas de diversa procedencia (1982-)

REEL 7

III: Outside agencies, news media, etc. This section contains items of international origin (from the United Nations, United States); news media; and articles collected by Gorriti relating to the topic of the insurrection.

A. Corporate bodies

BOX: 7 **FOLDER: 1**

Naciones Unidas. Consejo Económico y Social. Comisión de Derechos Humanos
Informe del grupo de Trabajo sobre las Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias...17 a 22 de junio de 1985.

Naciones Unidas. Consejo Económico y Humanos
Informe del Grupo de Trabajo sobre las Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias...3 a 10 de octubre de 1986 o Involuntarias...3 a 10 de octubre de 1986

Naciones Unidas. Consejo Económico y Social. Comisión de Derechos Humanos
Informe del grupo de Trabajo sobre las Desapariciones Forzadas o Involuntarias (December 1986).

United States. Department of Justice. Freedom of Information Act.
Pedidos de Gorriti (February 1989)

BOX: 7 **FOLDER: 2**

United States. Department of State. Telegramas, mayormente de la embajada en Lima a Washington, DC. (1982-1983)

BOX: 7 **FOLDER: 3**

United States. Department of State. Telegramas, mayormente de la embajada en Lima a Washington, DC. (1984-1985).

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

BOX: 7 FOLDER: 4

United States. Department of State. Telegramas, mayormente de la embajada en Lima a Washington, DC (1986)

REEL 8

BOX: 8 FOLDER: 1

United States. Department of State. Telegramas, mayormente de la embajada en Lima a Washington, D.C. (1987)

BOX: 8 FOLDER: 2

United States. Department of State. Telegramas, mayormente de la embajada en Lima a Washington, D.C. (1987)

BOX: 8 FOLDER: 3

United States. Department of State. Documentos declassified según Freedom of Information Act (1982-1985)

United States. Department of State. Informe departamento de Estado de los Estados Unidos al Congreso sobre la situación de los derechos humanos en el Perú en 1987 (February 19, 1987)

BOX: 8 FOLDER: 3

United States. (Central Intelligence Agency?) Raw report -Perú (January 17, 1986)

B. News media articles and books

BOX: 8 FOLDER: 4

Alpino 5 (November 1979)

De la Riva: Donde nace la autora (1961)

Gorriti, Gustavo: Terrorismo: Research and public policy. (DRAFT)

Huillca Cuba, V. Abilio: Selva de Huanta: rasgos y procesos económico-sociales. Sivia: Cooperativa agraria de servicios “El Quinacho”, 1980.

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

BOX: 8 FOLDER: 5

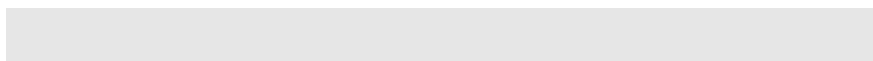
Grupos maoistas. Lima: CENPLA/SINAMOS, 1975.

Lo que no se contó de la Caperucita Roja.

Schlesinger, Philip: Terrorism, the media and the liberal-democratic state; a critique of the orthodoxy.

Tapia Garcia, Carlos: La economía peruana, sigue siendo semifeudal? Ayacucho: U.N.S.C.H. 1979.

Universidad: Organo de la Universidad Nacional de San Cristobal de Huamanga. Año VIII, no. 13, Abril 1971. Sobre Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Premio Nobel de Literatura.



GROUP B:

REELS 9 - 12

BOX 1: This box contains documents written by the Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional and the Servicio de Inteligencia Externo. These confidential documents describe Sendero Luminoso and its subversive actions, people, parties, and groups, affiliates with them, and the Peruvian government's defense situation. Also included are weekly, monthly, and trimestral reports covering most of Sendero Luminoso's actions from 1984 to 1986.

REEL 9

I: Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 1

Sendero Luminoso incluye: descripción, planes y programas, posibilidad de un tratado, y actividades del grupo terrorista Sendero Luminoso

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 2

Personalidades incluye: Abimael Guzmán, Paredes Macedo, "Rontero", y Ayarza son los nombres mas prominentes.

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 3

Acciones subversivas incluye: evaluación de hechos subversivos y sus repercusiones , ejemplos de hechos en Ayacucho, Huanta, Apurimac, y mas pueblos

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 4

Otros grupos afiliados con Sendero Luminoso incluye: Patria Roja, CCP, AP, FNTC, y MCP

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 5

Afiliación estudiantil con el Sendero Luminoso incluye: Escuelas Populares, FER, MRE, Universidad de Ayacucho, Universidad Nacional de Educación, UNI, UNMSM.

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 6

Situación de la Defensa incluye: “Cuadro demostrativo del armamento perdido y recuperado”, “Actividades del Frente de Defensa del Dpto. de Ayacucho”, “Situación de las fuerzas policiales”, “Evaluación de la situación laboral y sus proyecciones”

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 7

Relaciones internacionales incluye: Relaciones con Corea del Norte, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, tratado de paz con Chile y países que ayudaron al Sendero durante 1984

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 8

Resúmenes semanales y mensuales incluye: marzo, abril, y junio del 1985; marzo, abril, sept., oct., y nov. del 1986

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 9

Evaluaciones semanales, mensuales, y trimestrales incluye: la mayor parte del 1984, 1985, y 1986

II: Servicio de Inteligencia Externo

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 10

Actividades estudiantiles subversivas incluye: UNSCH, UNMSM, UNI, Federación Universitaria de San Marcos, UPA, UNSA, y Federación de estudiantes Universitarios.

BOX: 1 FOLDER: 11

Factor político-extrema y ultra Izquierda incluye: Pacheco, Movimiento Femenino Popular, Abimael Guzmán, Carrasco de Guzmán, Saturnino Paredes Macedo, acciones subversivas

REEL 10

BOX 2: This box contains confidential documents from **Ministerio del Interior** These items include information on subversive and countersubversive actions, assessments and studies of these action, future projects of Sendero Luminoso, and the government's response.

III:Ministerio del Interior

BOX: 2 FOLDER: 1

Hechos subversivos y contrasubversivos incluye: "Actos de terrorismo registrados durante el proceso electoral", hechos subversivos, consecuencias (muertos y heridos), "Integrantes de la célula de la zona Norte del MRTA", síntesis de acciones subversivas.

BOX: 2 FOLDER: 2

Apreciaciones de actos subversivos y contrasubversivos, incluye: "Síntesis de la apreciación semanal del frente inteno", apreciaciones de inteligencia, despacho al ministro, "Análisis pronunciamiento-Ayacucho."

BOX: 2 FOLDER: 3

Estudios producidos por el grupo de Análisis del Terrorismo

BOX: 2 FOLDER: 4

Proyecciones del Sendero Luminoso incluye: "I Convención contra la corporatización de la Universidad Peruana", campaña internacional pro-terrorista "Evaluación del Gran Plan del PCP-SL", Caso Puno

BOX: 2 FOLDER: 5

Equipamiento para la defensa incluye: reinstalación de puestos de la Guardia Civil, presupuesto de la Defensa e Interior.

REEL 11

BOX 3: This box contains confidential documents that are of varied sources, such as the Guardia Civil, Fuerzas Armadas. Policía de Investigaciones de Perú, with information regarding terrorists and attempted attacks, groups aiding the Sendero Luminoso, and the government's response and attempts to reinforce their defense situation. Also included are a personal letter, a press release, and a handwritten itinerary.

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 1

Atentados, detenidos, y terroristas incluye: "Caso Garcia Rada", Ponce Canessa, Castro Castro, intervención policial; recepción de detenidos, "certificado médico legal de Zambrano Padilla".

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 2

Grupos extremistas incluye: "II Convención de la Mujer Campesina de la region de Ayacuhco", política de izquierda, y "Actividades de V Congreso Campesino de la CCP."

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 3

Movimientos estudiantiles incluye: UNSCH, Universidad Peruana, Universidad Victor Andres Belaunde, Organismo Generado.

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 4

Guardia Civil incluye: acciones de la Guardia Civil , su equipación, manifestaciones, intervenciones policiales, apreciaciones de situaciones diversas.

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 5

Policía de Investigaciones del Perú incluye: informes, resúmenes del Sendero Luminos.

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 6

Decretos supremos del Presidente incluye: decretos sobre reforzando la policía personal y prestamos del banco.

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 7

Fuerza Armada incluye: recomendaciones para mejorar comunicación, fuerzas policiales

BOX: 3 FOLDER: 8

Nota de prensa y notas personales incluye: "Principales cosas resueltas por la dirección de policía contra el terrorismo"- nota de prensa, Carta personal de Távora Martínez, especie de itinerario escrito a mano.

REEL 12

BOX 4: This box contains confidential documents from varied sources regarding Sendero Luminoso. Among the items are: psychological assessments of the group and its members, subversive and countersubversive actions, and police reports about suspects and measures that are being taken or planned in order to stop Sendero Luminoso's attacks.

BOX: 4 FOLDER: 1

Sendero Luminoso incluye: "Apreciación de inteligencia sociológica contrasubversiva", "Estudio del desarrollo de Sendero Luminoso."

BOX: 4 FOLDER: 2

Personalidades incluye: Amelia Falcón, Díaz Martínez, Abimael Guzmán ("Aproximación a su vida y pensamiento político", "acta de matrimonio", grabación de una de sus conversaciones), "Interrogatorio realizado a Manuel Juan Angulo Andía."

BOX: 4 FOLDER: 3

Antonio Díaz Martínez incluye: "Actividades del ingeniero Antonio Díaz Martínez. "Resumen de conversatorio sostenido con el detenido", interrogatorio, fotos, "Investigaciones ampliatorias practicadas con relación al atestado." "Estudio analítico de la documentación perteneciente al detenido."

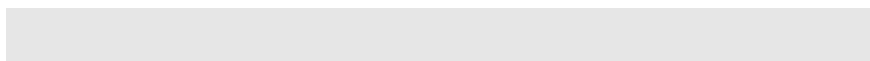
Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

BOX: 4 FOLDER: 4

Hechos subversivos y contrasubversivos incluye: “Desarrollo de la subversión a nivel nacional”, “Gran Plan General”, cuadros numéricos de hechos subversivos (muertos, heridos) de Mayo ‘80 a Dic. ‘82,” Resultados del plan de operaciones MOROCHUCO”, “Apreciación de la situación subversiva en el país de enero a dec. ‘84”, “Organización del comunismo en Ayacucho”, UNSCH, zona de SOCCOS, “Informe del Comité Local de Ayacucho del PCP.”

BOX: 4 FOLDER: 5

Informes e información de la policía incluye : “Análisis de documentación incautada,” dirección de policía contra el terrorismo, “contra-inteligencia”, persecución de sospechosos, análisis psicológico de miembros de Sendero Luminoso.



Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

GROUP C:

REELS 13 - 15

Sendero Luminoso, a collection of pamphlets, serials, fliers, and party congresses, 1962-1985, Princeton University Library, Princeton, NJ, 1986

SUBJECTS:

Partido Comunista del Peru / Partido Comunista Peruano, 1962-1985

Movimiento Universitario, 1971-1975

Movimiento Intelectual, 1975

Movimiento Femenino, 1973-1976

Movimiento Magisterial, 1969-1979

REEL 13

[Handwritten inventory by Gorriti?]

Subject: Partido Comunista del Peru/Partido Comunista Peruano, 1962-1985

La Problematica Nacional (July 1973)

El Marxismo Mariátequi y el Movimiento Femenismo (January 1978)

Bandera Roja: ¡Gloria Eterna al Presidente Mao Tse Tung, gran maestro de proletariado internacional! (September [1976])

Voz Popular No. 6: ¡Enarbolemos la gran Revolución Cultural Proletaria! (December 1977)

Voz Popular No. 8-9: ¡Enarbolemos la gran Revolución Cultural Proletaria! (December 1977)

Voz Popular, No. 7: ¡Enarbolemos la gran Revolución Cultural Proletaria! (January 1977)

¡Gloria Eterna al Presidente Mao Tse Tung! (September [?])

VI Conferencia Nacional Resolutions (January 1969)

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

IV Pleno CR “J.C. Mariátequi” (May 1971) Comité Regional
“Jose Carlos Mariátequi” del PCP.

Voz Popular, No. 1: Declaración del Segundo Pleno del CC de
PCP (February 1970)

Bandera Roja No. 45: “¡Retomemos a Mariátequi y
Reconstituamos su Partido!” (May 1976)

Bandera Roja No. 46: “¡Sin un Partido Revolucionario no Puede
Haber Revolución!” (August 1976)

¡Conquistar Bases! (August 1982)

¡Combatir y Resistir, Repudiar las Elecciones del Regimen
Genocida y Desarrollar mas a Lucha Armada! (February 1985)

¡No Votar! Sino, ¡Generalizar la Guerra de Guerillas para
Conquistar el Poder para el pueblo! (February 1985)

¡Impulsemos la Movilización!
(July 1978)

Bandera Roja No. 49: “¡Viva Mariátequi” (June 1978)

Homenaje al President Mao-Tsetung, 1893-1978 (December
1978). FER [Frente Estudiantil del Movimiento Juvenil], Base
Garcilaso.

Asamblea de masas en homenaje al Anniversario del President
Mao Tsetung (December 1979). FER [Frente Estudiantil del
Movimiento Juvenil], Base Garcilaso

Bandera Roja No. 47-48: “Reconstitucion” (October 1977)

El Diario, Especial, pp. 3, 5, and 6. “El Perú exige una reparación
a Ecuador.” (January 23, 1983)

¡A Nuestro Heroico Pueblo [?!]! (January 1981). CC del PCP

¡Forjemonos com Orgnizadores a la Revolución! (June 1978).
MOTC

Handwritten inventory named PC deP (Lucha dos líneas)

V Conferencia Nacional: Estatutos del PC Peruano (1965)

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

- Saturnino Paredes Macedo: Informe Campesinos al IV Congreso nacional PCP: El Trabajo en el Frente Campesino (1970, Reprint of 1962 version)
- V Conferencia Nacional PCP: La Situación Política y Tareas del Partido Comunista Peruano (November 1965)
- Conclusiones y Resoluciones de la V Conferencia Nacional del PCP (1975)
- Conferencia Nacional del Partido Comunista Peruano: Resoluciones y Conclusiones (1965)
- En Defensa de los Acuerdos Revolucionarios de la V Conferencia (February 1966)
- Sobre Algunas Problemas del Desarrollo de Partido. . . (December 1967)
- Bandera Roja*: 38 Años de Lucha de Florioso PCP
- Raúl Rivera Seina: La Economía, los Pueblos, y las Guerillas: Separata del Libro Los Guerrillas del Centro y la Emancipación Peruana (Lima, Perú). (1958)
- Bandera Roja*: "Voto En Blanco," Reproducción textual del documento Bandera Roja de Diciembre de 1967
- El PCP Llama a Votar en Blanco (May 1978)
- La Lucha Interna en el PCP: Circular de la CP del CC del PCP a las Bases del Partido (December 1967)
- VI Conferencia Nacional: Deslinde de Posiciones con el Oportunismo de Derecha Disfrazado de "Izquierda" (1973)
- Por la Organización de la Juventud Comunista Peruana (1968) [1976].
- Acerca de la historia del Partido Comunista peruano y de su lucha interna (1968). Comisión Política del PCP

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

VI Conferencia Nacional--PCP: El Triunfo de la linea proletaria y el falso "Marxismo luminoso" de los grupos antipartido. (1969)

Apuntes sobre El Trabajo de Agitacion y Propaganda en el Partido Comunista (1969)

REEL 14

Movimiento Universitario, 1971-1978

"Jose Carlos Mariátequi, maestro de la Revolución Peruana," segunda edicion (June 1971). FER, UNI.

Informe Politico: Presentado por la comision politia del FER de la UNI a la segunda convencion. (September 1972). La CP del FER de la UNI.

Circular No. 7: Documento de Trabajo para el Plenario del FER de la UNI, Coleccion Politica, 5/10/72 (October 1972)

¡Aprendemos de Mariátequi y Sigamos su Camino! (August 1972)

Ideologia y Politica No.1 (November 1971). La CP del FER de la UNI

SUTE UNSCH, No. 1: "Por una Linea Sindical Clasista" (April 1973). Comité Ejecutivo del SUTE UNSCH [Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores de la Enseñaza de la Universidad Nacional de San Cristobal de Huamanga]

"Planteamiento de la Universidad nacional de San Cristobal de Huamanga, presentado anti la Comisión Estatuaria Nacional" (May 1972)

Planteamientos de la Universidad Nacional de Can Cristobal de Huamanga para el Estatuto General de la Universidad Peruana (July 1972)

Posición ante la Comisión Estatutaria Nacional (August 1972). FUSH [Federacion Universaritaria de San Cristobal de Huamanga]

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

- Mociones al XIII Congreso FEP: Federacion Universitaria Huamanga sobre la situación politica nacional (December 1972)
- La Universidad Peruana: Línea Política; Estrategia y Tactica. FUSH [Federacion Universitaria de San Cristobal de Huamanga]
- Documento al XIII Congreso de la FEP: “Federacion Universitaria Huamanga sobre la ley 19326” (December 1972)
- Document al XIII Congreso de la FEP: “Federacion Universitaria Huamanga sobre el Estatuo” (December 1972)
- Balance del movimientos por la defensa de la UNSCH (January 1973)
- Apuntes para el Analises de la Situacion Universitaria (December 1972)
- Primer Seminario de Orientacion Politica: Conclusiones (March 1973). Seminario de Reforma Universitaria “Jose Carolos Mariátequi,” FER, Base San Marcos
- Por el Luminoso Sendero de J. C. Mariátequi (April 1973)
- El Seminario de Reforma Universitaria “Jose Carlos Mariátequi” es histórico porque. . . (April 1973)
- Peru” 50 Años de Lucha Estudiantil, No. 2
- Ideologia y Politica* No.2 (March 1973). FER, UNI.
- Balance del XIII Congreso de la FEP (May 1973). La Comisión Nombrada por las delegaciones feristas asistentes al XIII Congreso de la FEP.
- Manifiesto: ¡Viva el Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario! (August 1972). FER
- Critica y Preparacion (April 1973). FER
- Contra la Ley 19326 y el Estatuo: Por la Defensa de la Universidad (September 1973). FER

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

Circular No. 1: Convocatoria a la Tercera Sesión Plenaria de FER (December 1973). C de PVP

Tercera Sesión Plenaria: Declaración (December 1973). FER. Base San Marcos

Balance de la Reconstitución (December 1973)

Circular No. 4: A la luz de pensamiento proletario: la Tercera Sesión Plenaria (December 1973)

Contra la ley de educación y el estatuto: defensa de la universidad (December 1973). Comité Metropolitano del FER.

Órgano del Comité Nacional, Año 1, No. 1 (January 1974). FER

Por la Unificación del Movimiento Universitario contra el Régimen, superar el Revolucionarismo: Moción Presentada al XIV Congreso de la FEP (March 1974). FER

Principios y Programas del FRES. COFRES [Comité Organizador del Frente Revolucionario Estudiantil Secundario]

Manifiesto (April 1974). Frente Democrático de Docentes de la UNSCH

Avancemos Hacia Retomar Plenamente el Camino de Mariátegui (May 1974). Comité Nacional del FER

Manifiesto de la II Convención Nacional (May 1974). FER

Circular de la II Convención Nacional del FER (June 1974). Comité Nacional del FER

Pronunciamento sobre la Asamblea Metropolitana de Activistas (August 1974). Comité Nacional del FER

Asamblea Metropolitana de Activistas: Declaración (September 1974). FER

Plan Inca: Sesquicentenario de la Batalla de Ayacucho y Situación Universitaria (November 1974). Comité Nacional del FER

Sobre la Formación de la Sección Femenina (November 1974). La Dirección Central, CU, FER, Base San Marcos

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

Declaración de Cajamarca (November 1974). Federación Nacional de Docentes de la Universidad Peruana

Situación Nacional (March 1975). Universidad San Martín: Fracción de Sociología, FER

5 de Febrero: Importante Estallido de Descontento Popular contra la Dictadura Fascista (February 1975). Comité Nacional del FER

SECIGRA: Contrarrevolucionario, imposición de trabajo servil, utilización política (July 1975). Comité Nacional del FER

Ayacucho y Huanta--1969: ¡Brillante Ejemplo y Camino de Lucha Popular! (April 1975). Comité Nacional del FER

Frente de Defensa del Pueblo de Ayacucho

Asamblea Nacional Extraordinaria (Circular Interna) [October 1974]. Comité Nacional del FER

Claridad, No. 5: Acerca de la Situación Política Actual (July 1975). FER, Base UNI

Documento de Estudio-CM (September 1975). Comité Metropolitano del FER

La Lucha por Avancar Hacia Retomar Plenamente el Camino de Mariátequi en la Base de San Marcos (August 1975). Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario, Base San Marcos

“Patria Roja” Derechista y su “fer” del estatuto o la bancarrota del clan reformista burgués (October 1972). CU, FER

Órgano del Comité Nacional, No. 2: “Retomemos a Mariátequi” (October 1975). FER

Declaración de la III Asamblea Nacional del FER (November 1975). FER

Mociones al 1º Seminario sobre Formación Profesional en Economía (November 1975). FER, fracción: Economía-San Marcos

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

Circular No. 1: ¡Movilicemos al FER y al MU en torno a la lucha por la convención nacional contra la corporativización de la universidad. ! (December 1975). FER: Comisión de Organización de la Convención Nacional contra la Corporativización de la Universidad Peruana

Impulsemos la unificación del movimiento universitario a través de la defensa de la universidad contra el readjuste general corporativo de la UP (January 1976). Comité Nacional del FER

Contra la Corporativización (January 1976). Comité Nacional del FER

“Retirada Estregica o Huida Vergonzosa”? (March 1976). FER, Base San Marcos

5 de Febrero: A un Año del Importante--Estallido--de Descontento Popular contra el Regimen-Fascista (February 1976). Comité Metropolitano del FER

El Liquidacionismo, la Tercera Reestructuración del Estado P. y el Camino del Pueblo (May 1978). FER: Movimiento Juvenil San Marcos

Movimiento Intelectual, 1975

Primer Seminario sobre el Pensamiento de Mariátequi, Del 2 al 14 de Junio (1975). Centro de Trabajo Intelectual “Mariátequi”

Homenaje al 80 aniversario de nacimiento de J. C. Mariátequi. Centro de Trabajo Intelectual “Mariátequi”

¡Viva el 80 Aniversario del Nacimiento de Mariátequi! (May 1975). CTIM

Acerca del Centro de Trabajo Intelectual “Mariátequi” de Lima. El Comité Coordinador del CTIM de Lima.

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

Movimiento Femenino, 1973-1976

I Convencion de Universitarias de Lima sobre Emancipacion de la Mujer (July 1974). Directiva de la 2 Comision, Centro Femenino Popular.

Sintesis de Trabajo de la Comision. . . Tema: La Emancipacion de la Mujer (July 1974). Centro Femenino Popular.

I Convencion de Universitarias de Lima sobre Emancipacion de la Mujer Comsion 2: Mariátequi y el Movimiento Femenino en el Pais (July 1974). Directiva de la 2 Comision.

I Convencion de Universitarias de Lima sobre Emancipacion de la Mujer (July 1974). Frente Femenino Universitario

Manifiesto: Bajo las Banderas de Mariátequi Desarrollemos el Movimiento Femenino Popular (January 1975).

Movimiento Obrero (1973). Centro de Autoeducación Obrera.

CEMTRROMIN: Lucha y Perspectivas (1973). Centro de Autoeducación Obrera

El Movimiento Obrero en el Peru: Base para el Estudio (November 1973). Centro de Autoeducación Obrera.

La Situación Política Actual y las Tareas del Proletariado (1974). Centro de Autoeducación Obrera.

Marchemos Hacia la 1° Convencion de Obreos y Trabajadores Adherios a Mariátequi (May 1976). Centro de Autoeducación Obrera.

¡¡Desarrollar la Creciente Protesta Popular!! (September 1977). Movimiento de Obreros y Trabajadores Clasistas

La Minería en el Pais; La Propiedad Social; Las Fuchas de Proletariado Minero. Centro de Autoeducación Obrera

Unir al Pueblo para Derrotar al Enemigo; Plan des Estudios CAO; Questionario de la Confederacion Campesina del Peru (June 1975). Centro de Autoeducación Obrera

Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

Organicemos el Socorro Popular para Defender a los Luchadores Sociales a las Organizaciones de la clase obrera y al pueblo

I Convenciones de Mujeres Obreras, Del 2 al 4 de Mayo (1975)

Manifiesto: Bajo las Banderas de Mariátequi Desarrollemos el Movimiento Femenino Popular (January 1975). Comité de Coordinación Nacional, Nelly Carhuaz J.

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Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

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Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

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Documenting the Peruvian Insurrection

SUPPLEMENT:

REELS 16 – 19

Supplement: El Caballero Rojo: suplemento dominical de el diario Marka (Lima) was a cultural and political magazine edited by the poet Antonio Cisneros and quite influential in the first decade of the 1980's.

REEL 16

El Caballo Rojo, No. 1, Año I (April 18, 1980) – No. 75, Año II (October 18, 1981)

REEL 17

El Caballo Rojo, No.76, Año II (October 25, 1981)—No. 136, Año III (December 19, 1982)

REEL 18

El Caballo Rojo, No.137, Año III (December 26, 1982)—No. 189, Año IV (December 25, 1983)

REEL 19

El Caballo Rojo, No.190, Año V (January 1, 1984)—No. 273, Año V (December 15, 1985)