

Works for the Study of the Fundamental Documents

Contents

Preface	7
1 Fundamental Documents (1989)	9
1.1 On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism	9
1.1.1 Theory	13
1.1.2 The New Democratic Revolution	16
1.1.3 The Three Instruments	18
1.1.4 The People's War	21
1.1.5 The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution	23
1.1.6 World Revolution	24
1.1.7 Superstructure, ideology, culture, and ed- ucation	25
1.2 Concerning Gonzalo Thought	28
1.2.1 Historical Context	30
1.2.2 Ideological Basis	32
1.2.3 Contents	33
1.2.4 What is Fundamental	34
1.2.5 Forged in the Two-Line Struggle	34
1.3 Programme and Statutes	35
Programme	35
General Programme of the Democratic Revolution	36
Concrete Programme [Text Missing]	40
Statutes [Text Missing]	40

2	Report of the I Congress on the Study and Upholding the Fund. Docs.	41
2.1	On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism	42
2.1.1	Theory	47
2.1.2	New Democracy	51
2.1.3	The Three Instruments	52
2.1.4	The People's War	55
2.1.5	The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution	57
2.1.6	Superstructure, Ideology, Culture, Education	58
3	Some Basic Knowledge of Marxism (December 3, 1988)	61
	Presentation	61
	About the First Paragraph	64
	The Ideology of the International Proletariat	64
	The Ideology of the International Proletariat is Scientific	65
	What is Insurgency?	68
	Why is the Ideology of the Proletariat All-Powerful?	68
	There are Three Stages of a Dialectical Process of Development of the Ideology of the Proletariat	68
	The Manifesto of the Communist Party of 1848 is the First Milestone on Which the Whole Great Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is Built	69
	Only the Class Struggle can Generate our Conception, our Ideology	70
	And how will our Ideology Develop as a Dialectical Process?	72

About the Second Paragraph	72
Not Recognizing “ism,” not Recognizing “Maoism”	72
It is a Doctrine, Not a System	73
So it is The Essential Point, it is the “ism” . . .	75
4 Speech on the Document “Concerning Gonzalo Thought”	
(1988)	81

Preface

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This is a compilation of the Fundamental Documents of the Communist Party of Peru (On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Concerning Gonzalo Thought, and Programme and Statutes), Chairman Gonzalo's *Speech on the Document "Concerning Gonzalo Thought"*, Chairman Gonzalo's *Some Basic Knowledge of Marxism*, and the Communist Party of Peru's *Report of the First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru on the Study and Taking the Position of the Fundamental Documents*, documents to help the study of the Fundamental Documents.

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1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

1.1 On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

In the furnace of class struggle, the ideology of the international proletariat emerged as Marxism, afterwards developed into Marxism-Leninism and later Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Therefore, the scientific ideology of the proletariat, all-powerful because it is true, has three stages or landmarks in its dialectical process of development: 1) Marxism, 2) Leninism, and 3) Maoism. These three stages are part of the same unity which began with the Communist Manifesto one hundred and forty years ago, with the heroic epic of the class struggle, in fierce and fruitful two-line struggles within the communist parties themselves and in the titanic work of thought and action that only the working class could generate. Today, three unfading lights are outstanding: Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong who, through three grand leaps have armed us with the invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which today is principally Maoism.

Nevertheless, while Marxism-Leninism has obtained an acknowledgment of its universal validity, Maoism is not completely acknowledged as the third stage. Some simply deny its condition as such, while others only accept it as “Mao Ze-

1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

dong Thought.” In essence, both positions, with the obvious differences between them, deny the general development of Marxism made by Chairman Mao Zedong. The denial of the “-ism” character of Maoism denies its universal validity and, consequently, its condition as the third, new, and superior stage of the ideology of the international proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, that we uphold, defend, and apply.

As an **INTRODUCTION**, in order to better understand Maoism and the necessity to struggle for it, let us remember Lenin. He taught us that as the revolution advanced to the East it expressed specific conditions that, while they did not negate principles or laws, were new situations that Marxism could not ignore, upon the risk of putting the revolution in danger of a defeat. Notwithstanding the uproar against what is new by pedantic and bookish intellectuals, who are stuffed with liberalism and false Marxism, the only just and correct thing to do is to apply Marxism to the concrete conditions and to solve the new situations and problems that every revolution necessarily faces. In the face of the horrified and pharisaic “defenses of the ideology, the class, and of the people” that revisionists, opportunists and renegades proclaim, or the furious attacks against Marxism by brutalized academicians and hacks of the old order who are debased by the rotten bourgeois ideology and blindly defend the old society on which they are parasites. Lenin also said clearly that the revolution in the East would present new and great surprises to the greater amazement of the worshipers of following only the well-trodden paths who are incapable of seeing the new; and, as we all know, he trusted the Eastern comrades to resolve the problems that Marxism had not yet

1.1 *On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*

resolved.

Furthermore, we must keep well in mind that when Comrade Stalin justly and correctly stated that we had entered the stage of Leninism as the development of Marxism, there was also opposition by those who rend their garments in a supposed defense of Marxism. There were also those who said that Leninism was only applicable to the backward countries. But, in the midst of struggle, practice has consecrated Leninism as a great development of Marxism, and thus the proletarian ideology shone victoriously in the face of the world as Marxism-Leninism.

Today, Maoism faces similar situations. All new things, like Marxism, have always advanced through struggle, and similarly, Maoism will impose itself and be acknowledged.

As for the **CONTEXT** in which Chairman Mao Zedong developed and Maoism was forged, on an international level it was on the basis of imperialism, world wars, the international proletarian movement, the national liberation movement, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism, and the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. Three big historical landmarks must be emphasized in the present century: first, the October Revolution of 1917, which opened the era of the world proletarian revolution; second, the triumph of the Chinese Revolution, in 1949, which changed the correlation of forces in favor of socialism; and third, the great proletarian cultural revolution, which began in 1966 as the continuation of the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship in order to maintain the revolutionary course towards Communism. It is enough to emphasize that Chairman Mao led two of these glorious historical feats.

In China, as the center of world revolution, Maoism was concretely expressed within the most complex convergence of con-

1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

traditions, and the intense and ruthless class struggle which was marked by the pretensions of the imperialist powers of tearing and dividing up China after the collapse of the Manchurian Empire (1911), the anti-imperialist movement of 1919, the revolts of the great peasant masses, the twenty-two years of armed struggle of the democratic revolution, the great contest for the building and development of socialism and the ten years of revolutionary storms for carrying forward the Cultural Revolution, as well as the sharpest two-line struggle within the Communist Party of China, especially against revisionism. All this was framed within the international situation described above. It is out of this aggregate of historical deeds that we have to extract four events of extraordinary importance: The founding of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1921; the Autumn Harvest uprising which initiated the path from the countryside to the city, in 1927; the founding of the People's Republic, 1949; and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR), from 1966-1976; in all of which Chairman Mao was a protagonist and the acknowledged leader of the Chinese Revolution.

We can say from Chairman Mao Zedong's biography that he was born on December 26th 1893, opening his eyes to an agitated world scorched by the flames of war; son of peasants, he was seven years old when "Boxer Rebellions" began; a student at a Teachers' Training College, he was in his eighteenth year when the empire collapsed and he enlisted himself as a soldier, later to become a great organizer of peasants and of the youth in Hunan, his native province. Founder of the Communist Party and of the Red Army of workers and peasants, he established the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside developing People's War as the military theory of the

1.1 *On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*

proletariat. He was the theoretician of New Democracy and founder of the People's Republic; a promoter of the Great Leap Forward and of the development of socialism; the leader of the struggle against the contemporary revisionism of Khrushchev and his henchmen, leader and head of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. These are landmarks of a life devoted thoroughly and solely to the revolution. The proletariat has seen three gigantic triumphs in this century: Two of them belong to Chairman Mao, and if one is glory enough, two are even more.

On the **CONTENT** of Maoism, of its substance, we must point out the following basic issues:

1.1.1 **Theory**

Marxism has three parts: Marxist philosophy, Marxist political economy, and scientific socialism. The development of all these three components gives rise to a great qualitative leap of Marxism as a whole, as a unity on a superior level, which implies a new stage. Consequently, the essential thing is to show that Chairman Mao, as can be seen in theory and practice, has generated such a great qualitative leap. Let us highlight this with the following points:

In **Marxist philosophy** he developed the essence of dialectics, the law of contradiction, establishing it as the only fundamental law; and besides his profound dialectical understanding of the theory of knowledge, whose center are the two leaps that make up its law (from practice to knowledge and vice versa, but with knowledge to practice being the main one). We emphasize that he masterfully applied the law of contradiction in politics; and moreover he brought philosophy to the masses of people,

1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

fulfilling the task that Marx left.

In **Marxist political economy**, Chairman Mao applied dialectics to analyze the relationship between the base and superstructure, and, continuing the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionist thesis of the “productive forces,” he concluded that the superstructure, consciousness, can modify the base, and that with political power the productive forces can be developed. By developing the Leninist idea that politics is the concentrated expression of economics, he established that politics must be in command, (applicable on all levels) and that political work is the life-line of economic work; which takes us to the true handling of political economy, not just a simple economic policy.

Despite its importance, an issue which is often sidestepped, especially by those who face democratic revolutions, is the Maoist thesis of bureaucratic capitalism; that is, the capitalism which is being developed in the oppressed nations by imperialism along with different degrees of underlying feudalism, or even pre-feudal stages. This is a vital problem, mainly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, since a good revolutionary leadership derives from its understanding, especially when the confiscation of bureaucratic capital forms the economic basis for carrying forward the socialist revolution as the second stage.

But the main thing is that Chairman Mao Zedong has developed the political economy of socialism. Of the utmost importance is his criticism of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, as well as his theses on how to develop socialism in China: Taking agriculture as the base and industry as the leading economic force, promoting industrialization guided by the relationship between heavy industry, light industry and agricul-

1.1 On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

ture; taking heavy industry as the center of economic construction and simultaneously paying full attention to light industry and agriculture. The Great Leap Forward and the conditions for its execution should be highlighted: One, the political line that gives it a just and correct course; two, small, medium, and large organizational forms in a greater to lesser quantity, respectively; three, a great drive, a gigantic effort of the masses of people in order to put it in motion and to take it through to success, a leap forward whose results are valued more for the new process set in motion and its historical perspective than its immediate achievements, and its linkage with agricultural collectivization and the people's communes. Finally, we must bear well in mind his teachings on the objectivity and the subjectivity in understanding and handling the laws of socialism, that because the few decades of socialism have not permitted it to see its complete development, and therefore a better understanding of its laws and its specification, and principally the relationship that exists between revolution and the economic process, embodied in the slogan "grasp revolution and promote production." Despite its transcendental importance, this development of Marxist political economy has received scant attention.

In **scientific socialism**, Chairman Mao further developed the theory of social classes analyzing them on economic, political, and ideological planes. He upheld revolutionary violence as a universal law without any exception whatsoever; revolution as a violent displacement of one class by another, thus establishing the great thesis that "power grows out of the barrel of a gun." He resolved the question of the conquest of power in the oppressed nations through the path of surrounding the

1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

cities from the countryside, establishing its general laws. He defined and developed the theory of the class struggle within socialism in which he brilliantly demonstrated that the antagonistic struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and between socialism and capitalism continues. That in socialism it was not concretely determined who would defeat whom, that it was a problem whose solution demands time, the unfolding of a process of restoration and counter-restoration, in order for the proletariat to strongly hold power definitely through the proletarian dictatorship; and, finally and principally, the grandiose solution of historical transcendence, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the continuation of the socialist revolution under the proletarian dictatorship.

These basic questions, simply and plainly stated but known and undeniable, show the Chairman's development of the integral parts of Marxism, and the evident raising of Marxism-Leninism to a new, third and superior stage: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism.

Continuing with this brief synthesis, let us look at other specific points which, although deriving from the above, should be considered even if only enumeratively, to emphasize and pay due attention to them.

1.1.2 The New Democratic Revolution

Firstly, it is a development of the Marxist theory of the State, establishing three types of dictatorships:

1. Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, in the old bourgeois democracies like the United States, a type in which the dictator-

1.1 On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

ships of the oppressed nations such as the Latin American ones can be assimilated;

2. proletarian dictatorships, like the ones in the Soviet Union or in China before the usurpation of power by the revisionists; and
3. New Democracy, as a joint dictatorship based on the worker-peasant alliance, led by the proletariat headed up by the Communist Party, which was formed in China during its democratic revolution, and which is concretely expressed in Peru today through the People's Committees, in the base areas and in the People's Republic of New Democracy in formation. It is fundamental to emphasize, within this development of the theory of the state, the key differentiation between a state system as a dictatorship of a class or classes that hold power, which is principal, and a system of government, which is understood as an organization for the exercise of power.

On the other hand, New Democracy, one of the extraordinary developments made by Chairman Mao, masterfully materializes for us the bourgeois revolution of a new type, which only the proletariat can lead. In synthesis, it is the democratic revolution within the new era of world proletarian revolution in which we evolve. The New Democratic Revolution implies a new economy, a new politics, and a new culture, obviously overthrowing the old order and upholding the new one with arms, the only way to transform the world.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that New Democracy is a democratic revolution. Although it mainly fulfills the democratic tasks, it also complementarily advances in some socialist

1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

tasks, so that the question of two stages, democratic and socialist, which corresponds to countries like ours, is thoroughly solved by guaranteeing that once the democratic stage is concluded, it will be continued as a socialist revolution, without any intermissions or interruptions.

1.1.3 The Three Instruments

The problem of the construction of the instruments of the revolution presents the Party with the problem of understanding the interrelationship between the Party, the army and the united front; and to understand and correctly handle the interconnected construction of the three instruments in the midst of war or in the defense of the new State based on the power of the armed people, expressing in that way a just and correct task of leadership. Their construction is guided by the principle that a just and correct ideological line decides everything, and it is on this ideological-political basis that the organizational construction is simultaneously developed in the midst of the struggle between the proletarian line and the bourgeois line and within the storm of the class struggle, mainly in war, as the principal form of current or potential struggle.

Regarding the **Party**, Chairman Mao starts from the necessity of the Communist Party, a new type of party, a party of the proletariat. Today, we would say a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party: a party whose aim is to conquer power and to defend it, and therefore it is inextricably bound to people's war in order to initiate it, develop it or wage it to defend itself. A party sustained by the masses of people, be it by way of people's war which is a war of the masses, or by the united front which, being a front of classes, is based on the broad masses. The

1.1 On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

Party develops and changes itself according to the stages of the revolution and the periods that these stages may have. The driving of its development is the contradiction which materializes in its heart as the two-line struggle, the proletarian line and the bourgeois or in general non-proletarian line, which is in essence and mainly a struggle against revisionism. This leads to the decisive importance of ideology in the life of the party and to the development of rectification campaigns that serve a greater adjustment of all the systems of party organizations and the membership to the just and correct ideological and political lines, guaranteeing the predominance of the proletarian line and keeping the Party leadership in its iron grip. The Party serves the establishment of power for the proletariat as the leading class of the New Democracy, and principally for the establishment, strengthening and development of the proletarian dictatorship, and through cultural revolutions the conquest of the great, final goal: Communism. Because of this, the Party must lead everything in an all-around way.

The **revolutionary army** is of a new type. It is an army for the fulfillment of the political tasks that the Party establishes in accordance with the interests of the proletariat and the people. This characteristic is concretely expressed in three tasks: To combat, to produce in order to pose no parasitical burden, and to mobilize the masses. It is an army based on the political development of the proletariat's ideology, from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (today), and from the general political line as well as the military one that the Party may establish. It is an army based on people and not on weapons, an army that surged from the masses with whom it has always been linked, serving them wholeheartedly, which allows it to move among the people

1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

like fish in the water. Without a people's army the people have nothing, said Chairman Mao, at the same time he taught us the necessity of the Party's absolute leadership over the army and his great principle: The Party commands the gun and we will never permit it to be otherwise. Besides having thoroughly established the principles and norms for the construction of a new type of army, the Chairman himself called for preventing the use of the army for the restoration of capitalism by usurping the leadership through a counterrevolutionary coup d'état and, developing Lenin's thesis on the people's militia, he carried out farther than anyone the general policy of arming the people, thus opening a breach and pointing out the path towards the armed sea of masses that will lead us to the definite emancipation of the people and the proletariat.

It was Chairman Mao who for the first time developed a complete theory on the **united front** and established its laws. A front of social classes based on the worker-peasant alliance as a guarantee of the proletariat's hegemony in the revolution, which is led by the proletariat represented by the Communist Party; in synthesis, a united front under the leadership of the Communist Party, a united front for the people's war, for the revolution, for the conquest of power for the proletariat and the people. In synthesis, the united front is the grouping of the revolutionary forces against the counter-revolutionary forces in order to wage the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution mainly through the armed people's war. The united front, obviously, is not the same in every stage of the revolution and, furthermore, it has its specifications according to the various historical periods of each stage; likewise, the united front in a concrete revolution does not equal the one on a world level, although

both follow the same general laws. Apart from this, it is important to emphasize the relation between the front and the State that Chairman Mao established when the war of resistance against Japan was evolving, setting forth that the united front is a form of joint dictatorship, a question that deserves to be especially studied by those who face democratic revolutions.

1.1.4 The People's War

The People's War is the military theory of the international proletariat; in it are summarized, for the first time in a systematic and complete form, the theoretical and practical experience of the struggles, military actions, and wars waged by the proletariat, and the prolonged experience of the people's armed struggle and especially of the incessant wars in China. It is with Chairman Mao that the proletariat attains its military theory; nevertheless, there is much confusion and misunderstanding on this issue. And much of it springs from how the People's War in China is seen. Generally, it is considered derisively and contemptuously simply as a guerrilla war; this alone denotes a lack of understanding. Chairman Mao pointed out that guerrilla warfare achieves a strategic feature; but due to its essential fluidity, the development of guerrilla warfare is not understood as it exists, how it develops mobility, a war of movements, of positions, how it unfolds great plans of the strategic offensive and the seizure of small, mid-sized, and big cities, with millions of inhabitants, combining the attack from outside with the insurrection from within. Thus, in conclusion, the four periods of the Chinese revolution, and mainly from the agrarian war until the people's war of liberation, considering the anti-Japanese war of resistance between both, shows

1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

the various aspects and complexities of the revolutionary war waged during more than twenty years amidst a huge population and an immense mobilization and participation of the masses. In that war there are examples of every kind; and what is principal has been extraordinarily studied and its principles, laws, strategy, tactics, rules, etc. masterfully established. It is, therefore, in this fabulous crucible and on what was established by Marxism-Leninism that Chairman Mao developed the military theory of the proletariat: The People's War.

We must fully bear in mind that subsequently, Chairman Mao himself, aware of the existence of atomic bombs and missiles and with China already having them, sustained and developed people's war in order to wage it under the new conditions of atomic weapons and of war against powers and super-powers. In synthesis, people's war is the weapon of the proletariat and of the people, even to confront atomic wars.

A key and decisive question is the understanding of the universal validity of people's war and its subsequent application taking into account the different types of revolution and the specific conditions of each revolution. To clarify this key issue it is important to consider that no insurrection like that of Petrograd, the anti-fascist resistance, or the European guerilla movements in the Second World War have been repeated, as well as considering the armed struggles that are presently being waged in Europe. In the final analysis, the October Revolution was not only an insurrection but a revolutionary war that lasted for several years. Consequently, in the imperialist countries the revolution can only be conceived as a revolutionary war which today is simply people's war.

Finally, today more than ever, we Communists and revolu-

tionaries, the proletariat and the people, need to forge ourselves in: “Yes. We are adherents to the theory of the omnipotence of the revolutionary war. That it is not bad thing; it is good thing. It is Marxist”; which means adhering to the invincibility of people’s war.

1.1.5 The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a historical perspective is the most transcendental development of Marxism-Leninism made by Chairman Mao; it is the solution to the great pending problem of the continuation of the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship: “It represents a more profound and wider new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country.”

What was the situation that presented itself? As stated in the Decision of the Communist Party of China on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution states: “Although overthrown, the bourgeoisie still tries to avail itself of the old ideas, culture, habits and ways of the exploiting classes in order to corrupt the masses and to conquer the minds of the people in its endeavors to restore its power. The proletariat must do exactly the opposite: It must deal merciless, frontal blows to all the challenges by the bourgeoisie in the ideological arena and change the spiritual composition of the whole society using its own new ideas, culture, habits and ways. Our present aim is to crush, through struggle, those who occupy leading posts and follow the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ‘authorities’ in the academic fields, to criticize and repudiate the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, and to transform education, literature, and art and the

1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

rest of areas of the superstructure that do not correspond to the economic base of socialism, in order to facilitate the consolidation and the development of the socialist system.”

It was in these conditions that the most Earth-shaking political process and the greatest mass mobilization the world has ever seen broke out, and whose objectives were thus outlined by Chairman Mao: “The present GPCR is completely necessary and very timely to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, to prevent the restoration of capitalism, and to build socialism.”

We also emphasize two questions:

1. The GPCR implies a landmark in the development of the proletarian dictatorship towards the proletariat’s securing power, concretely expressed in the Revolutionary Committees; and
2. The restoration of capitalism in China after the 1976 counter-revolutionary coup is not a negation of the GPCR but is plainly part of the contention between restoration and counter-restoration, and, on the contrary, it shows us the transcendental historical importance of the GPCR in the inexorable march of mankind towards Communism.

1.1.6 World Revolution

Chairman Mao emphasizes the importance of the world revolution as a unity, on the basis that revolution is the main trend while the decomposition of imperialism is greater each day, and the role played by the masses grows more immense each year, masses that make and shall make their transforming and unstoppable strength be felt, and reiterates the great truth: Either we all reach Communism or nobody does. Within this specific

1.1 On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

perspective in the era of imperialism, the great historical moment of the “next 50 to 100 years,” and within this context the opening period of struggle against Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, paper tigers that contend for hegemony and threaten the world with an atomic war, in the face of which, firstly we must condemn it, and secondly, we must prepare ourselves beforehand in order to oppose it with people’s war and make the revolution. On the other hand, starting from the historical importance of the oppressed nations and, furthermore, from their perspective both in the economic and political relationships that are evolving on account of the process of decomposition of imperialism, Chairman Mao stated his thesis that “three worlds delineate themselves.” All of which leads to the necessity of developing the strategy and tactics of world revolution. Regrettably, we know little or almost nothing about Chairman Mao’s writings and statements on these transcendental questions; nevertheless, the very little that is known shows the grand perspectives which he watched closely and the great outlines that we must follow in order to understand and serve the proletarian world revolution

1.1.7 Superstructure, ideology, culture, and education

These and other related issues have been subtly and deeply studied by Chairman Mao. For that reason, this is also another basic question that deserves attention.

In conclusion, the contents seen in these fundamental issues show clearly to whoever wants to see and understand that we have, therefore, a new, third, and superior stage of Marxism: Maoism; and that to be a Marxist in these days demands to be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist and principally Maoist.

1 *Fundamental Documents (1989)*

All that has been explained in the contents leads us to two questions:

What is fundamental in Maoism? **Power is fundamental in Maoism.** Power for the proletariat, power for the dictatorship of the proletariat, power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party. More explicitly:

1. Power under the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution;
2. Power for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist and cultural revolutions;
3. Power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party, conquered and defended through people's war.

And, what is Maoism? Maoism is the elevation of Marxism-Leninism to a new, third, and superior stage in the struggle for proletarian leadership of the democratic revolution, the development of the construction of socialism and the continuation of the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship as a proletarian cultural revolution; when imperialism deepens its decomposition and revolution has become the main tendency of history, amidst the most complex and largest wars seen to date and the implacable struggle against contemporary revisionism.

On the STRUGGLE AROUND MAOISM. Briefly, the struggle in China for establishing Mao Zedong Thought began in 1935 at the Tsunyi Meeting, when Chairman Mao assumed the leadership of the Communist Party of China. In 1945 the VII Congress agreed that the CPC was guided by Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, a specification suppressed by the VIII Congress, since a rightist line prevailed in it. The IX

1.1 On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

Congress in 1969 resumed the GPCR and ratified that the CPC is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; that was as far as it advanced.

On an international level, it acquired influence from the 1950s onwards; but it is with the GPCR that it intensely spread out and its prestige rose powerfully and Chairman Mao was acknowledged as the leader of the world revolution and originator of a new stage in Marxism-Leninism; thus, a great number of Communist Parties assumed the denomination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. On the world level, Maoism confronted contemporary revisionism openly unmasking it profoundly and forcefully, and likewise it did so in the CPC's own ranks, all of which raised the Chairman's great red banner still more: The new, third, and superior stage of the ideology of the international proletariat. At present (1988), Maoism confronts the triple attack of Soviet, Chinese and Albanian revisionism. But today, even among those who acknowledge the Chairman's great contributions, including the development of Marxism, there are some who believe that we are still in the stage of Marxism-Leninism, and others who only accept Mao Zedong Thought but by no means Maoism.

In this country, obviously, the revisionists who follow the baton of their diverse masters, Gorbachev, Deng, Alia or Castro have continuously attacked Maoism; among them one must condemn, unmask, and implacably combat Del Prado's callous revisionism and his gang, the so called "Peruvian Communist Party"; the abject deviousness of the self-proclaimed "Communist Party of Peru, Patria Roja" who, after raising themselves up as "great Maoists" became Deng's servants, after having condemned him when he was defenestrated in 1976, as well as

1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

the anti-Maoism of the so called “Izquierda Unida” (United Left), in whose heart swarmed all the revisionist and even anti-Marxist positions passed off by false Marxists and opportunists of many kinds. We must raise Maoism as a revealing mirror for revisionists in order to combat them implacably, working for the development of the People’s War and the triumph of the democratic revolution underway, which is an unavoidable and unrenounceable task of a strategic character.

The Communist Party of Peru, through the fraction led by Chairman Gonzalo, who propelled its reconstitution, took up Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in 1966; in 1979 the slogan “Uphold, defend, and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!”; in 1981: “Towards Maoism!”; and, in 1982, took Maoism as an integral part and superior development of the ideology of the international proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is with the People’s War that we have understood more deeply what Maoism implies and we have taken up the solemn pledge to “Uphold, defend, and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism!” and to work relentlessly in helping to place it as leader and guide of the world revolution, the always red and unfading banner that is the guarantee of triumph for the proletariat, the oppressed nations, and peoples of the world in their inexorable, combative march of iron legions towards the golden and always brilliant goal of Communism.

1.2 Concerning Gonzalo Thought

All revolutions, in their process of development, through the struggle of the proletariat as the leading class and, above all,

1.2 Concerning Gonzalo Thought

the struggle of the Communist Party that raises their unrenounceable class interests, give rise to a group of leaders and principally one who represents and leads it, a leader with acknowledged authority and influence. In our reality this has taken shape, on account of historical necessity and causality, in Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Party and of the revolution.

Moreover, and this is the basis upon which all leadership is formed, revolutions give rise to a thought that guides them, which is the result of the application of the universal truth of the ideology of the international proletariat to the concrete conditions of each revolution; a guiding thought indispensable to reach victory and to conquer power and, moreover, to continue the revolution and to maintain the course always towards the only, great goal: Communism; a guiding thought that, arriving at a qualitative leap of decisive importance for the revolutionary process which it leads, identifies itself with the name of the one who shaped it theoretically and practically. In our situation, this phenomenon specified itself first as guiding thought, then as Chairman Gonzalo's guiding thought, and later, as Gonzalo Thought; because it is the Chairman who, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality, has generated it; thus endowing the Party and the revolution with an indispensable weapon which is guarantee of victory.

Gonzalo Thought has been forged through long years of intense, tenacious, and incessant struggle to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to retake Mariátegui's path and to develop it, to reconstitute the Party and, principally, to initiate, maintain and develop the People's War in Peru serving the world revolution, and that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism,

1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

principally Maoism be, in theory and practice, its sole command and guide.

It is of substantive necessity for the party to study Gonzalo Thought for a more just and correct understanding of the general political line, and mainly of the military line, aiming at deepening the understanding of the particularities of the Peruvian revolution, what is specific and particular that Chairman Gonzalo has masterfully emphasized. In this way we serve “the great plan to develop base areas,” the development of the People’s War and the perspective of conquering power countrywide.

We must study Gonzalo Thought, starting from the historical context that generated it; examine the ideological base which sustains it; explain its content, more substantially expressed in the general political line and in the military line which is its center; aiming at what is fundamental within it, the problem of power, of the seizure of power in Peru, which is inextricably linked to the conquest of power by the proletariat in the whole world; and we must pay close attention to its forging in the two-line struggle.

In synthesis, these fundamental issues can be dealt with by applying the following scheme:

1.2.1 Historical Context

International context

In relationship to historical events:

1. the development since the Second World War onwards;
2. the powerful national liberation movement and, within it, the process and triumph of the Chinese Revolution;

1.2 Concerning Gonzalo Thought

3. the Cuban Revolution and its repercussion on Latin America;
4. the great struggle between Marxism and revisionism;
5. the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. But the key point is to see how, in this great class struggle on the world level, Gonzalo Thought considers that a third stage of the proletarian ideology arises: First, as Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought; then Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; and later, it is defined as Maoism, understanding its universal validity; and in this way reaching Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, as the present expression of Marxism.

National context

1. the postwar Peruvian society and within it the political struggle, the so called National Democratic Front, the action of APRA, Odría's coup d'état and the struggle against his Eight Year Rule, the contest between APRA followers and Communists; and particularly, the development of bureaucratic capitalism in the 1960s and part of the 1970s and the sharp class struggle that accompanied it; "Velasquism" and its so-called revolution, the contention and collusion between the comprador bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (factions of the big bourgeoisie), and opportunism and mainly revisionism by their supporters;
2. the class struggle in the peasant movement;
3. the process of the working class movement;

1 *Fundamental Documents (1989)*

4. the intellectual movement;
5. the armed struggle in the country, especially by the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] and the ELN [National Liberation Army] in 1965, as well as their antecedents in Blanco, Vallejos, and Heraud; and
6. the problem of the Party: How a Party founded on a clear Marxist-Leninist basis degenerated into a revisionist party, the need to retake Mariátegui's path, develop it, and to reconstitute the Party, the Communist Party of Peru that Mariátegui himself founded in 1928, and how through this reconstitution a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party was built. Here it is fundamental how Gonzalo Thought profoundly understood Peruvian society, and focused on the crucial problem of bureaucratic capitalism, and saw the need to reconstitute the Party and to conquer Political Power and defend it with the People's War.

1.2.2 **Ideological Basis**

Without Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought cannot be conceived, because the latter is the creative application of the former to our reality. The key question on this point lies in the understanding of the historical process of the development of the proletarian ideology, of its three stages shaped in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and with Maoism as principal; and, principally, it is the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a universal truth to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution; hence Gonzalo Thought is specifically principal for the Communist Party of Peru and the revolution it leads.

1.2 Concerning Gonzalo Thought

The guiding thought, having reached a qualitative leap of decisive importance for the Party and the revolution, has evolved into Gonzalo Thought, thus stamping a milestone in the Party's life.

1.2.3 Contents

a. Theory. How it understands and applies the three integral parts of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism; it emphasizes the importance that Marxism gives to philosophy, the necessity of forming ourselves in it, and especially its application of the law of contradiction in the study of every problem, always aiming at defining the principal aspect and the process of things; in political economy, the concern about the relations of exploitation, and especially about bureaucratic capitalism, orienting itself towards ripening the revolution and the repercussion of the People's War on the base, as well as paying attention to the economic relations of imperialism, looking for their political consequences; in scientific socialism it centers on the People's War and its concrete expression in the country, since it always has the problem of power in mind and, particularly, its shaping and development as a New State.

b. On the contents. The most substantive and developed part of Gonzalo Thought is found in the Party's general political line; this thought directly sustains, therefore, the line and its five elements, with the point of departure being how it understands and maintains the Programme firmly on course.

c. In Gonzalo Thought we must highlight the remarkable fulfillment of the demands stated by Chairman Mao: theoretical solidity, understanding of history, and a good practical handling of politics.

1.2.4 What is Fundamental

What is fundamental in Gonzalo Thought is the problem of power; concretely, the conquest of power in Peru, wholly and completely throughout the country, as a consequential application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in our revolution. But, being a Communist thought, it understands the conquest of power in Peru as a part of the conquest of power for the proletariat on a world level; and that the conquest of power in the country, shaping itself today in the People's Committees, base areas, and People's Republic of New Democracy in formation within the perspective of establishing the People's Republic of Peru, serves to establish the proletarian dictatorship in our country, because without it, it is impossible to march towards Communism. And, all of this is a function of firmly and decisively serving the setting up of people's republics and mainly the proletarian dictatorship throughout the whole world, under the leadership of Communist Parties, with revolutionary armies of a new type, through people's war and the development of cultural revolutions, so that Communism may illuminate all of the Earth.

1.2.5 Forged in the Two-Line Struggle

It is through a persistent, firm, and wise two-line struggle, defending the proletarian line and defeating the opposing lines that Gonzalo Thought has been forged. Among the most outstanding struggles that deserve to be emphasized are those waged against contemporary revisionism, represented here by Del Prado and his henchmen; those against the rightist liquidationism of Paredes and his gang; those against left liqui-

1.3 Programme and Statutes

dationism headed by the one who was called Sergio and his self-proclaimed “Bolsheviks”; and against the right opportunist line that opposed the initiation of the armed struggle. Without struggle, Gonzalo Thought could not have been developed; and his remarkable handling of the two-line struggle within the Party is a fundamental question which we must study and grasp.

To study and principally to apply Gonzalo Thought is decisive in order to better serve the Party, the development of the People’s War and the world revolution. Likewise, to learn from Chairman Gonzalo is decisive in order to wholeheartedly serve the people.

1.3 Programme and Statutes

Programme

The Communist Party of Peru is based on and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism and, specifically, by Gonzalo Thought as a creative application of the universal truth to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution, as made by Chairman Gonzalo, leader of our Party.

The Communist Party of Peru, organized vanguard of the Peruvian proletariat and integral part of the international Proletariat, especially upholds the following basic principles:

Contradiction as the only fundamental law of the incessant transformation of eternal matter;

The masses make history and “it is right to rebel”;

Class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism;

1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

The need for a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party that firmly applies independence, autonomy and self-reliance;

To combat imperialism, revisionism, and reaction unbreakably and implacably;

To conquer and to defend power with the People's War;

Militarization of the Party and concentric construction of the three instruments of the revolution;

Two-line struggle as the driving force of Party development;

Constant ideological transformation and to always put politics in command;

To serve to the people and the world proletarian revolution; and,

An absolute unselfishness and a just and correct style of work.

The Communist Party of Peru has Communism as its final goal; given that the current Peruvian society is oppressed and exploited by imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and semi-feudalism, the revolution has first a democratic stage, then a second socialist one that will later develop successive cultural revolutions. Presently with the People's War the Party develops the democratic revolution, having as its immediate goal to seize power countrywide. Because of this we raise the following objectives:

General Programme of the Democratic Revolution

1. Demolition of the Peruvian State, the dictatorship of the exploiters led by the big bourgeoisie, and of the armed forces and forces of repression that sustain it and of all its bureaucratic apparatus.
2. To sweep away all imperialist oppression, mainly Yankee,

1.3 Programme and Statutes

and that of Soviet social-imperialism and of any power or imperialist country. In general to confiscate their monopolies, companies, banks and all forms of their property including the external debt.

3. To destroy bureaucratic capitalism, private as well as state owned; to confiscate all their properties, goods and economic rights to benefit of new state, as well as those belonging to imperialism.
4. Liquidation of semi-feudal property and everything subsisting on it, in the countryside as well as in the city.
5. Respect the property and rights of the national bourgeoisie, or middle bourgeoisie, in the country as well as in the city.
6. Fight for the setting-up of the People's Republic of Peru, as a united front of classes based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat headed by its Communist Party; as a mold for the new democracy that carries forward a new economy, a new politics, and a new culture.
7. Develop the People's War that, through a revolutionary army of a new type under the absolute control of the Party, destroys the old power a piece at a time, mainly their armed forces and other repressive forces. This serves to build the new power for the proletariat and the people.
8. To complete the formation of the Peruvian nation, truly unifying the country to defend it from all reactionary and imperialist aggression, safeguarding the rights of the minorities.

1 Fundamental Documents (1989)

9. To serve the development of the Peruvian proletariat as part of the international working class, and the formation and strengthening of real Communist Parties and their unification in a revived international Communist movement guided by the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; all as a function of the proletariat fulfilling its great historical mission as the final class.
10. To defend the freedoms, rights, benefits, and conquests that the working class and the masses have achieved at the cost of their own blood, recognizing them and guaranteeing their authentic enforcement in a "Declaration of the Rights of the People". To observe, particularly, the freedom of religious conscience, but in its widest sense, of believing as not to believe. Also to combat all arrangements harmful to the popular interest, especially any form of unpaid work or personal burden and the overwhelming taxes imposed on the masses.
11. Real equality for women; a better future for the youth; protection for the mothers and the children; respect and support for the elderly.
12. A new culture as a combat weapon to solidify the nation, that serves the popular masses and is guided by the scientific ideology of the proletariat. Special importance to education will be given.
13. To support the struggles of the international proletariat, of the oppressed nations, and of the peoples of the world; fighting against the superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union, imperialism in general, and international

1.3 Programme and Statutes

reaction and revisionism of all types, conceiving the Peruvian revolution as part of the world proletarian revolution.

14. To struggle tenaciously and heroically for the complete victory and of the democratic revolution nationwide and after completing this stage, at once, without pause, to begin the socialist revolution so that, together with the international proletariat, the oppressed nations and the peoples of the world, through cultural revolutions, will continue the march of humanity towards its final goal, Communism.

But considering that the democratic revolution in the country crosses a period characterized by:

1. deepening of the general crisis of Peruvian society, mainly of bureaucratic capitalism;
2. greater reactionarization of the State, today with an Aprista government, fascist and corporatist, headed by the genocidal García Pérez;
3. sharpening of the class struggle, with the masses accepting more and more the need for combating and resisting;
4. the People's War developing vigorously and growing; and,
5. the people's need for a People's Republic built according to the principles of New Democracy.

We must apply a concrete programme for this period, with the following specific objectives:

1 *Fundamental Documents (1989)*

Concrete Programme

Text Missing.

Statutes

Text Missing.

2 Report of the First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru on the Study and Taking the Position of the Fundamental Documents (1988)

RedLibrary: This work was published in May 2023 by the Communist Party of Peru as part of the celebration of the 130th anniversary of the birth of Chairman Mao, but was written in 1988. As a result, it will not be included in Volume 5 of the Collected Works of the Communist Party of Peru. I have left no notes on this work unless stated otherwise.

“This year has a special significance for the communists. In it we celebrate the 130 years of the birth of Chairman Mao. In this year the ICL (International Communist League) and all the communists of the world have the obligation to unfold an extended campaign for the 130th birthday of Chairman Mao, spreading massively his theoretical and practical work among the broadest masses. That is why we call all communists, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world to celebrate his great and most vivid legacy, raising the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist banner to the highest summit, to sweep away imperialism and reaction from the face of the earth in struggle to death against revisionism and all opportunism.”¹

2.1 On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

- Understand first who our documents are intended for, they are not for Europe, that is not our circumstance. Our documents are directed towards the Party, the class, the poor peasantry, and the petite bourgeoisie.

- In the first paragraph, highlight:

- Ideology of the international proletariat: the conception of the proletariat, the ultimate class in history, whose understanding of the world is scientific. Conception is the understanding of everything that exists, and our conception has a lineage of 2,500 years, condensing 2,500 years

¹RedLibrary: *1st of May Statement of the ICL, 2023*. <https://ci-ic.org/blog/2023/04/30/1st-of-may-statement-of-the-icl/>

2.1 *On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*

of Western thought elaborated from the standpoint and interests of the international proletariat.

- Insurgency: A militant and revolutionary rupture.
- It is all-powerful because it is true.
- Three stages. We make a significant assertion that is essential; they are three stages: 1) Marxism, 2) Leninism, 3) Maoism, in a dialectical process of development because, being a reflection of matter in the mind and being matter in motion, it is dialectical and not a simple method (reducing it to that is a concession to the bourgeoisie). It is a dialectical process because it is the actual reality and its laws correctly grasped through practice.
- Only the class struggle could generate our conception, only the proletariat with its magnificent and ceaseless transformation of material reality in the class struggle, as the conquest of class power by overthrowing other powers, only in the practice of investigation, could the proletariat manifest itself in ideology.
- Immense work of titans of thought and action, with three enduring luminaries standing out: Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong. It is a constellation, a significant ensemble of great figures, of titans of thought and action. We haven't listed them all to make the three peaks clear: Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong. Our ideology unfolds through great leaps and three grand ones. It is through a profound dialectical process of the proletariat generating titans that we have arrived at Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

2 Report of the I Congress on the Study and Upholding the Fund. Docs.

- After each statement by the great Marxists, there is an entire dialectical process that they embrace, and even personify.
- In the second paragraph:
- Marxism-Leninism is recognized as having universal validity, while Maoism is not recognized as the third stage. This is the current situation: some deny it, others only reach the Mao Zedong Thought, essentially not recognizing the “ism.” “Ism” has a clear meaning. Thought is nothing more than a collection of ideas, whereas “ism” is a doctrine that fully interprets all matter in its three forms: nature, class struggle, and knowledge. It’s not a matter of terminology; the issue is whether it has universal validity or not. If it’s an “ism,” it does have it; if it’s not an “ism,” it doesn’t.
- Regarding the INTRODUCTION, we address two issues: a precise thesis by the great Lenin and a magnificent defense of Leninism made by Comrade Stalin.
- As the revolution advances to the East, it expresses specific conditions. See the peculiarities, see the specific aspects. Lenin said: be amazed by the Russian revolution, but you will be astounded when you see the revolution in the East. He told the Communist Parties in the East that their task was to resolve the revolution in backward countries. This is being fulfilled, as the Chinese revolution demonstrates. Just as what happened to Lenin is happening to Chairman Mao, the deep cry of the opportunists burdened with revisionism, of the scribblers and parliamentary cretins.

2.1 *On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*

- Regarding Comrade Stalin: In Russia itself, it was said that Leninism is true but only for Russia because, it was said, the essence of Leninism is the role of the peasantry, therefore it is not the dictatorship of the proletariat, so Lenin is not universal; it's an infamy to say so. Comrade Stalin defended Leninism by crushing these positions. In Marxism, history shows that great truths have to be reiterated because they gather dust or are idolized with incense, turning them into icons.
 - From the two previous questions, we derive that today Maoism faces similar situations and, as Chairman Mao said: Marxism has never taken a step in life except in the midst of struggle. Thus, Marxism provides us with weapons; they have had the wise ability to arm us for the future, arming us for decades.
- Regarding CONTEXT, it's because a historical figure cannot be understood apart from their understanding as an expression of the class struggle and being in the midst of that crucible. See:
- Internationally: three great historical milestones: 1) The October Revolution, which marked the beginning of the era of global proletarian revolution, signifying that the world revolution is led by the proletariat through Communist Parties. 2) The victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949. 3) The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Among these, in two of them, Chairman Mao has played a leading role by mobilizing masses tremendously.
 - Regarding China: From a set of events, the most prominent, the most important, can be extracted. The foun-

dation of the Communist Party of China (CPC) stands out because without the CPC, there would not have been a Chinese revolution. The Autumn Harvest Uprising is noteworthy because it marks the beginning of the path to encircle cities from the countryside. The foundation of the People's Republic of China is significant because 650 million masses transitioned to the then socialist camp. And the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976. The Chairman has been the highest leader and head of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. Moreover, the center of the revolution shifted to China, just as it did from France to Germany, from Germany to Russia, and from Russia to China in the past. And today? We do not know where it has shifted, but underdeveloped countries have the conditions for it.

- There is a concise biography that teaches us how to trace the life of a great character. That is irrefutable, and what we should aim for is to present solid, defensible, and irrefutable things.
- That is the national and international context in which the Chairman solidified as the highest summit of Marxism. Historically, it has been defined this way, and in the face of this, what can denials, questions, and doubts achieve? The more time passes, the clearer it becomes, but in life, it is always a handful of people who see things first, and they have the duty to make others see by going against the current.

- This document represents the generalizations of everything that Chairman Mao has done throughout an entire process. It

2.1 *On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*

encompasses all of Maoism and emphasizes the importance that Chairman Mao placed on worldwide revolution.

- On the CONTENT of Maoism:

2.1.1 Theory

- It reaffirms that Marxism has three parts, this is very important. They are three parts: Marxist philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism.
- If development is achieved at the highest level in all three parts, then we have a universal qualitative leap, which is why we must:
- Show the developments in those three parts made by Chairman Mao. Note that of the three parts, the most developed in the document is the economy, and the reason is given.

In Marxist philosophy:

- Chairman Mao establishes contradiction as the only fundamental law because there is no other law; that's why it's not called the main law.
- The understanding that Chairman Mao had of the laws of knowledge, only Chairman Mao achieved it, developing what Lenin said and building upon Engels.
- He universally applied the universal truth, the law of contradiction, to politics.

- It emphasizes that he brought philosophy to the masses. He gives us a masterful definition of philosophy as a weapon to clear the mind of cobwebs.

In political economy:

- Applying dialectics to the base-superstructure relationship and refuting the revisionist thesis of “productive forces,” it establishes that the superstructure can modify the base and, with political power, develop the productive forces.
- It established that politics is the command, and political work is the lifeblood of economic work, which leads to a true management of political economy.
- The Maoist thesis of bureaucratic capitalism is found in *On Coalition Government*, in Volume IV, pages 170 and following,² and in “Unpublished Articles.” It argues that the confiscation of bureaucratic capitalism is crucial because without it, there is no economic foundation to develop the socialist revolution. It tells us that bureaucratic capitalism matures the conditions for the democratic revolution and its triumph. The revolution is an uninterrupted unity with two stages.
- Principal: It is the Chairman who has developed the political economy of socialism. Highlight the Great Leap, agricultural cooperativization, and the popular commune.
- It’s important to understand and manage the laws of socialism. Centuries have been required for capitalism

²RedLibrary (RL): In English, this version is found in Volume III of Chairman Mao’s Selected Works, page 255.

2.1 *On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*

to express its laws, which were apprehended by Marx. We don't fully understand the laws of socialism or how to manage them; keep in mind that socialist forms only emerge in the socialist revolution, in the democratic revolution as advancements, which is why it's an ongoing process. It's the dictatorship of the proletariat that carries it out in a fierce class struggle. We still need the socialist relationship itself to be expressed, for the dictatorship of the proletariat to develop; that's where we can grasp its laws to see our reality and maintain humanity's only course.

- What importance do we place on the political economy of socialism? That's why collective work and mutual aid are not visible, because that's where we cultivate socialism. That's why they don't understand that we are changing production relations because the process of progress, leaps, and the final goal are not understood. Collective work and mutual aid are basic forms that we are cultivating. In a democratic revolution, we make small socialist advances; otherwise, there is no uninterrupted revolution.

In scientific socialism:

- Chairman Mao developed the theory of classes. It is Chairman Mao who grasps, develops, and clarifies the issue of class in the economic, political, and ideological aspects, with the economic aspect serving as its foundation, the political aspect being the most significant, and its basis being the ideological aspect. In all three fields, he engages in struggle.

2 *Report of the I Congress on the Study and Upholding the Fund. Docs.*

- The Chairman reaffirms himself and proposes revolutionary violence as a universal law without any exceptions, this is extraordinary. Chairman Mao specifies violence as war and the army and emphasizes its universal nature.
- “Power is born from the rifle,” 1927, that’s where he lays out the path.
- Autumn Harvest Uprising, September 9, 1927, the beginning of the journey. March to Chinkang and establish Power, marking the 36th year, which is the first time laws are established, precisely 9 years later. With this, he resolves a long-standing issue because until then, no one knew how to carry out a revolution in a country under imperialist domination with feudalism at its core and a bureaucratic capitalism.
- Emphasize the continuation of the antagonistic struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between capitalism and socialism, between the capitalist road and the socialist road. The Chairman is going to put forward the fundamental law of socialism, the general political line of socialism, that who will defeat whom is not defined and that it is an arduous and fierce struggle.
- Restoration and counter-restoration. Lenin had said that it was necessary to prevent restoration. The Chairman, developing this idea which in Lenin was germinal, establishes a struggle between restoration and counter-restoration and the problem is to see the milestones in the process in which the dictatorship of the proletariat will take root: 1871 Commune, 1905 Soviets, 1917, 1949, and 1966 are

all steps of development of the power of the proletariat towards the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. I do not say definitive, because as Marx said: the establishment of the dictatorship is the beginning of its extinction, it has to take root for a long time until it is extinguished in Communism. Thus to see how the dictatorship of the proletariat advances in its establishment, advances in leading the revolution until Communism, this was resolved by Chairman Mao.

2.1.2 New Democracy

- The theory of the State has been developed by Chairman Mao.
- The problem of New Democracy, the Chairman establishes it as a function of developing the theory of the State by proposing joint dictatorship as a State system. That is the basis of New Democracy.
- Chairman Mao gives precise content to the New Democracy: New Economy, New Politics, and New Culture. He tells us how to do it: with guns we will transform the whole world.
- The democratic revolution fulfills democratic tasks but at the same time fulfills socialist advances, that is one of the issues of the uninterrupted process.
- It is these conditions that allow for uninterrupted revolution and give no room for a breakthrough. Thus Chairman Mao has resolved the democratic revolution and its

condition as a stage followed uninterruptedly by socialism. It is Chairman Mao who resolves the uninterrupted revolution, giving it political, economic and ideological basis.

2.1.3 The Three Instruments

What we are raising here is not in any text of Chairman Mao, in order to understand it, we must see Maoism as a whole as a unity.

(Publication note 1: Chairman Gonzalo himself clarifies on the above: “Maoism has to be taken as a unity; and what is here is Chairman Mao Zedong’s, his ideas, his theses... The problem is that it is seen in different works, at different times according to what he is dealing with; but our problem is not, at this moment, to see how he has been developing such an idea, which could be done (...) on condition of reaching its highest development, the problem we are seeing is Maoism as a unity (...) but, it is what the Chairman has taught us throughout decades; I insist, we are seeing Maoism.”)

Moreover, in this very text in the last paragraph of “Regarding Context” before “On the Content,” it is written: “- This document represents the generalizations of everything that Chairman Mao has done throughout an entire process. It encompasses all of Maoism and emphasizes the importance that Chairman Mao placed on worldwide revolution.”)

Regarding the Party

- It should be noted that the Chairman has repeatedly pointed out to “prepare for war” and even says “I fear

2.1 On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

peace more than war.”

- It is Chairman Mao who says that the Party is built according to the stage, he says, the Party is like any unit: it is born, grows, develops and dies.
- Chairman Mao says that the Party is a contradiction because if it were not it would not exist; the Chairman generalizes that revisionism is the danger and mainly where? In the Central Committee.
- Highlight the Rectification Campaign, that is Chairman Mao’s theory.
- The Party is not an entity in itself and for itself; it is an instrument. If it is not conceived as such, as the vanguard that leads the revolution on behalf of the proletariat, it makes no sense, it is not useful, it would be a useless tool.
- From the above, it follows that the Party comes to lead everything omnipotently. It is a process, first the Party directs, second, the Party directs everything, and then, the Party directs everything omnipotently (omnipotently = in all possible ways and manners).

(Publication Note 2: The above requires an explanation, as it is often confused and not noticed that it says “comes to direct everything....” and it is the Chairman who explains it like this:

“That ‘the Party has to come to lead everything omnipotently.’ Of course, it has to come, and we must see it this way because the problem first arises when it appears that the Party is directing through the

Chairman, then it appears as if the Party is directing everything, and finally, it appears as if the Party is directing everything omnipotently. I believe it is like this; if one looks at the quotes, they are even from different dates because it has to reflect its situation. Let's suppose, when we are starting a democratic revolution, will the Party be able to direct everything omnipotently if it doesn't have control of the State, if it hasn't conquered power throughout the country? How can it direct everything omnipotently, comrades, if it lacks the condition of having the entire country to direct everything in an omnipotent way? What does it mean? To direct everything in every way, on every front, that's what it means. Don't confuse it with (...), it doesn't mean doing as one pleases, it doesn't mean that. It means in any case: 'omni' is everything, 'modos' means ways; in every way and in every possible manner, that's what omnipotent means. Sometimes I think we don't understand the meaning of words, and we talk nonsense. That's why the Party reaches that point, but from the beginning, it's not like that.")

Regarding the Army

- The Chairman is the true creator of the Army of a new type because it is only with Chairman Mao that the military theory of the proletariat begins to be established.
- Lenin already warned that the Army could be used to usurp power; that's why he advocated for the people's

2.1 *On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*

militia. Chairman Mao organized up to 80 million militiamen in China, but his goal was to establish the **general arming of the people**. That was the objective, what we call the “sea of armed masses”: a new type of armed force with general arming. With this, Chairman Mao aimed to overshadow the regular army; he is the one who has developed the general arming of the people the most, who has further developed the militia based on what Lenin laid as the foundation.

Regarding the Front

- The problem of the front begins to unfold when in the Communist International (CI), Lenin himself presents and it will gain more significance in the struggle against fascism. It is the Chairman who establishes the 6 laws of the united front.
- The Chairman presents the theory of the front and the world front.
- Highlighting particularly the relationship he establishes between the front and the State because he states that in new democracy, the front is equivalent to the joint dictatorship.

2.1.4 The People’s War

- The people’s war is the military theory of the international proletariat. Every class generates its way of waging war; the bourgeoisie generated it, and without doing so, it could not have seized power, in this regard, Napoleon did

quite a bit. The military theory of the proletariat is people's war, and this is even acknowledged by reactionary strategists.

- The people's war is universal; it is applied in every circumstance in which the proletariat leads, taking into account the nature of the democratic, socialist, or cultural revolution and considering the specific conditions of each country.
- An important key leap in Chairman Mao's thinking is in guerrilla warfare as a strategy.
- The key point is that in the people's war in China, we have everything, from a cadre sent to engage in guerrilla warfare at a specific point to the capture of cities with street fighting, including positional warfare, mobile warfare, fluidity, assaults on small, medium, and large cities, street battles, insurrections, etc. In other words, it lacks no form, which is why we believe that people's war is applicable in any circumstance. Chairman Mao even planned the development of people's war with atomic bombs, as the atomic bomb is just another weapon and does not change the nature of war.
- Can people's war, being the military theory of the proletariat and the latter being the final class, be surpassed? No. People's war is the military theory of the proletariat; that's why it is universal, as demonstrated by the people's war in China. It can even be developed with atomic bombs and is insurmountable. The bourgeoisie will never be able to create a superior theory.

2.1.5 **The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution**

- It is very important to see this because the PCR has launched a campaign. We ask, is the Cultural Revolution on the agenda? No, the GPCR is not on the agenda. What is on the agenda is defining ideology, Maoism, the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution, and primarily the democratic revolution. The cultural revolution is a resolved pending issue. If it had not been resolved, we would have been defenseless against peaceful restoration.
- The Cultural Revolution represents a new and higher stage; we have considered transcribing the resolution of the CPC.
- Two questions: 1) The Cultural Revolution, the GPCR, represents a milestone, 2) The restoration of capitalism in China is not a denial of the GPCR. The GPCR remains as a grain that all communists will have to raise when the time comes. The Chairman spoke of successive cultural revolutions.

World Revolution

- Conceiving world revolution as a unity, Marx established this principle, Lenin also thought along these lines, and he faced the opportunity to initiate a revolution in a single country, establishing long-term strategic guidelines. As for Chairman Mao, he encountered a different circumstance and once again proposed the concept of a worldwide revolution as a unity. That's why he asserted that China is a cornerstone for the global revolution.

- The global revolution is the historical and political trend; it is already on the agenda, which is why it mentions 50 to 100 years because within that period, it must sweep away imperialism and reaction from the face of the Earth.
- Another key issue: period. Everything is intertwined: global revolution, 50 to 100 years, trend, period.
- How to define this period: increasing decomposition of imperialism, the destruction of the exploiters is approaching, and they are decomposing. The decomposition of imperialism and its increasing militarization every day is a sign of weakness, not strength.
- The weight of the masses in the oppressed nations of imperialism and the decomposition of imperialism lead to the delineation of “Three Worlds,” and this is not a matter of tactics but of strategy. It is the issue of the weight of the masses in history, the relationship between imperialism and oppressed nations, and the problem that can only be analyzed starting from the economic relations of imperialism. With this, the Chairman lays the groundwork for developing both strategy and tactics.

2.1.6 Superstructure, Ideology, Culture, Education

This point has been introduced to take into account that there are other issues, such as the development of proletarian art.

What is fundamental in Maoism? Power is fundamental in Maoism. Power for the proletariat, Power for the dictatorship of the proletariat, Power based on an armed force led by the

2.1 *On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*

Communist Party. More explicitly: 1) Power under the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution; 2) Power for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist and cultural revolutions; 3) Power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party, conquered and defended through people's war.

- What is Maoism?

What is stated in the document best expresses what Maoism is.

“Maoism is the elevation of Marxism-Leninism to a new, third, and superior stage in the struggle for proletarian leadership of the democratic revolution, the development of the construction of socialism and the continuation of the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship as a proletarian cultural revolution; when imperialism deepens its decomposition and revolution has become the main tendency of history, amidst the most complex and largest wars seen to date and the implacable struggle against contemporary revisionism.”

- In what moment? When imperialism deepens its decomposition and revolution has become the main tendency of history, amidst the most complex wars seen to date and the implacable struggle against contemporary revisionism.

- Regarding Struggle Around Maoism

- 1935 is a milestone, but we need to consider precedents.
- The 50s are going to spread Maoism worldwide, and thus, the formulation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Mao Ze-dong Thought begins to be adopted worldwide.

2 Report of the I Congress on the Study and Upholding the Fund. Docs.

- In our country, the revisionists have always opposed it. That is currently the case.
- Currently, we see a triple attack of revisionism.
- In our Party: it is the people's war that has allowed us to understand Maoism as a new, third, and superior stage of Marxism.

- Erroneous ideas: "The decline of Chairman Mao"; conciliating with Hoxha, "the genuine development of Lenin"; "the mistake of not killing Deng";

Synthesis:

- The central focus is on the Content, particularly in the development that Chairman Mao has made of the three parts of Marxism.

- It is essential to emphasize the fundamental aspect and place Maoism in its historical context, with the main point of Maoism lying in being the great summit of Marxism in its glorious epic.

3 Some Basic Knowledge of Marxism (December 3, 1988)

Chairman Gonzalo.

Presentation

These are comments made by Chairman Gonzalo on the two introductory paragraphs of the document “On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism,” the first of the Fundamental Documents as part of the foundation and taking position in the First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). *Necessary comments that imply some basic knowledge of Marxism, especially how it is applied to the reality of the Peruvian revolution as part of the world proletarian revolution.* That is why, on the occasion of celebrating a new anniversary of Chairman Gonzalo’s birth and the Day of the People’s Liberation Army, we are publishing them as an article prepared by us on the basis of the records of the First Congress. The fact is despite such basic and necessary knowledge there is a lot of confusion among the Maoists as a consequence of the action of revisionism and its repercussion in the ranks as a part of the ideological dynamics. Therefore, this article is a brilliant opportunity of celebration and as a part of

3 *Some Basic Knowledge of Marxism (December 3, 1988)*

it serving the struggle to eradicate the confusions in this respect to have more unity for common action.

As for its application to reality, the Chairman himself clarifies: we must bear in mind who the documents are aimed at, we are not in Europe, we are in Peru, one must bear this in mind. The circumstances of a Marx when he had to establish was one, that is why *Capital* has three volumes plus the two on surplus value, five. Marx said through Engels, that it should not be more than five parts, we should not be guided by different publications but what Marx elaborated. Or Lenin's circumstance, if one thinks about the Bolshevik Party, one finds that this Party waged a great moment of ideological struggle, long time carried out among people with a wide Marxist formation, cosmopolitan elements, several of them spoke several languages, and it was an intellectuality that as such debated on that level, that is why we have Lenin's works as they are written. If one compares the texts of Comrade Stalin, they are already much more concrete and if we take the works of Chairman Mao Zedong, they are extremely deep, very simple and very clear and do not go into many ins and outs; but if one follows carefully the exposition of the Chairman in his works, one understands clearly, what he wants to tell us. So one must take into account the concrete conditions in which one operates, not to have them present is wrong.

The document *ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM* in its first two paragraphs (introduction) tells us literally:

“In the furnace of class struggle, the ideology of the international proletariat emerged [insurgió] as Marxism, afterwards developed into Marxism-Leninism and later Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Therefore,

the scientific ideology of the proletariat, all-powerful because it is true, has three stages or landmarks in its dialectical process of development: 1) Marxism, 2) Leninism, and 3) Maoism. These three stages are part of the same unity which began with the Communist Manifesto one hundred and forty years ago, with the heroic epic of the class struggle, in fierce and fruitful two-line struggles within the communist parties themselves and in the titanic work of thought and action that only the working class could generate. Today, three unfading lights are outstanding: Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong who, through three grand leaps have armed us with the invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which today is principally Maoism.

Nevertheless, while Marxism-Leninism has obtained an acknowledgment of its universal validity, Maoism is not completely acknowledged as the third stage. Some simply deny its condition as such, while others only accept it as “Mao Zedong Thought.” In essence, both positions, with the obvious differences between them, deny the general development of Marxism made by Chairman Mao Zedong. The denial of the “ism” character of Maoism denies its universal validity and, consequently, its condition as the third, new, and superior stage of the ideology of the international proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, that we uphold, defend, and apply.”

We would like to emphasize some points that deserve a small

3 Some Basic Knowledge of Marxism (December 3, 1988)

foundation, but we do not intend to make big foundations, not because Marxism does not have them, but because we have to keep in mind who the documents are addressed to.

About the First Paragraph

The Ideology of the International Proletariat

The quotation begins with the first question, which is the “ideology of the international proletariat,” its definition is understood.

Ideology because there are those who speak of science as opposed to Marxist ideology, forgetting that our ideology is scientific. When Engels dealt with the problem of ideology in his famous letters from 1890 to 1895, he told us that all the classes before the proletariat had an inverted reflection of reality. What does this mean? Like the camera, it inverts the figure, what is in the head puts it on the feet and vice versa. In this way, every non-proletarian ideology twists reality, deforms it and therefore cannot understand the essence of reality, cannot understand the truth as it is, cannot grasp the contradiction as it is. Therefore, non-proletarian ideologies are deformations, they are not scientific and the root is one, very concrete: they are based on exploitation. Or, in order to generalise and encompass them all, it is sustained by the private property of the means of production, while the proletariat is not sustained by the property of the means of production or by exploitation, its historical mission is precisely to destroy private property of the means of production in order to sweep away all existing exploitation and differences.

The Ideology of the International Proletariat is Scientific

We must claim the term ideology in the understanding that our ideology is that of the international proletariat and only of this class and no other, is scientific. Yes, it is scientific, but it does not take away its character of ideology. *When one insists on replacing the term ideology with scientific or science, one sumps into bourgeois criteria, into bourgeois philosophy centred on the theory of knowledge, that is it basically.* In the 1960s we have again seen very clearly these concerns in the approaches of the French revisionist Althusser, it is he who has insisted on this problem. But what was the basis of it? He stated that the ideology of the proletariat was not scientific and the essence of his thought, of the thought of this revisionist - we must not forget what he is -, according to him is to foolishly distorting the history of the sciences. Althusser thinks that Marxism, condensed according to his revisionist criteria only into scientific socialism, was a new science that had not been philosophically founded, and that he was going to make that scientific foundation. Thus, he accused Marx of having created scientific socialism as a new science but of not having given it its doctrinal, philosophical foundations, to be precise. That is the basis of that criterion. If one analyses the works of this individual, one finds that he is going to propose that the foundation of Marxism carries a fusion of Spinoza's materialism - Spinoza is a Jewish philosopher expelled from Spain whose family ended up in the Netherlands at that time; Spinoza was a great philosopher in his time and for his time, he was a materialist of the beginnings of the bourgeoisie. Althusser considered that the foundation of Marxism had to be made by fusing Spinozism with Kantism which is

3 *Some Basic Knowledge of Marxism (December 3, 1988)*

another bourgeois philosophy. There you can see his nefarious position. In essence, what does it imply? A re-edition of the theses of the old revisionists, such as Kautsky, who maintained that Marxism had no philosophy and that Marxist philosophy was Kantism; that is to say, it put bourgeois philosophy as the basis of our conception, after all an agnosticism or an inability to understand.

The Ideology of the International Proletariat is the Conception of the Proletariat. It is the Ideology of the Last Class in History, Whose Understanding of the World is Scientific

We need to be clear about the implications of that. See, you take one word and there's a whole background. That's why there is equidistant "ideology of the international proletariat" to express the conception of the proletariat, the last class in history, whose understanding of the world is scientific. That is what we must know in concrete terms. Why the above? So it can be seen that there is a whole foundation in Marx, in Engels, there is a deep understanding, and so one can see what it means to insist repeatedly on certain terms, believing that they will thus raise Marxism, when at the bottom they are bastard concessions to the bourgeoisie, and this must make us think that we cannot simply repeat all the ideologies that are swarming; first, because it falls into an easy snobbery – it is called snobbery to go after the new, after fashion, a lot of intellectuals do. We, then, have to go to the core of things and grasp the substantive things and have a high critical spirit to judge many or all of the things that are written in the world about our conception. One might ask, *what does conception mean? It*

is the understanding of everything that exists, that means understanding of the material world, understanding of the class struggle, that is, the social world, and it means understanding of knowledge as a reflection of the matter in the mind which is another form of matter. That means conception. What have I just done? Putting Marx's definition of dialectics forward, omitting only the reference to laws.

It is More than 2,500 Years of Knowledge that has been Reworked from the Position and Interests of the International Proletariat

Our ideas of the international proletariat are therefore the product of a very high level of elaboration, they are more than 2,500 years of knowledge that has been reworked from the position and interests of the international proletariat, that is our prosthesis, that is our background: 2,500 years! That is why we always laugh when some cretins and smart alecks say that Marxism has no foundation, that is a frozen thing. They don't know what they are talking about! That could be repeated by an ignoramus from head to toe. Many things can be written and said, the saying is right: "Paper doesn't blush" and stupidity is impudent. This is what we face when we talk about the ideology of the international proletariat: the elaboration - I repeat - of more than 2,500 years of Western thought, because in that field it has developed without diminishing its universal validity, and elaborated from the position and interests of the working class, of the proletariat what is its strictest name; strictly speaking it is called proletariat and it is international because it is one class, so we have only one ideology.

What is Insurgency?

The quotation also says: *insurgió*. What is *insurgió*? It is linked to insurgency, isn't it? It is a combatant, revolutionary break, that's what it means. You see, the term is not for pleasure. Sometimes when one reads, one reads very quickly or writes very quickly. So, you have to repair, you have to know how to read and study and think. The brevity of the documents precisely moves the comrades to think, to develop the initiative of understanding in order to be able to transform.

Why is the Ideology of the Proletariat All-Powerful?

In the quotation it is said: "it is all-powerful," of course it is all-powerful because it is true, Lenin's thesis proved to be true.

There are Three Stages of a Dialectical Process of Development of the Ideology of the Proletariat

The three stages. The document says stages, moments or milestones, but one is the more precise term and the one we use: stages; then moments or milestones are equivalent but one is the one that expresses it. In the end, in no language and not in ours either, no term, no word is identical to another, they will have similar contents but not identical.

We make a big statement here that is essential: *there are three stages, first Marxism, second Leninism, third Maoism that is how it is defined*. But notice that it says stages of a dialectical process of development, of course, it is a *dialectical process of development*. Why is it that way? *Because it is a process of knowledge, a reflection in the mind, a reflection of matter in the mind and matter in movement, dialectical, knowledge*

is so and not by simple method as some say, but by essence, that is another mania. Methodologism is another concession to bourgeois philosophy. Is it used sometimes? Yes, but never do Marxists oppose and even less do they reduce our conception to a simple methodology. It is a crass error to get entangled in the theory of bourgeois knowledge. None of them, neither Marx, nor Lenin, nor the Chairman did it; if they talk about methods they never refer to reducing all Marxism to a simple methodological question, it would lose its quality of conception: being conception has the method as a component, as a derivation; in the end method is procedure, nothing else. That is why it is important to have a dialectical process, because in reality itself and its laws correctly grasped through practice, because it is impossible to have knowledge without practice, it could not be; precisely separating theory from practice is another concession to the bourgeoisie, it is a strictly bourgeois thought, in our case of narrow empiricism of the 18th century. These are the things that are at the basis of our criteria as communists.

The Manifesto of the Communist Party of 1848 is the First Milestone on Which the Whole Great Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is Built

The Manifesto is a starting point of the party, it has been 140 years since its appearance. Before there were attempts, precursors, if any; in Marx and Engels' own work we have their participation in the League of Communists, but that league of communists was a jumble of different ideas, it was not a clear expression of the proletariat. It is only with the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which is its full name, that for the first time the communists are putting forward their position and

3 Some Basic Knowledge of Marxism (December 3, 1988)

programme and it is the starting point, the milestone or the first stone on which our whole edifice is built, all that is great Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; it is the *Manifesto* that remains a valid flag to communism, not as Khrushchev said: that it had finished its mission with the programme of the CPSU in 1961, taking away our class position and introducing a rotten bourgeois conception, a complete and comprehensive revision of whole Marxism. Therefore, The *Manifesto* is our starting point, the first milestone, milestone because it will last thousands of years and when there is communism it will still be considered as that great beginning that led to the new humanity.

Only the Class Struggle can Generate our Conception, our Ideology

It says that it is a heroic epic of class struggle, of course, only class struggle can generate our conception, our ideology; only the proletariat with its great and incessant transformation of the material reality in their productive practice, or in the class struggle whose centre is politics, as the conquest and defence of the power for the class by overthrowing other powers, only as a practice of research, could the class, generating titans of thought and action, shape itself as the great ideology that we always hoist and will hoist. What is behind this *titans of thought and action*? It is linked to “*three unfading lights: Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong*,” a chain of mountains not only has big heights, there are also small summits, medium summits but there are very high peaks. Traditionally, it has always stood out and we also recognize the work of Engels; Engels is a founder of Marxism. Moreover, if we go into these things, it was Engels who first established a scheme of understanding the

basis of society, the relations of exploitation, that is to say the Political Economy, it was him, as Marx himself recognized. But it was Marx, with the wonderful talent and capacity of action that he had, who shaped the first great height, especially recognised by Engels; it was Engels who proposed that Marx should base the new ideology. It is Engels who has developed more the philosophical part or has treated more the philosophical part of Marxism. Reason: Marx did not have time to do it; he said that he was working to elaborate a Treatise on Dialectics and unfortunately he did not manage to complete it, there we would have had a great work; but in short, comrades, there are things that were more urgent, he did not have time.

We also recognise comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin has been a great Marxist-Leninist. Did he err? Yes, but he never sold the revolution, he could have made a mistake, he could not understand; as the Chairman has taught, his mistake started from an insufficient understanding of dialectics, from dragging metaphysics, from this derives the problem of comrade Stalin; but nobody can deny his enormous role nor can anybody take away his condition of leader of the international proletariat for decades, facing for the first time the construction of socialism, without precedent, nor the great effort he led in the Second World War. He has contributions, of course he has them, we cannot deny him, we must know how to value them. So there are already five of them, the three added up to five; *but it is a pleiad, a considerable group of great figures, of titans of thought and action.* So, this is enclosed. Why have we not listed them? *To make it clear that there are three great figures: Marx, Lenin, Chairman Mao Zedong,* that is the reason.

And how will our Ideology Develop as a Dialectical Process?

Our ideology will develop as a dialectical process through great leaps; therefore the document says through great leaps and three great, of course, three great qualitative leaps: Marx, Lenin, Chairman Mao Zedong. But these three great qualitative leaps could not be understood without other big, medium and even small leaps and with these incessant leaps, which we do not consider as such because of their elementary magnitude. That is the fact, that is what this first paragraph implies, all that is its background. It is in this way that a great dialectical process, then, generated by the proletariat producing men that only the class can produce, that we have arrived at Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism. This is how it should be seen. What are we demonstrating once more? There is a whole background of foundation.

About the Second Paragraph

Not Recognizing “ism,” not Recognizing “Maoism”

Marxism-Leninism is recognised as having universal validity but that Maoism is not fully recognised as the third stage. It is clearly said: some simply deny its condition as such, i.e. third stage; others only come to Mao-Zedong-Thought. In essence, what is behind these two positions that are within the proletariat, that are within Marxism? We are not talking about reaction, what is there within the Marxists today, even Marxist-Leninists, what is there? In essence, not recognising “ism,” not recognising “Maoism.” The “ism” has a clear meaning;

“thought” is nothing but a set of ideas, nothing else, while “ism” is a *doctrine that interprets all the matter in its different ways of expression, which are the three above mentioned: nature, society, knowledge* and stop counting, there is nothing else.

It is a Doctrine, Not a System

I said “doctrine.” I stress, I did not say “system.” If you say “system,” you would be making a big mistake. Engels has already expressly analysed this point, but some people who use “system” make a grave error, the correct thing to say is “doctrine,” understanding it as we have just specified it. The innovative mania, is it good? No, it goes against the unique language and there are things that are established in a party way, to have a unique language, that expresses therefore a party maturity, its own language; the rest, the people already express themselves according to the social conformation and the development that each one has, on that we could not enter any more. Do you understand? We cannot enter, they are already the peculiarities of each person. But we have to serve to establish a unique language, let’s leave aside the superfluous manias of originality, because at the end of the day originality is not expressed in terms, it is expressed in discovering new realities, small, medium or large. Is that clear? The originality, that is useless, undermines the unique language and therefore the consolidation, the unification. What did many foreigners and even many comrades of the Chinese comrades say? They said, it is enough to listen to one Chinese person to listen to all Chinese people. What did they want? Each Chinese to have his or her own line? False originality, that is not originality; originality

3 Some Basic Knowledge of Marxism (December 3, 1988)

is the discovery of new things, not the use of terminology, less snobbery, we must guard against snobbery and the intelligentsia is a source of snobbery, of terminology that confuses the language, confuses our unified understanding, apart from the fact that they miserably destroy the language that we speak which is an element in the shaping of the nation. Marxism is not a problem of fashions; there is no room for these useless fumes.

Later on, when Chairman Gonzalo refers to the content of Maoism, in 1. Theory... The three integral parts, he will deal with why we should say doctrine and not system, and he says so:

Marxist philosophy is the basis of our conception, it is the core of ideology, of course, that is why we cannot neglect it. Lenin drew the great lesson, when he said: "For a time I thought that philosophy was a question of the specialists of the Party in this problem, but the struggle made me understand that philosophy cannot be left in the hands of the specialists because philosophy is the very basis of the Party." And you cannot fight against revisionism if you don't grasp Marxist philosophy, and Marxist philosophy cannot be split into dialectical materialism on one hand and materialism applied to the social world. No comrades, this is a big mistake! Although it was Marx who solved the problem of understanding the social world, he did it by applying dialectical materialism; therefore, it is nothing but the dialectical materialist understanding of society, nothing else, however new it may be. It is a radically new and different creation, so what is new and different is not only the application to the social world. Why do I say this: the bourgeoisie in the eighteenth century through Diderot – that French character - developed mechanistic materialism to

its highest level and came to intuit the contradiction, to sense it, but never to understand it. Materialism is very old, comrades, as well as dialectics, are parallel, contemporary in origin, have more than 2550 years in the West, we owe it to the Greeks. But it has been Marx who took the idea as a derivation of matter, fusing dialectics with matter, who gave the great transformation generating the new philosophy, the exhaustive and complete philosophy not in a closed sense, that is why we cannot talk about system, system implies closed circle and knowledge is spiral, everybody remembers what a spiral is, it is not a closed circle and neither the circles that form the spiral are closed, it is not true that, they are not.

So it is The Essential Point, it is the “ism”

We are told, for example, what is the difference between Mao-Zedong-Thought and Maoism? If the same truths are held or defended, why fight for that term? It is not simply a problem of the term; what is at stake is whether it has universal validity or not, and if it is “ism” then it has it, and if it is not “ism” then it does not. That is the problem, so it is not a problem of term, isn't it? Well, if things were like that it would be identical, why don't we say then “the international ideology of the proletariat: Marx-Thought-Lenin-Thought-Mao-Zedong-Thought,” why don't we say that if it is identical, it would be logical. Then, why should we use Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Zedong-Thought, if it is the same let's say Marx-Lenin-Mao-Zedong-Thought. Would it be correct, deeply absurd, it would be to deny its universal character. What is the aim? To deny the universality of Chairman Mao Zedong's development, that's it. That is why we say these two positions are basically against the same, in

3 *Some Basic Knowledge of Marxism (December 3, 1988)*

essence; with differences, of course they have them because one thing is only to reach to Marxism-Leninism and another thing the RCP reached to the previous more Mao-Zedong-Thought (to later adopt the term Maoism and pass soon after to deny everything; note of the editors); but in essence it is the same and here what interests us are the substantive questions, the essential.

As for the introduction. As comrades know well, this document is based on what the Central Committee aired in 1982 and 1984 in a general way, complete, the whole problem means and specifically aired in many occasions in the party. From the beginning we have used an introduction taking two questions: an accurate thesis of the great Lenin and a great defence of Leninism made by comrade Stalin. That is why Stalin cannot be denied or condemned to hell. Because the fact that he said that we were entering Leninism and defended it as he did and imposed it on the world, is enough merit, or do you think it was not enough?

We have taken these two issues. Here what deserves explanation is that Lenin said: as the revolution goes into the East it expresses specific conditions. These are not strictly the words of the Great Lenin but this is his idea. He was telling us: the revolution in Russia expresses peculiarities, apart from the fact that it takes place in a very specific situation: the First World War, the final part of it, the defeat of the tsarism in the hands of Germany, the unsatisfied needs of the peasant who was asking for land in a country that, although it was a prison of people because it had reached imperialism, had a wide feudal base that Lenin masterfully synthesizes by saying “land concentrated in very few hands and a huge mass with few or no lands,” with-

out going into figures that he handles extraordinarily. In this way he tells us: the revolution in Russia does not deny the truth established by Marx as the law of the revolution. He does not deny, what he is doing is simply seeing the peculiarities, the specifics; and he says the revolution as it goes into the East shows that peculiarity, whether we like it or not, that is so. The incomprehension of the European social democracy, of the European opportunists, mercenary writers of the European reactionaries, condemned that revolution, they even called it, being reactionary, not Marxist. Brave defenders of Marxism! What did they say, then, about that revolution: it is an eastern despotism, as it has always been seen in the East, and with that, they had already solved the problem; they said: a mass of ignorant people, how can they make a socialist revolution? Thus they said, abounding in their "arguments." How did the Great Lenin respond: "In which text is it that we must first educate before conquering power for the class, before establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, in which document is it? Is it expressly forbidden in Marx or Engels that one should conquer power and then educate? There is no such prohibition, so what is the cry about?" This is how he puts it. What happens is that those who are burdened by bourgeois liberalism do not understand what is new and how it is expressed, because if we are going to talk about it, what proletarian revolution have they made? The Europeans are clucking a lot, the imperialist countries or the so-called advanced countries are clucking a lot, and they say that the mistake of the revolution is that it has taken place in backward peripheral areas such as Russia and China. Well, where has the proletarian revolution been made in the West, when has it been made, why has it not been made,

3 Some Basic Knowledge of Marxism (December 3, 1988)

if they are so enlightened, because enlightened they are, we have to admit, they are, but it is not enough to make the revolution. The Great Lenin, going deeper into this, what he was telling us: wait, you will see the revolution in the East and when you see it, your surprise will be huge, immense, you will fall back! - using our turn, that is: you are going to fall backwards! - Didn't he say that? Moreover, to the comrades from the East, whom he gathered, what did Lenin put forward: we, he said, including him, know the revolution in the capitalist countries but not in the backward countries under imperialist domination; that is your task, it is pending, you have to solve it without forgetting that you are communists and that you must organise as such, as a Party, linked to the Communist International. Were not these his words?

Why should this question be highlighted? Because it is obvious that the Chinese revolution that has been generated by Chairman Mao Zedong, through the proletariat itself, is taking place in the East, or is it not the East? Is what Lenin said fulfilled or not? Of course it is fulfilled! And from there, then, what is implied? That the same thing that happened to Lenin is happening to the Chairman: The usual cry of the "deep" connoisseurs of Marxism, of the intellectuals who are burdened with bourgeoisie and parliamentary cretinism, of the feathered ones of reaction, that is.

As for comrade Stalin, what was his work that interests us in this point? In Russia itself it was said: Leninism is true, but for Russia, because the core, the fundamental thing is the role of the peasantry. Comrade Stalin, clearly then, says: Consequently, it is not the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, Lenin only rules in Russia and it is not universal, Leninism is

specifically Russian, and it is an infamy to say it, because Lenin was precisely the one who has emphasized the importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, he was. You will say, but Marx already raised. *In Marxism, any elementary history of it shows you, the great truths have to be reiterated from time to time because they are forgotten, dusted or simply invoked; just as the great characters of history, Lenin said, are made icons.* An icon here in Peru is Mariátegui: incense is poured on him, nothing else. It was a hard fight in Russia, particularly against Zinoviev.

From this, we derive: “Today, Maoism is facing similar situations and as always the new and Marxism have made their way through struggle, Maoism will also impose itself and be recognised.” As the Chairman said: “Marxism has never taken a step in life but in the middle of struggle, it will never take a step.” And a great qualitative leap, great as he has given, a new stage, will it be easily accepted? No, it has to be resisted, denied, questioned, interrogated, but behind all these interrogations there are positions of denial, reduction, minimization or whatever, but it is, that is what is interesting. Comrades, Marxism gives us weapons! They have had the sagacity to arm us for the future and to answer questions, questions that are asked and will be asked in the future; they have armed us. That is the reason of the introduction, it has a meaning.

4 Speech on the Document “Concerning Gonzalo Thought” (1988)

Speech by Chairman Gonzalo at the I Congress of the Communist Party of Peru.

Concerning Gonzalo Thought has an introductory part, although it is not expressed, it is an introduction and then there are five problems.

Let's look at this introductory part. It says: “All revolutions, in their process of development, through the struggle of the proletariat as the leading class and, above all, the struggle of the Communist Party that raises their unrenounceable class interests, give rise to a group of great leaders and mainly one who represents and leads it, a Great Leader with acknowledged authority and influence. In our reality this has taken shape, on account of historical necessity and coincidence, in Chairman Gonzalo, Great Leader of the Party and the revolution.”

It refers to great leaders and if we take into account what Lenin established in *‘Left-Wing’ Communism: An Infantile Disorder* in relation to masses, Party and great leaders; but it is not as the Comrades say that this is the thesis of Lenin, it is not so Comrades, they have not read Lenin well, it is necessary to read Lenin well, to know him well. If you think carefully,

4 *Speech on the Document "Concerning Gonzalo Thought" (1988)*

here is specified the problem of revolution, ruling class (proletariat) and Party, the three things he is specifying; that is what must be taken into account. We recommend Comrades, we must read well, study and think, striving for the greatest objectivity in order to understand what the document says, not what one has in one's head; that what one has in one's head disturbs, understandable, but we have the need, the obligation to be objective, we must combat subjectivism, it is very important, therefore, pay attention to that, Comrades. There are three questions that are invoked: revolution, proletarian ruling class and Party, the action of the three, that is what it says; these three questions generate great leaders.

Every process of whatever type, also a literary type, has great leaders, has heads, and these bosses do not arise in great numbers and it takes time for their forging; Lenin insisted on this, but this already comes from Marx and is further developed by the Chairman. *It is a handful of great leaders that a revolution generates in decades*, what is generated in a greater quantity are leaders, an even greater quantity of cadres and a whole mass of militants.

In our Party we have established many years ago a relationship between masses, cadres and leaders with a proportion; that proportion given the great growth of the Party, of fighters and masses that work more closely with us has unbalanced that proportion and from there derives the need to worry a lot about increasing militancy but without forgetting a good selection, which is possible because having more access to the masses, there will be more candidates on which to select militants; we need to form cadres, these documents contribute to that formation and also to increase the number of leaders.

Comrades, think about the following: in 1976 we calculated more or less the need, then, of about 75 leaders to make the Party march, but the Party today is many times bigger than it was in 1976; and then think that we have an Army and think that we have New Power, please copy what I am saying, I do not believe that you have a great memory; Comrades, some here believe that what is said is for nothing, then they do not know what to broadcast or they broadcast nonsense and they do it late and badly; we are in Congress and the attention must be very high, we are all tired, understandable, but it does not count, the obligation counts; well, excuse this intermission but it is necessary, Comrades if you compare that in 1976 we needed 75 leaders, how many will we need today, do you understand? And mainly what, we need a Central Committee with an adequate number, and a good Central Committee, well versed in Party politics; that has to make an effort to study the theory in the books or texts that the Party indicates, not in others, Comrades, because in that way we break the unitary formation that we must have; these are questions that we must think seriously. Any revolution that is seen shows that only in decades a number of great leaders are forged. If we think of the glorious Bolshevik Party, that of Lenin and Stalin, but mainly of Lenin who was its creator, its forger, think, we speak of great leaders and we have a Stalin, we have a Sverdlov, a Dzerzhinsky, a (...) to highlight real great leaders, few; the Chinese Revolution is similar.

But the main thing is that a Great Leader is generated, a single head that stands out clearly, far above the others, and that is what we have to understand and it is not by the will of anyone, *it is the very reality of the revolution, of the class and*

4 Speech on the Document “Concerning Gonzalo Thought” (1988)

of the Party, which demand and promote this conformation. If we speak of a Great Leader, we have for example Marx, a notoriously outstanding Great Leader, a summit. If we speak of the great Lenin, *there is another Great Leader of recognized authority and immense ascendancy*; nobody could compare Stalin with all his merits and greatness, *with the immensity of Lenin*, nobody, and I reiterate, once again, Lenin did not have the specific position of General Secretary because there was no such thing, it was – I repeat – that the General Secretariat in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) arose precisely by Lenin’s own proposal, and in him is also expressed a glorious summit. Or in the case of China, Chairman Mao Zedong; obviously none of the great leaders generated by the Chinese Revolution can equal Chairman Mao Zedong, none of them, and in him we also have a glorious summit.

These are the three greatest leaders of the World Revolution, because that is their dimension; that they were also Great Leaders of their Parties and of their concrete revolution is subsidiary because *the main thing is that they have been Great Leaders of the World Revolution* and have established for us, then, the great process of the development of Marxism, shaping Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. On another level, without pretending in any way to compare, there would be no reason, but to show that *every revolution needs a head*, think for example of Albania itself – I do not intend to relieve those figures but even in those revolutions there must be a head – Hoxha in Albania; Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam; Kim Il-Sung with all his rotten idea of reign, was the head, that is the problem. So it always happens, there is nothing strange about it, but *it is a necessity; Engels already insisted on this and told us that even a literary movement has*

a head that represents it.

The problem lies in the definition of a Great Leadership with “acknowledged authority and influence.” *Are they unquestionable authorities? Yes, for the red line, but that they are questioned and denied, bread and butter.*

Was not the leadership of Marx denied, questioned, and even vilified by a miserable creeping servant of the Tsar like Bakunin or by an “academic scholar,” full of ideas that he could not even manage to understand, like Dühring, who said that our glorious founder Marx, said that he was a Prussian soul and of a Chinese knowledge, so did not say that individual whose name is only remembered because it is in a work by Engels? Was Lenin questioned or not? Of course; how many times did Trotsky’s gymnastics fight against Lenin, how many times did he deny him? One should not be fooled by that gross misrepresentation which proclaims that Trotsky was a Leninist, Lenin himself described him as a Menshevik gymnast, a late Bolshevik, who jumped on the bandwagon; one of the things for which Trotsky fell silent at the death of the great Lenin, when it was necessary to select the General Secretary and, obviously, with all the limitations that Lenin himself pointed out, it was up to Stalin, who was a real and authentic Bolshevik, to exercise it, one of the things that led Trotsky to keep silent and to be mute at the Congress where the Great Leadership and the recognition as Secretary of Comrade Stalin was agreed upon was the fear that Trotsky had that the letters in which he attacked and denigrated Stalin would be taken out, we must not forget that, Comrades; and I bring this up because the Trotskyists are very much like fools and want to pull the wool over our eyes, and today they continue to do so, infecting the proletarian movement,

4 Speech on the Document “Concerning Gonzalo Thought” (1988)

and some believe them and repeat them; many things that are being aired today about Stalin are nothing but crude repetitions of what Trotsky said. Did not Zinoviev also attack Lenin? Did not Kamenev and several others even say that Lenin was mad when he proposed to prepare the October Revolution and even went so far as to denounce it? These are realities Comrades.

And in the case of the Great Leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong, the struggle was even more fierce; that struggle, as it is said in the history of the Communist Party of China (CPCh), the struggle against the 28 and a half Bolsheviks, those who had learned in Moscow and wanted simply to apply Marxism-Leninism to China strictly, mechanically; was not Chang Kuo-tao himself a student who became a Communist and believed himself called to great destinies and even dared to pressure the Central Committee to recognize him as General Secretary, thus denying Chairman Mao Zedong whose leadership had been recognized in the year 1935 in Tsunyi? These are facts, Comrades; Liu Shaoqi himself, who for a time supported Chairman Mao Zedong, did he not become a denier of the Chairman? Or Deng Xiaoping, has he not even developed a personal hatred against Chairman Mao Zedong? And even Zhou Enlai himself, in the first part, up to the year 1935, did he not fight the ideas of the Chairman and deny Chairman Mao Zedong, did he not label him as a peasant and even, in an absurd criterion, did he not call him a rightist? These are things to remember. Great Leadership is recognized in the midst of intense struggles.

(...)

It can therefore never draw attention to the fact that there are problems around Great Leadership. And it is in every Party where such a problem is aired; but *notwithstanding this, the ob-*

jective reality itself generates great leaders and a Great Leader, mainly a Great Leader who becomes even a symbol of a revolution, or a world one in the case of a Marx, a Lenin, a Chairman Mao Zedong. An example can show this condition in which sometimes we do not think and do not see: the prisoners of war in the Spanish civil revolution, did they not reanimate their optimism and reanimate it by simply seeing a Lenin's insignia, as Marcos Aria himself says, even he says so, and he is a revisionist.

These are things that we must understand and it is time that, mainly the great leaders, we understand things because, Comrades, it is in the great leaders where especially these problems occur because there are those who believe they are called to great destinies and do not even know how to measure their capacities nor know their limitations and are not capable of seeing the objective, what they have rubbing their own noses in it; I am speaking of historical facts, Comrades, I am not speaking of eagerness, I am speaking of historical facts. The problem is not simply to have read or repeated, the problem will always be to apply and therefore to understand. *We believe that this is important.*

Also in this first paragraph, we must emphasize how Chairman Gonzalo has become the Great Leader of the Party and of the revolution... Here it is good to emphasize this point of historical necessity and coincidence, a point that is misunderstood and misrepresented; for example, the Comrades prisoners of war have made a ruckus, a jumble about this problem, when it is clear and simple, I am referring to what is called necessity and coincidence in Marxism.

Engels dealt with this point and said that *the social order*

4 Speech on the Document “Concerning Gonzalo Thought” (1988)

is governed by necessary laws. The word necessity has a clear and precise meaning, it means that it is fulfilled, that it governs, that means, independently of the individual will of people; necessity, philosophically speaking, is what has to be fulfilled, the law that has to govern, that means necessity. In social and literary processes, for example, there is a need for someone to lead a movement, to be the head of a school; if one sees, for example, the formation of the Spanish language, which is the one we speak, was concretized in a Cervantes, or can that be denied, it had to have someone to shape it, to establish its rules, to lead the management of the language, as in Italy it is Dante – not the Dante, as they say, it is just Dante – there you have an example even in the literary world. In the scientific world, contemporary physics is made up of a group of notable theoreticians, and yet it needed someone to lead it in the understanding of the macrocosm: Einstein, it is undeniable, it was necessary for someone to lead that, it is a whole different way, he takes a great step in the physical understanding of the world; or in the understanding of the microcosm a Planck who opens a new world in physical science; it was necessary, the law demanded by necessity that someone lead the movement. Or in a revolutionary struggle as they are in the examples ventilated in Marxism; the French Revolution necessarily had to have a head, for example Robespierre, so it is. Engels said, then, every movement at whatever level must have a head, but it is a general law and as such it is necessarily fulfilled.

Whereas coincidence – which is the most precise name because sometimes I use chance, which is too imprecise, however it can occur, Comrades, but the term is coincidence – *coincidence*, Engels said, *is nothing more than how necessity comes*

into being in certain circumstances, specifying a character, taking shape in a person. The example of physics comes back, there it is proved, once again, how it always generates opportunely the men that the society needs to develop a field of its development (do not worry to put the names because they are sometimes complicated and difficult), if one looks at physics in the 20th Century, we have an Edington, a Sommerfeld, a Planck, we have a Schwinger, a Heisenberg, a Schrödinger, a De Broglia, a multitude of very remarkable physicists; any of them, if it had not been Einstein, would have come to establish relativity, so it is said in physics for example, if one reviews any history of physics one finds that, but chance, circumstances specified that it was Einstein.

That is how necessity is understood, as a law and chance as a concretion of that law and that is how the heads establish it, that is how the great leaders and a Great Leadership are established. The problem is simple and clear; the confusion derives on the one hand, from the lack of knowledge or from the imprecision of knowledge, from the confusion that one has, apart from the struggles in which such a situation is defined. I give you a historical example, of science, and I appeal to science because in science there are some very special conditions, however, there is also in the midst of disputes, for example, who created or discovered the infinitesimal calculus, Newton or Leibniz, a dispute for centuries and it is still being discussed, a conclusion has already been reached; in that case, for example, both discovered independently; however, the followers have fought tooth and nail to say it was Newton, others, it was Leibniz! And that one stole from the other, what is clear is that the best notation was that of Newton, that is why the one he

4 *Speech on the Document “Concerning Gonzalo Thought” (1988)*

established is used. There you have it, even in science, where apparently there should not be such contentions, but everything is contradiction.

In any human activity, consequently, wherever the axes are placed, every school, every development needs a head and a Great Leadership and around that Great Leadership there is contention, but a Great Leadership is specified by historical necessity and coincidence. And in our case, in our Party it has been specified in Chairman Gonzalo; we can like or dislike him, Comrades, I dislike the summer but it does not pay attention to me, it continues to develop, do you understand what I mean? You will say, but social laws are not like physics, oh yes? Read then what Marx says, that they are different does not mean that they are not laws, they have a specific field, but social laws are as much laws as physical laws.

Well, how is the Great Leadership specified here: “Great Leader of the Party and of the revolution.” It is not an ambiguity, why, what are we talking about, what are we dealing with, of the Fundamental Documents of the Party, consequently of the Peruvian Revolution, that is how we have to understand what it says here; we know well that outside they will say other things, it will be their problem, not ours. The Great Leadership was established, recognized – because that is what is appropriate with a Great Leadership, to recognize it – in the Enlarged National Conference of 1979, in struggle, where two factions contended; one, that the Great Leadership was that of Chairman Gonzalo and that this had to be recognized; another, invoking Mariátegui, I stress, invoking, is that one of the “defenders of Mariátegui,” as he himself said and expressed his thought, the Lima of the balconies and the colonies, what a way of seeing

Lima! For a Communist position, it is good for a poem by Don José Gálvez but not for a Communist, and after all, those who invoked Mariátegui did not even know him and were 50 years behind; they are facts, Comrades, that is what we are talking about. Perhaps we should ask ourselves, did Mariátegui usurp or was he recognized as a Great Leader, have you ever heard that? No, and why, have you asked yourselves, he did not have time, we must never forget that the founder of the Party died less than two years after the Party was founded; that is why you will never find any document that says Mariátegui's Great Leadership, who was to blame? It is therefore the concrete situations that were expressed in the reality of the country.

The second paragraph tells us: "Moreover, and this is the basis upon which all leadership is formed, revolutions give rise to a Thought that guides them, which is the result of the application of the universal truth of the ideology of the international proletariat to the concrete conditions of each revolution." What must be emphasized here in order to understand well and not to make mistakes is that a Great Leadership is based on a Guiding Thought, on an application, requiring time for a Great Leadership to be recognized. It is not as it is said that the Great Leadership sustains Gonzalo Thought, it is absurd, Comrades; on the contrary, that is what the document says very clearly, because it could not be understood in any other way; the Comrades, how do they think, believe that Thought is a washroom, that the Great Leadership sustains it, how absurd, it is sustained, it is based on a Thought, otherwise there is no Great Leadership; that is what we must see and that is clearly stated here.

Then it tells us: "(...) a Guiding Thought indispensable to

4 *Speech on the Document “Concerning Gonzalo Thought” (1988)*

reach victory and to conquer political power and, moreover, to continue the revolution and to maintain the course always towards the only, great goal: Communism.” What function does a Guiding Thought fulfill, that is what is clarified here, what is it for and it says: “indispensable to reach victory and conquer political power,” without it, do not even dream of conquering power, otherwise, take a single case, there is none, Comrades; but moreover, what is it for, “to continue the revolution and to maintain the course”. The problem of maintaining the course is fundamental! Because if it is not maintained, we deviate, and if we deviate, the revolution is slowed down, hindered, unnecessarily dilated and can lead to great defeats, which will demand new and more incessant and redoubled efforts to continue struggling and fighting for the revolution, for the conquest of power and for the goal, why, the revolution is uncontainable, but the Guiding Thought fulfills a function, a necessity.

It goes on to say: “(...) a Guiding Thought that, arriving at a qualitative leap of decisive importance for the revolutionary process which it leads, identifies itself with the name of the one who shaped it theoretically and practically.” Let us understand well, we cannot continue with the absurdity of bourgeois empiricism of the 18th Century, anti-Marxist, of separating theory from practice, it is to deny that practice is the source of knowledge. Do we not know that without practice there is no knowledge, we do not understand that, what do we understand then, nothing, is it not the starting point of differentiation between Marxism and bourgeois position, is it not perhaps the first of the theses established by Marx on Feuerbach?

(...)

They foolishly throw themselves against principles and his-

torical realities that deny class, deny ideology, that is the ABC of Marxism. Here the remarkable thing is that a moment of “qualitative leap of decisive importance for a revolution” is coming. What is our situation, because now Gonzalo Thought is being raised? Because we are in a qualitative, decisive leap, or a Congress, is this Congress not implying the balance of what has been done, is it not implying the establishment of the Base of Party Unity, is it not implying the laying of solid foundations for the conquest of power in the whole country, as a part of and serving of the World Revolution, do we not see the leap, are we so blind, so short-sighted, so stupid, politically speaking? Comrades, we can no longer allow in the Party such immaturity. A mature Party and the maturity of a Party is the consequence of a long historical process, it is not that of individuals; that is why they do not understand, they are confusing the maturity of the Party with their own individual immaturity, that is the concrete root that those who do not understand this problem have, it has personal roots in that aspect, it is their concreteness, their own reality that they never manage to see, why, they do not search, they do not think in depth, that is it Comrades. That is the reason why we are making this leap in the problem of Thought.

The document clearly states: “In our situation, this phenomenon specified itself first as Guiding Thought, then as Chairman Gonzalo’s Guiding Thought, and later as Gonzalo Thought.” Well, let us look for the Party, revolutionary, historical correlation of why these specifications were produced. Guiding Thought, 2nd National Conference when we prepared ourselves to generate a vacuum in the countryside and create New Power, that was the concrete historical foundation. The reference to

4 *Speech on the Document “Concerning Gonzalo Thought” (1988)*

Guiding Thought of Chairman Gonzalo, 1st Plenum of the Central Committee of the 3rd Conference, what was agreed there, “Great Leap,” within what plan, to conquer bases, important or not in the People’s War? Obviously, Comrades. There you have the correlation. Gonzalo Thought, I have already said why, it is not free elucubration. Please, Comrades, always think, meditate and refer the things that are raised to the Party circumstances, to the circumstances of the People’s War that is being carried out, to those of the Peruvian Revolution, to the needs of the class, of our people, or is it that they separate the Party from the class and the people, without this meaning that this vanguard – as some say – of the proletariat and the people, no, Comrades, the Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, it is not of the people. Here is something else more remarkable.

Let us continue, it says: “(...) because it is the Chairman who, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality, has generated it; thus endowing the Party and the revolution with an indispensable weapon which is guarantee of victory.” Is there or is there not the creative application, a little word that some do not like, is it mechanical, then, when it is simply said “application,” in some mouths! Not to say “creative” is to propose, because of what they think, mechanical, well, prove it, prove it, it is not a problem of regurgitation, confusion, that is not the problem, it is to see the history of our Party, the problems that it is solving. Because defining Guiding Thought, Chairman Gonzalo’s Guiding Thought and Gonzalo Thought are problems of the Party, as they see everything through the person, through their individualism, they believe that it is a personal problem and thus they subjectivize the revolution and turn it into a subjective

reality, not an objective one. Comrades, it is fine for a Frondizi, for an idealist but not for a Marxist; to reduce a social problem to subjective questions may be fine for a Feuerbach, before Marx. That is what must be seen at the bottom of these things that are there; everything has its foundation, it is not a word written by chance, nor is it a word said unthinkingly, which does not express its errors because it is unthoughtful.

Well, the following paragraph says: “Gonzalo Thought has been forged through long years of intense, tenacious, and incessant struggle to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to retake Mariátegui’s path and to develop it, to reconstitute the Party and, mainly, to initiate, maintain and develop the People’s War in Peru serving the World Revolution, and that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism be, in theory and practice, its sole command and guide.” Here there are things that jump out that must be seriously reflected; in short, we have until August because now we only need to take a position and what we do is to give foundations because the comrades need it to be able to explain because it is understandable that there must be questions. First thing to emphasize here: It “has been forged through long years,” yes, through long years, it is not forged in one day or in two years or in three years, in long years! We will give you an example: when we had a meeting with the Comrades from Spain, when we saw the problem of Guiding Thought, of the Thought that we call Gonzalo Thought, Comrade Roberto who heads the Communist Party of Spain, he already believed that he was “Roberto Thought,” they had just been founded not even six months ago and he already believed that he was “Roberto Thought”; it cannot be so, Comrades, how easy it would be, no, that way no

4 *Speech on the Document “Concerning Gonzalo Thought” (1988)*

Thought is generated anywhere on Earth, why? Everything has a process, absolutely everything, there is nothing that does not have a process, reason: because everything is contradiction and contradiction has a path, a process. Has it been intense, well, the struggles we have had, I think that proves it; tenacious, well, I think I have been persistent, otherwise we would not be talking today about Gonzalo Thought; incessant, of course, we must not falter, we must persist, continue, continue, continue, we must not get tired!

But about what things? The first thing it puts forward is to “Uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism” and it is understandable, because if we do not start from the universal ideology, what application are we going to talk about, or are we going to create – by originality – another world outlook of the proletariat? In this we are consistent with the practice taught to us by Marx, Lenin and Mao and the great Marxists that have been on Earth and that the founder himself taught us, “the only way to be free and to create, is to take the conception of the proletariat as a dogma, understanding it as such” (...) Some people find it hard when they hear the word dogma in Marxism and I tell them that they have not read Lenin well; “our old dogma” and the specific, “our old inapplied principles,” I think we all understand that, it is confused, because the mind repeats “Lenin has said that it is not a dogma,” but there he refers to that there is no mechanical application, we must try to understand what Lenin says in each case and in each moment, we must not be content with repeating and with superficial appreciations; we have already seen how Chairman Mao Zedong can only be understood if we see as a unity all that he has done, Lenin the same and Marx, the same. That was

then, Comrades. Without having done that, what application would there be, it would be a ridiculous joke, I think.

It says “to retake Mariátegui’s path and to develop it,” key: develop it. On this we have contended, Comrades, for many years in the Party; it fell to me to draft the document of the 19th Plenum of the Central Committee, in 1966, and there it is written, “Red Flag”¹ No. 18 – for the collectors – there it is written that Mariátegui’s path should never be abandoned, that it should be continued and developed; please remember how we have been fought against. Of the Party, what have the “Mariáteguists” of the PUM² said, those former Vanguardists, that we took Mariátegui not seeing that Mariátegui died on the in 1930 and that Peru had advanced a lot because we were already in the 1960s, is that not what they said? Well, Comrades, that is why the problem was to develop it; there are reasons for this — if there is time we will see when we deal with the question of Mariátegui – not to propose not to develop it is not to understand that time goes by and that new problems arise, it is to want to remain in the 1930s and, beware, Mariátegui is not a universal Thought, beware, of reconstitution of the Party and, mainly — of what? — of initiating, maintaining and developing the People’s War. This is extremely important, this is the main thing in this reconstitution of the Party, to take up Mariátegui again, why? Because in the process of Gonzalo Thought it is the People’s War which has driven it, which has led it to become concrete as Gonzalo Thought, I believe it is so, Comrades; any analysis, however lightly we might make of

¹RedLibrary: “Red Flag” translates to “Bandera Roja,” this issue does not seem to be available online.

²RedLibrary: PUM is the “Mariáteguist Unified Party.”

4 *Speech on the Document “Concerning Gonzalo Thought” (1988)*

the history of the Party proves what I have recently said: the People’s War has made us deeply understand things already known and has made us understand many new things, solve new problems and see new problems still pending solution and it also makes us understand that there are many more things that will have to be dealt with. So, in this process, one cannot but see that retaking the path of Mariátegui and developing it is not ignoring the founder. I believe that of the founder, of Mariátegui, many speak but few know about him, too few, and if they have studied him, not in depth, I say (...), how wrong it is to bring things by the hair, Comrades.

Then it tells us that “It is of substantive necessity for the Party to study Gonzalo Thought.” “Substantive necessity” for the Party, what does this imply, of the leaders, of the cadres, of the militants and mainly of the leaders, I stress, mainly of the leaders! Because this is where the mess is expressed and this is not by chance, it has always been like this in every Party; let us remember what we have often said: the Central Committee is the eye of the storm, that is, the center of the storm, we must never forget it. But why do we need this study, “for a more just and correct understanding of the General Political Line, and mainly of the Military Line,” for that, because if we do not see the Gonzalo Thought, how are we going to manage the General Political Line and the Military Line which is its center if they are derived from that Thought? It is like taking away the river’s source, the lagoon from where it begins to flow, or do you see a river with no beginning, maybe you imagine that rivers have no beginning — as some have only seen the Rimac, a little piece, don’t they, they think it has no beginning — nonsense, Comrades, any material fact on which your eyes rest,

you always see the path, the process, the origin of something. Consequently, it is necessary to handle the line and the Military Line in particular; if we begin by denying it, if we begin by putting Mariátegui, I ask: very well, tell me now the General Political Line of Mariátegui? And you are not going to repeat the five elements, reason: because I did them, Comrades, tell me now the Military Line of Mariátegui, what is it; now tell me if with that line we are making the People's War. We do not meditate or think and the Chairman has told us that we have to use the head, he has told us that the head is for thinking, that is what the head is for, that is what the Chairman said, and the work of the leaders is to move the head, mainly to move the head; the Chinese Comrades said: "The leaders have to move the head but some leaders think they have to move their feet," very expressive, very expressive what the Chinese Comrades said!

Well, when it comes to Gonzalo Thought, where to aim, there it says: "aiming at deepening the understanding of the particularities of the Peruvian Revolution, what is specific and particular," because if we do not take the specific, we would badly manage this revolution that the Party leads; but as the Party is an entity composed of a system of organizations, it does it through its leaders, its cadres, its militants who move all the rest of the organizations. Only in this way will we "serve the Great Plan to Develop Bases, the development of the People's War and the perspective of conquering political Power countrywide." These are eminently practical reasons, reasons of exigency, of peremptory demands, needs of the Peruvian Revolution; as there are many narrow empiricists here, then I think they understand well if we say "practical," they are practical

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reasons! Although I understand Comrades, to speak of practice demands leaving narrow empiricism, of course, because with narrow empiricism they will never handle practice from the Marxist position, never, they will do bastard empiricism, narrow, crawling, Sanchopansism they will do, yes Comrades, we must understand things well.

The other paragraph says: “We must study Gonzalo Thought, starting from the historical context that generated it.” Reason: it is the class struggle that forms us all, it is the Party that nourishes us with Marxism.