

# Communism

#15 September 2021

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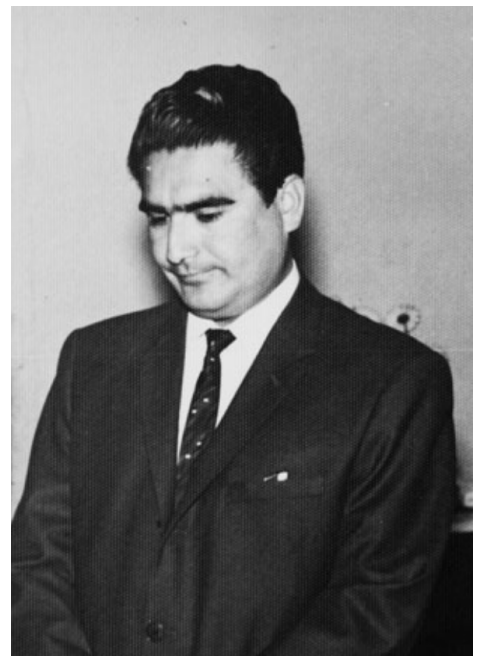
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## GONZALO

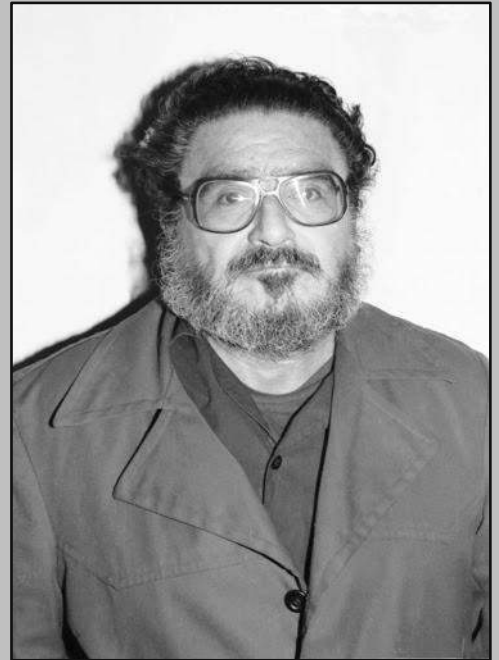
1934-2021



# editorial

This issue of **Communism** focuses on Abimaël Guzman, *Gonzalo*, who reconstituted the Communist Party of Peru and successfully led the People's War, until his arrest in 1992.

His death on September 11, 2021, the eve of his 29th year in prison, is a political event. This requires a correct understanding of his background, his contributions.



Honor to Gonzalo, who first claimed that the Communist ideology was now Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

It goes without saying that upon the news of his death, many revisionists pretended to salute his memory. This is inevitable: the reaction always tries to sow confusion, doubt, to reclaim revolutionary figures by distorting their true nature. In this sense, the death of Gonzalo opens a new period of the anti-revisionist battle, in defense of the communist heritage and the ideology of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong.

We call to follow  
the websites :  
[vivelemaoisme.org](http://vivelemaoisme.org)  
[materialisme-dialectique.com](http://materialisme-dialectique.com)

# MLM Center Belgium CPF(mlm)

## Gonzalo, the great commentator of Maoism

“The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.”

Mao Zedong, Problems of War and Strategy

“We are the initiators and we should keep this fact deeply in our spirits. This meeting is historic.

Comrades, we will pass into history as the initiators. For some time, the Party has been writing this history on indestructible pages.

We are the initiators. This first Party Military School is both a seal and a breach, it concludes and begins. It concludes the time of peace and opens the time of war. Comrades, our tasks with unarmed hands have concluded, and today our armed words begin: Let us uplift the masses and peasants under the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. One period has ended and the preparations for the new one have concluded.

From here, the past deeds are sealed and we open the future. The key of the future is determined by actions, the objective is power. This we shall do, history demands it, the class urges it, the people have foreseen and want it. We must accomplish it and it will be accomplished. We are the initiators.”

Gonzalo, We are the initiators [known as « ILA 80 » – inicio de la lucha armada 1980]

Gonzalo passed away on September 11, 2021 and here we want to briefly say what he meant to us in Belgium and France, and indeed what he still means.

It is not a question of making a formal presentation, of formulating an ideological point in particular, but of going straight to the point and here there is something which is ultimately very simple: Gonzalo, it's the armed struggle for the communism.

The formula is blunt, yet it has quite a historical meaning. What we mean by that is that we either accept the institutions of a capitalist country, or we refuse them... If we refuse them, then we want to make the revolution, we want to set up a new regime. And Gonzalo was the symbol of this affirmation of the revolution, in a particularly difficult international context.

Gonzalo is the symbol of intransigence, perseverance, the affirmation of the red line in the 1980s, as the American and Soviet superpowers go to war for the repartition of the world, that China has become revisionist , that in Western Europe the avant-gardes have a limited dimension.

As the international communist movement collapsed or at least experienced a deep crisis, the People's War in Peru started in 1980 illuminates the world.

Let us underline here the Belgian and French specificities. With the economic successes of capitalism in the 1945-1975 period and the establishment of 24/7 capitalist consumption, the revolutionary hypothesis had taken a terrible blow.

## 4

The mass workers' movement had become revisionist and supported and even participated in the institutions. Such a tendency to capitulation also existed throughout Western Europe, while the broad masses largely moved away from any revolutionary consideration, in favor of a withdrawal into a personal life with a certain comfort, a pronounced taste for the small private property, with an acceptance and satisfaction of what was proposed by capitalism.

The revolutionaries formed in Belgium and France, and elsewhere in all of Western Europe, only small, more or less isolated nuclei, with more or less theoretical, ideological and practical heritage. This gave an experimental dimension to what was set up; it lacked a whole ideological dimension to obtain a certain historical scale.

There were references, but it was drawn in this or that useful considered aspect. A framework was lacking, an ability to orientate oneself at all levels.

In other words, both the Red Brigades and the Red Army Fraction, the Proletarian Left and the Communist Combatant Cells claimed to follow Mao Zedong, but they never succeeded in mastering Maoism as such.

This is all the more true since the People's Republic of China had indeed formed an essential point of reference, notably with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: the defeat of 1976 was all the more a very severe blow.

What is said here for Western Europe is also valid for the rest of the world. Whether in India, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Iran... each time there has been an insurmountable limit, a historical barrier.

This is where Gonzalo makes sense.

Because the People's War in Peru, which obtained great success throughout the 1980s, appeared then as the proof that the revolutionary option had a meaning, that it was possible to assume the line of revolutionary violence. without getting bogged down, without failing, isolating yourself.

The French newspaper "L'Internationale", an offshoot of the fighting communist organization Action Directe, had carried out an in-depth report on the people's war in Peru as early as 1982. In Belgium, the Communist Combatant Cells similarly subsequently highlighted what was happening in Peru.

The People's War in Peru had a worldwide echo, irrigating the revolutionary forces with its offensive exemplary nature.

Because the Communist Party of Peru, while fully grasping Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, has indicated how to achieve progress, which is an ideology whose aspects are systematic.

Gonzalo played a leading ideological role by being the great commentator on Maoism. He formulated the general principles of Maoism, he indicated how to proceed to grasp it.

We would also like here to underline the historical importance of the Peru People's Movement, which the Communist Party of Peru had generated as an organization for work abroad. This allowed the dissemination of many Peruvian documents, rich experiences... in several European countries, including Belgium and France.

Thus, the People's War in Peru led by the Communist Party of Peru was not just a torch in a moment of darkness for communists around the world and particularly in Western Europe.

There is another aspect, inseparable: Gonzalo is also the great commentator of the third stage of our Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology. This is what matters to us and this is what makes the MLM Center in Belgium and the CPF (mlm) in France.

Long live Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Honor to Gonzalo, the great commentator of Maoism!

People's War for Communism!

**Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Center of Belgium**

**Communist Party of France (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)**

# MAOISM AS DEFINED BY GONZALO

In his 1988 interview, Gonzalo presents what is Maoism as follows:

“For us, Marxism is a process of development, and this great process has given us a new, third, and higher stage.

Why do we say that we are in a new, third, and higher stage, Maoism?

We say this because in examining the three component parts of Marxism, it is clearly evident that Chairman Mao Zedong has developed each one of these three parts.

Let's enumerate them: in Marxist philosophy no one can deny his great contribution to the development of dialectics, focusing on the law of contradiction, establishing that it is the only fundamental law.

On political economy, it will suffice to highlight two things.

The first, of immediate and concrete importance for us, is bureaucrat capitalism, and second, the development of the political economy of socialism, since in synthesis we can say that it is Mao who really established and developed the political economy of socialism.

With regard to scientific socialism, it is enough to point to people's war, since it is with Chairman Mao Zedong that the international proletariat has attained a fully developed military theory, giving us then the military theory of our class, the proletariat, applicable everywhere. We believe that these three questions demonstrate a development of universal character.”

When Gonzalo speaks of the “the three component parts of Marxism”, Gonzalo is referring to Lenin and his 1913 work entitled “The Three Sources and the Three Constituent Parts of Marxism”.

There is the same philosophical, economic and political division.

## The philosophy

For the philosophical part, Gonzalo says that Mao Zedong made the law of contradiction as the only law. This was apparently already the case in Marxism and Marxism-Leninism.

But Gonzalo is referring not to dialectical materialism in general, but to dialectical materialism in particular, that is, to the definition of dialectic itself. This is a reference to the following statement by Mao Zedong:

“Engels talked about the three categories, but as for me I don't believe in two of those categories. (The unity of opposites is the most basic law, the transformation of quality and quantity into one another is the unity of the opposites quality and quantity, and the negation of the negation does not exist at all.)

The juxtaposition, on the same level, of the transformation of quality and quantity into one another, the negation of the negation, and the law of the unity of opposites is ‘triplism’, not monism.

The most basic thing is the unity of opposites. The transformation of quality and quantity into one another is the unity of the opposites quality and quantity.

There is no such thing as the negation of the negation. Affirmation, negation, affirmation, negation . . . in the development of things, every link in the chain of events is both affirmation and negation.”

## Economy

Gonzalo says in the interview that Mao Zedong is the one who basically “established and developed the political economy of socialism”.

It is in the 1988 document of the Communist Party of Peru, On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, that we find this expounded.

Gonzalo, who is the author, says the following: Mao Zedong understood the dialectical relationship between the base and the superstructure, he understood the importance of politics as command post at this level, against the mechanistic conception of the growth of “productive forces” as naturally leading to socialism.

Mao Zedong grasped the importance of consciousness in mobilizing the masses to radically change reality, the Great Leap Forward paving the way for a more general understanding of the importance of worldview. This produces the grasp of the need for the cultural revolution to revolutionize mentalities, the vision of the world; several cultural revolutions will also be necessary to go to communism.

More specifically for the non-capitalist imperialist countries, Mao Zedong also understood the importance of the question of feudalism, more exactly of a neo-feudalism inscribed within the framework of imperialist relations, producing a semi-feudal semi-colonial situation , with bureaucratic capitalism.

## Politics

This aspect can be summed up as People's War, since Mao Zedong understood the importance of political leadership and mass mobilization, which implies a state that allows both the adequate worldview and a liberated expression of the masses. This state is born and established in the war of the people itself.

It is an anticipation of socialism itself, hence the Communist Party of Peru's slogan “People's War until Communism”. It also points the way for the revolution on the organizational level, with the Party building an army as the backbone of a new state ramifying out through a Front.

We read in the document of the Communist Party of Peru entitled “The construction line of the three instruments of the revolution”, dating from 1988:

“With Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, the class understands the need to build the three instruments of the revolution: Party, Army and United Front in an interrelated way.”

These are the main lines of Maoism defined by Gonzalo. ■



# Timeline

## Gonzalo and the Communist Party of Peru

*This timeline does not claim to be exhaustive, it presents the background trends.*

**December 3, 1934:** birth of Gonzalo in Mollendo (Province of Islay, Arequipa Region)

**1949:** Gonzalo adheres to the Communist Party of Peru

**1953:** Start of Gonzalo's Law and Philosophy Studies at the Universidad Nacional de San Agustín of Arequipa, with the writing of two theses, the Bourgeois democratic state and About Kant's theory of space

**1962:** Appointment of Gonzalo as a professor of philosophy at the Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga of Ayacucho; his appointment is made by Efraín Morote Best, a Marxist Professor Expert of Peruvian Folklore, whose son will be one of the PCP executives, Osmán Morote Barrionuevo

**1963:** Gonzalo is at the initiative of the formation of a red fraction in the Communist Party of Peru, *Bandera Roja* (red flag)

**February 1964:** marriage of Gonzalo and Augusta the Torre "Norah", one of the main leaders of the PCP afterwards

**1965:** first visit of Gonzalo in people's China

**1966:** the Red Bandera Roja fraction takes control of the university council in Ayacucho; second visit of Gonzalo in China at the beginning of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

**October 3, 1968:** coup of General Juan Velasco Alvarado who becomes President of the Revolutionary Government

**1969:** Gonzalo becomes the academic responsible of the Department of Humanities of his university in Ayacucho; brief arrest of the red fraction at the initiative of the government; Gonzalo at the head of the Regional Committee "José Carlos



Mariátegui” of Ayacucho of the red fraction which becomes autonomous and goes in the direction of refounding the Communist Party of Peru

**May 1970:** essential text of the reconstituted Communist Party of Peru entitled “Latin America: People's War, Great Victories, Brilliant Perspectives” which rejects Guevarism and affirms “the Universal Laws of People's War”

**1971:** establishment by Gonzalo of the Centro de Trabajo Intelectual Mariátegui which studies the classics of communism

**1973:** Beginning of the establishment of activist structures as generated organisms (Movimiento Clasta Barrel - Class Movement of the Slums, Movimiento de Obreros y Trabajadores Classistas - Movement of Workers and Class Workers, Movimiento of Campesinos Pobres - Movement of Poor Peasants, Movimiento Femenino Popular - Popular Female Movement, Centro de Autoeducación Obrera – Worker Self-education Center, Movimiento Intelectual Popular - Popular Intellectual Movement, Movimiento Magisterial – School’s Teachers Movement Movement, Movimiento de Artistas Populares - Movement of Popular Artists, Movimiento Juvenil - Movement of Youth, Socorro Popular - Popular Rescue, to which is to add the Revolutionary Front of the Students, the Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Association of Democratic Students, the Family Committee of Political Prisoners of War, etc.)

**August 29, 1975:** coup of General Francisco Morales Bermúdez

**November 1975:** Expulsion for leftist liquidationism of the “Bolshevik Faction” of Lima from the reconstituted Communist Party of Peru by Gonzalo

**September 10, 1976:** sending of a message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru to the Central Committee of the China Communist Party following the death of Mao Zedong

**March 1977:** the Communist Party of Peru reconstituted by Gonzalo organizes a meeting of the generated organisms to address the question of starting the armed struggle

**May-July 1979:** Gonzalo is presented as head of the party and the revolution at the 9th enlarged session of the enlarged central committee of the reconstituted Communist Party of Peru

**April 19, 1980:** first generation formed by the Military School of the Communist Party of Peru which began on April 2nd and publication of ILA-80 (Inicio de la Lucha Armada - 1980)

**May 17, 1980:** the Communist Party of Peru intervenes militarily in the village of Chuschi during the presidential elections and destroys the



voting center with its equipment; the approximate number of actions for the rest of the year is 178 (including the destruction of five high voltage pylons), causing 7 deaths

**24 August 1980:** publication of the document “Towards the Guerrilla War” tracing the results of the successful trigger of the armed struggle and announcing “the irresistible march towards the guerrilla war”

**13 June 1980:** fire in San Martín de Porres in the region of Lima to greet the beginning of the armed struggle

**15 June 1980:** the tomb of General Juan Velasco Alvarado is dynamited

**July 19, 1980:** recovery of 1520 Dynamite Cartridges at the Benito Melgarejo Mine

**July 28, 1980:** Fernando Belaunde becomes President of Peru

**December 26, 1980:** on the anniversary day of the birth of Mao Zedong, stray dogs are found hanging on lamps in the streets of the center of Lima, with cards indicating “Deng Xiao Ping, son of a bitch”

**1981:** the approximate number of actions is 685, causing 13 deaths

**January 5, 1981:** first execution of a police officer, who watched the House of the Minister of War

**January 7, 1981:** destruction with explosive of the new police building in Puno, built thanks to the financing of a famous narcotrafficker

**March 10, 1981:** Establishment of the anti-terrorist Law

**May 1981:** Civil Guards and Republican Guards sent to Ayacucho

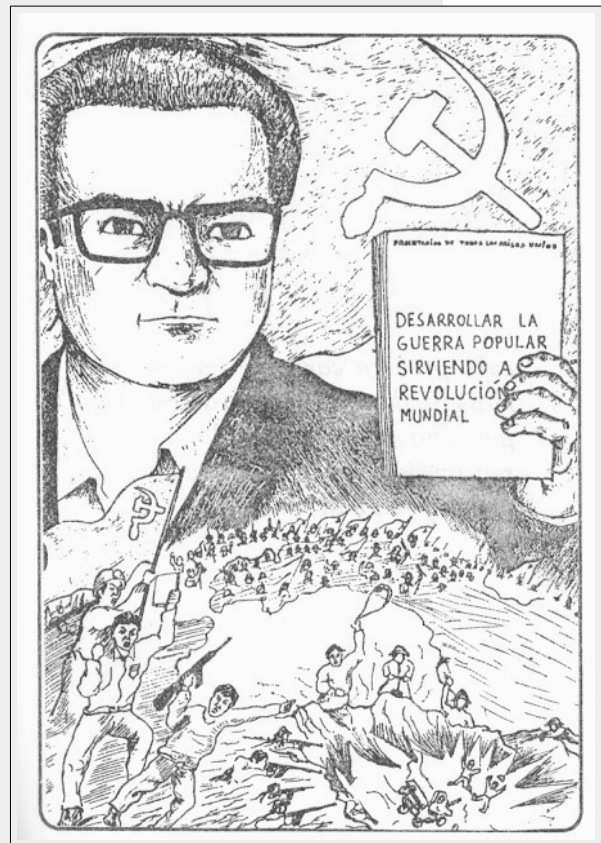
**June 15, 1981:** Luis Roy Freyre, lawyer co-author of the Anti-Terrorism law, has his house dynamited

**August 1981:** occupation of radio La Crónica in Lima and on line calls to the armed struggle

**31 August 1981:** attack with dynamite against the American embassy in Lima

**September 28, 1981:** destruction of all accounting and administrative documentation of the Council of the Province of Arequipa

**October 11, 1981:** attack of the Tambo Police Station in the Province of La Mar



**October 12, 1981:** the state of emergency is proclaimed in the provinces of Cangello, La Mar, Huanta and Victor Fajardo

**December 29, 1981:** the state of emergency is proclaimed in several regions; beginning of systematized torture, rapes and massacres by the army

**1982:** the approximate number of actions is 969, causing 244 deaths; the Communist Party of Peru adopts Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as ideology to replace Marxism-Leninism thought Mao Zedong; it controls territories in the regions of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac February

**1982:** death penalty debate about the anti-terrorist law, President Fernando Belaunde pronounced itself for it

**March 1982:** an armed column of 300 activists attacks the maximum security prison of Ayacucho and release 247 people, including Edith Lagos

**August 1982:** the national emergency is proclaimed

**22 August 1982:** five-hours military confrontation with the civil guard of Vilcashuamán

**September 3, 1982:** death at 19 years of Edith Lagos, a leader of the Communist Party of Peru, during clashes with the police; 30,000 people are present at her funeral



**December 3, 1982:** the Communist Party of Peru sets up the *Ejército Guerrillero Popular* - Guerilla People's Army

**December 29, 1982:** the department of Ayacucho passes under military control

**1983:** the approximate number of actions is 1865, causing 2850 deaths; Peru's GDP dropped by 8.3% in two years

**January 1983:** the Communist Party of Peru adopts as ideology Marxism-Leninism-Maoism guiding thought

**January 21, 1983:** the Marine Infantry takes control of the city of Huanta and sets up *Comités de Defensa Civil* as support; the principle of *Rondas Campesinos*, that is to say, peasant militias at the service of the state, will become generalized

**January 26, 1983:** massacre by the police of eight journalists in Uchuraccay

**March 1983:** meeting of the enlarged Central Committee deciding on the “Great Plan of Conquest of the Bases”, that is, the foundation of support bases as territory of the People's Republic of New Democracy relying on popular committees and

commissions (one third of Communists, one-third of peasants, one-third of progressives) as base of the new state

**April 3, 1983:** liquidation with machete or pistol of 69 peasants (men, women, children) of the village of Lucanamarca whose peasant patrol had taken away and murdered the cadre of the Communist Party of Peru Olegario Curitomay

**19 June 1983:** nine explosive attacks almost simultaneous in Lima

**July 25, 1983:** attack with machine gun and dynamite of the building of the *Policía of Investigaciones del Perú* of the better-off district of Miraflores in Lima

**July 28, 1983:** the Peruvian President Fernando Belaunde asks the Congress for the restoration of the death penalty

**November 13, 1983:** police massacre of 32 peasants during a wedding in the Soco District

**1984:** The approximate number of actions is 1,888, causing 4,081 deaths

**May 1984:** the army sets up 50 anti-guerrilla bases composed of one hundred soldiers each

**May 4, 1984: foundation** of the revolutionary movement Túpac Amaru of Sandinist - Guevarist orientation, which launches the guerrilla

**July 1984:** the army arrests Laura Zambrano Padilla, leader of the Regional Committee of the Lima Metropole

**July 16, 1984:** extensive liquidation of spies and local authorities, making 117 killed

**August 23, 1984:** discovery in Pacayacu of a shared pit with 49 corpses of persons detained by the army in the base of the Marine Infantry in Huanta

**December 1984:** massacre by the army of 123 peasants in Putis

**1985:** the approximate number of actions is 1,497 (with destruction of 107 high voltage pylons), causing 1,423 deaths; 10% of the Peruvian army as part of the anti-guerrilla activities; 6 of the 20 million Peruvians live in Lima, including 2 million in slums; 11% of GDP is used for reimbursement of the debt

**April 24, 1985:** armed action against the National Elections Manager, Domingo García Rada



**June 1, 1985:** the Communist Party of Peru cuts the electricity in Lima and trapped cars explode near the presidential palace (at the time of the reception of the Argentine President) and the Ministry of Justice

**July 25, 1985:** attack with a car bomb against the Ministry of the Interior by the revolutionary movement Túpac Amaru

**July 28, 1985:** election to the Presidency of Alan Garcia of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA)

**August 14, 1985:** army massacre of 63 peasants in Accomarca

**August 27, 1985:** army massacre of 59 people in Umaro and Bellavista

**24 October 1985:** execution of the director of El Fronton Prison Miguel Castro Castro

**December 1985:** Attack with dynamite in Lima in particular of the house of the founder of the APRA, ten banks, a shopping center, eight electric pylons, a legal office

**1986:** the approximate number of actions is 2,098, causing 1,534 deaths

**February 5, 1986:** execution of the Commander and member of the Secret Services Rubén Izquierdo

**4 May 1986:** execution of the counter-admiral Carlos Ponce Casha, Member of the Staff of the Navy

**June 1986:** revolt of the prisoners of the Communist Party of Peru in the prisons of Lurigancho, Santa Barbara and El Fronton; the army intervenes, killing 240 prisoners including all those of Lurigancho, 130 being murdered after their arrest

**July 27, 1986:** large series of explosive attacks in Lima (Hotel Sheraton, Hotel Crillon Hotel Bolívar, Banco Continental, Banco Wiese, Banco Mercantil del Callao, the house of the police investigations for the city, etc.)

**August 6, 1986:** execution in Aucayacu of six people accused of being anti-social elements, including prostitutes

**September 17, 1986:** massacre of 13 people by the army in Ayaorcco



**October 14, 1986:** execution of Vice Admiral Gerónimo Cafferata Marazzi, formerly Commander General of the Marine and President of the Banco Industrial

**1987:** the approximate number of actions is 2181, causing 1208 deaths

**February 13, 1987:** large police operation in Lima with many arrests of students at the *Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos*, the *Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería* and the *Universidad Nacional Enrique Guzmán y Valle “La Cantuta”*

**March 20, 1987:** strengthening the anti-terrorist law

**May 1987:** liberation for 24 hours from the city of Santa Lucia

**4 May 1987:** destruction of electrical installations, nine departments are deprived of electricity

**September 4, 1987:** action against members of the army in a restaurant, nine people are killed

**1988:** the approximate number of actions is 2,189, causing 1,447 deaths

**February-March 1988:** first session of the first congress of the Communist Party of Peru, in Lima

**February 10, 1988:** attack with explosive of nine government buildings and businesses in Huancayo

**March 1988:** inflation exceeds 1000%

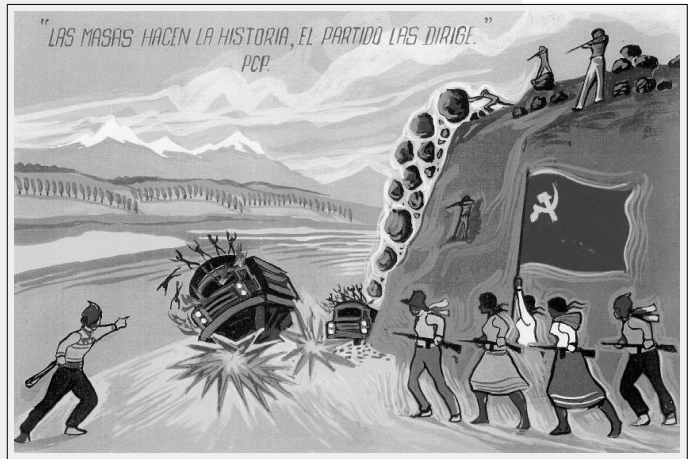
**May 1st, 1988:** pro-Communist Party of Peru march in the center of Lima, culminating in attacks on banks

**May 14, 1988:** army massacre of 39 peasants in Cayara

**June 11, 1988:** the army arrests Osmán Morote Barrionuevo, an important leader of the Communist Party of Peru

**July-August 1988:** second session of the first congress of the Communist Party of Peru

**December 6, 1988:** execution of Captain Juan Vega Llona, head of Emergency



State in Ayacucho in 1984 and responsible for the repression-massacre in El Fronton Prison in 1986

**December 7, 1988:** strengthening the anti-terrorist law

**1989:** the approximate number of actions is 3240, causing 2466 deaths

**February 13, 1989:** assassination by the paramilitaries of Saúl Cantoral, President of the *Federación Nacional de Trabajadores Mineros, Metalúrgicos y Siderúrgicos*

**March 27, 1989:** hundred guerrilla members occupies a police station in San Martín

**June 1989:** third session of the first congress of the Communist Party of Peru which adopts Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Gonzalo Thought as ideology

**June 1989:** arrest of 300 students and 30 professors from the Universidad Nacional del Centro de Huancayo

**October 21, 1989:** a 70-year-old man who played the role of informant for the police is hanged in Lima

**November 1, 1989:** armed clashes between guerrillas and police at Manco Cápac square in Lima

**1990:** the approximate number of actions is 3,672, causing 3,466 deaths; the Guerilla People's Army relies on 25,000 members and controls one-third of Peru municipalities

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**January 9, 1990:** execution of the former Minister of Defense Enrique López Albújar

**February 27:** arrest by the police and “disappearance” of Ángel Escobar Jurado, leader of the Federación de Comunidades Campesinas et and Vice President of the Comisión de Derechos Humanos in Huancavelica

**March 1990:** establishment of a Grupo Especial de Inteligencia aiming at the capture of the leaders of the Communist Party of Peru

**April 1990:** many massacres by paramilitaries in Chumbivilcas and San Pedro de Cachi

**July 28, 1990:** Alberto Fujimori becomes President of Peru and declares the state of emergency, totally suspending individual rights in the capital Lima and Callao, Arequipa, Cusco, Puno, Piura, Trujillo, Chiclayo, Maynas, Huaraz, Santa

**September 22, 1990:** execution of the former Minister of Labor Rodríguez

**December 23, 1990:** the Decreto Supremo 171-90-PCM place under military jurisdiction all the actions of repression in the areas marked by the state of emergency

**February 1991:** resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru announcing the initiative of “building the conquest of power at the heart of the People's War”, being considered that the strategic balance is achieved; the strategic offensive underpins an intervention of American imperialism becoming even direct

**May 1991:** execution by the Communist Party of Peru of Irene McCormack, an Australian Nurse acting as a missionary in Huasahuasi

**July 1991:** The Communist Party of Peru claims 1600 actions for the last two months

**July 1991:** execution of three Japanese charities and a Japanese-Peruvian contractor

**August 1991:** execution of two Polish Franciscan priests and an Italian priest acting as missionaries in the city of Chimbote

**December 31, 1991:** discovery of a video presenting the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru with Gonzalo, following a session, dancing on the music of Zorba the Greek, allowing for the first time for the repression of identifying him (they only disposed of a 1982 picture)



**January 29, 1992:** massacre of 6 people in Pativilca by the Colina paramilitary group, responsible for many such actions, just like other groups such as the Comando Rodrigo Franco

**February 15, 1992:** execution of María Elena Moyano, an anti-communist community leader in the slum of Villa El Salvador (25,000 inhabitants in 1971, 350,000 in 2008) who organized an anti-violence march on the day of an armed strike against inflation in the whole city of Lima; 300,000 people attend her burial

**April 5, 1992:** coup made by Alberto Fujimori, the president in place, in the name of the fight against the “shining path”

**May 6, 1992:** expanding of the anti-terrorism law (until the accusation of “provoking anxiety”)

**May 12, 1992:** establishment of a law favorable to repentance

**July 4, 1991:** Army massacre 15 people in Santa Barbara

**November 1991:** 79 decrees are introduced, the majority of them of anti-terrorist nature

**July 16, 1992:** double car bomb attack, without the knowing of Gonzalo, against the central bank of Peru in the better-off district of Miraflores in Lima, making thirteen dead while there are damage on 183 houses, 400 shops and 63 parking cars

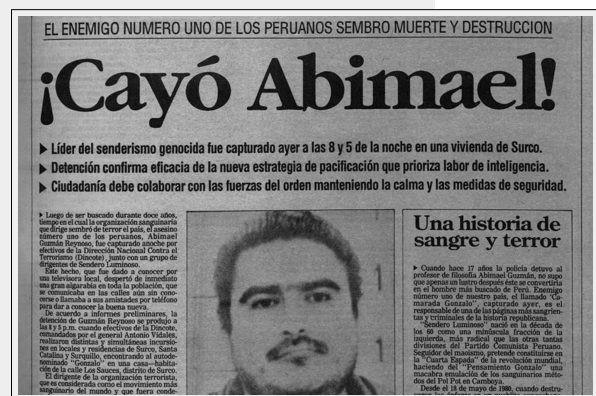
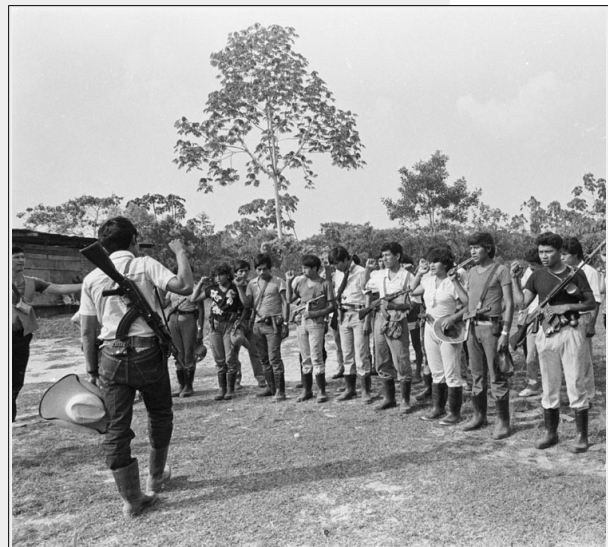
**September 12, 1992:** arrest of Gonzalo in Lima by DINCOTE (Dirección Nacional Contra el Terrorismo)

**September 24, 1992:** Gonzalo is presented to the press in convict attire and locked in a cage; he holds an offensive speech asserting that it is only a “bend in the road” and that the people's war will inexorably win

**November 5, 1992:** execution of Colonel Manuel Ortega Tumba, head of the administrative department of the secret services

**December 18, 1992:** assassination by the paramilitaries of Pedro Huilca, secretary general of the *Central General of Trabajadores del Perú*

**1993:** Lima is home to a third of Peruvians with 6.5 million inhabitants (compared to 3.3 million in 1972, 1.8 million in 1961, 600,000 in 1941)



**October 1, 1993:** Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori announces to the United Nations assembly that Gonzalo has proposed “peace accords” in a short letter

**April 9, 1995:** re-election of Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori

**December 17, 1996:** taking of 500 people hostage by the Revolutionary Movement Túpac Amaru during a ceremony at the Japanese Embassy; the army stormed the embassy on the 22nd april, 1997

**January 1, 1998:** execution of Constantin Gregory, an American working for the United States Agency for International Development

**May 1999:** arrest of the leader of the Communist Party of Peru following Gonzalo, Óscar Ramírez Durand “Feliciano”, who subsequently becomes a renegade

**September 16, 2000:** Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori announces the dissolution of the secret services considered to have degenerated into arms trafficking

**October 29, 2000:** uprising of military officials

**November 19, 2000:** Alberto Fujimori fled to Japan

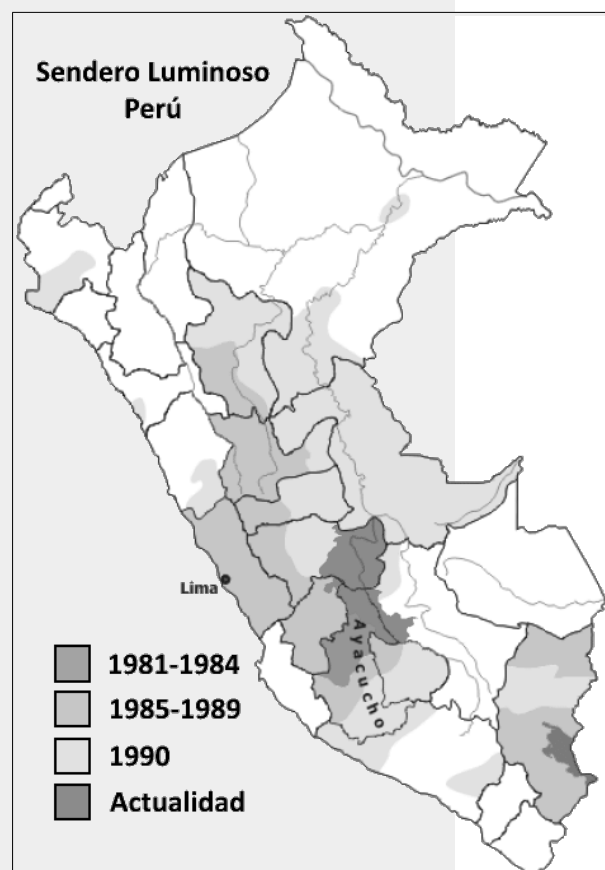
**July 28, 2001:** Alejandro Toledo becomes President of Peru

**March 21, 2002:** a car bomb explodes in front of the US embassy during the visit of US President George W. Bush, killing 16 people

**January 3, 2003:** condemnation of the PCP leaders by the army considered unconstitutional

**August 29, 2003:** the Truth and Reconciliation Commission speaks of 69,000 deaths between 1980 and 2000 and attributes the majority to the “Shining Path” (as well as 29,000 missing, 673,000 injured, 200,000 indirectly killed, 1.9 million affected , 3.4 million displaced, 500,000 migrants abroad)

**November 2004:** second trial, Gonzalo just has time to launch slogans (“Long live the Communist Party of Peru! Glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism! Long live the armed



struggle! Long live the heroes of the People's War!") before the microphones are cut and the press immediately excluded

**September 26, 2005:** Gonzalo's third trial, with no access to the press

**October 13, 2006:** Gonzalo is sentenced to life imprisonment, other executives to between 25 and 35 years

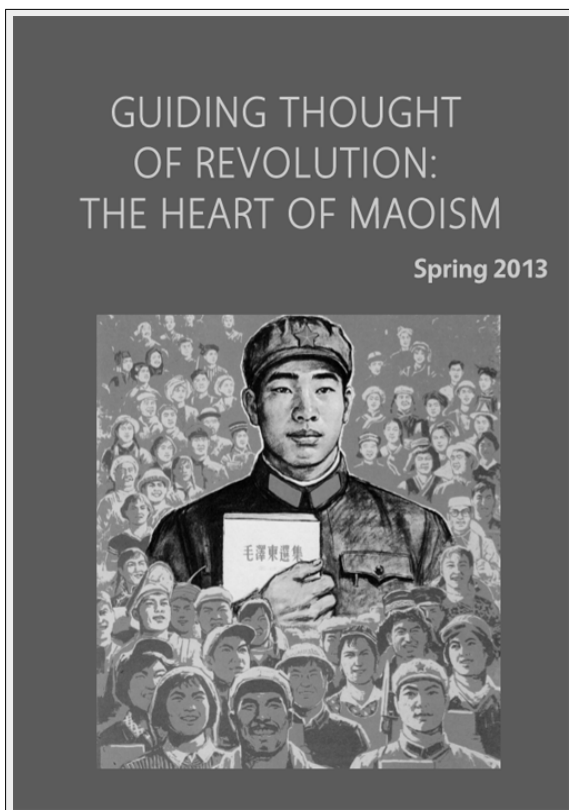
**October 10, 2008:** an army convoy is attacked in Huancavelica, resulting in 19 deaths

**November 20, 2009:** foundation of the Movimiento por la Amnistía y los Derechos Fundamentales (Movadef), which asserts itself as legitimate to speak on behalf of Gonzalo, calls for a general amnesty and a constituent assembly and immediately obtains a lasting national echo

**2010:** officially, marriage of Gonzalo with the PCP prisoner Elena Albertina Iparraguirre Revoredo known as Miriam

**December 12, 2012:** Arrest of Florindo Eleuterio Flores "Artemio", an early figure of the movement now at the head of an armed faction pro-peace agreements since 1993

**September 11, 2021:** death of Gonzalo the day before the 29th year of his detention



**The document to understand the concept of "guiding thought" through questions and answers on individuals which have played a great role in their own country, precisely in formulating a "thought":**

**Akram Yari  
Ibrahim Kaypakka  
Gonzalo  
Alfred Klahr  
Siraj Sikder**

**20**

# Gonzalo thought is no more

Gonzalo died at the age of 86 on September 11, the day before the sad 29th anniversary of his arrest. What he embodied is no longer: the Gonzalo thought. It is the end of an entire era for the Communists in Peru, who must once again produce a great leader to guide them.

It is true that, for 29 years, Gonzalo had been in prison and was no longer able to give concrete indications, due to his prison isolation.

And we know how much the world has changed since 1992, whether through the development of China within the framework of the world capitalist market, cell phones, personal computers, the internet...

This has its impact on Peru, of course, even if what matters most is that since 1992 the Communist Party of Peru has experienced heartbreaking splits, that there are powerful post-Maoist movements like MOVAREF, claiming to be in its continuity, etc.

If historically the arrest of Gonzalo was indeed a "bend in the road" for the revolution, this bend will have been much longer than initially expected and, moreover, we do not see the outcome yet.

This concerns the Communists in Peru, however. It is their task, after José Carlos Mariategui and Gonzalo, to produce again a great leader capable of synthesizing historical development and guiding the Communists, to achieve revolution, socialism, go to Communism.

Naturally, in synthesizing Maoism, however, Gonzalo did not only play a role in Peru, his impact was global. In this he has been a great contributor to Communist ideology. He played an important functional role.

We can mention other comrades who played such a role: Clara Zetkine, who instigated feminism in a correct way, Georgi Dimitrov, who conceptualized the principle of the Popular Front, paving the way for Popular Democracy. We can also think of Charu Mazumdar in India, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya in Turkey, Akram Yari in Afghanistan, Alfred Klahr in Austria, Siraj Sikar in Bangladesh...



All these great leaders, by advancing the communist movement of their country in particular, have contributed to the general conception of the Communists. All of their contributions hinge on the ideology shaped by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong.

Why, however, make a separation between the five classics and the others, one might ask. Isn't there an ideology in general, with theorists in particular? It is that all depends of a sequence and a level of development.

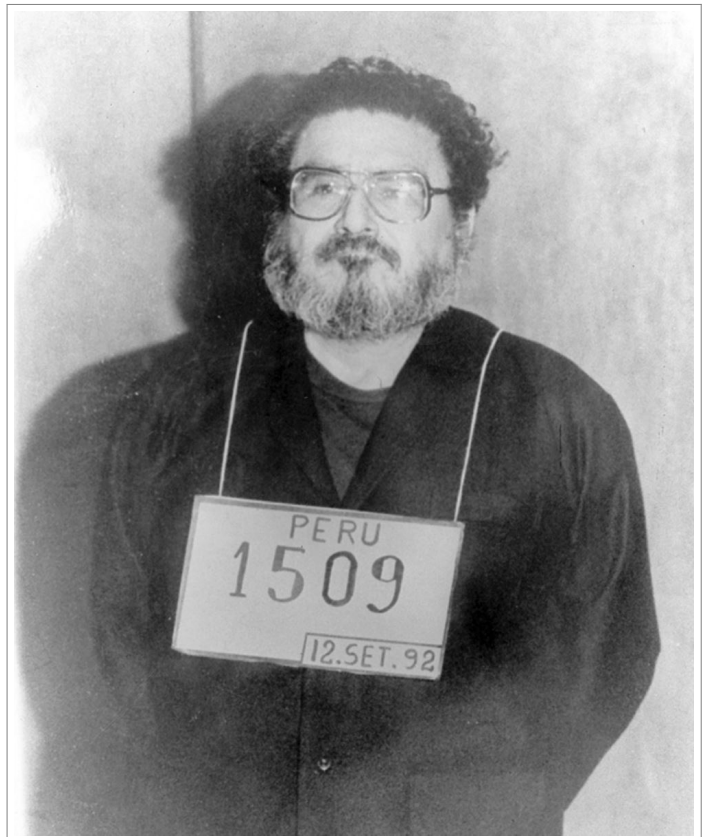
Let us take a negative example, because "all determination is negation" as Spinoza pointed out, a quote much appreciated by Karl Marx.

Why is Gonzalo not a classic? He is not, for two reasons, forming two dialectically related opposites. The first is that he raised a flag, that of Maoism.

He claimed that Mao Zedong brought in elements forming a third moment in communist ideology, after Marxism and Leninism.

However, through the inevitable uneven development, Gonzalo emphasized Maoism at the expense of Marxism and Leninism. The themes tackled by Gonzalo are those brought by Mao Zedong and Gonzalo knows them scrupulously.

His historical journey - the years 1960-1970 - however cut him both from the labor movement of the time of Lenin and Stalin and that of the time of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.



Gonzalo does not know enough about the course of the workers' movement in Europe before the 1950s to synthesize it, he does not systematically address the themes of Marxism and Leninism. There will be no reference to Marx's Capital nor to socialist realism in the arts, nor to popular democracy, for example.

This results in convergences, but without realizing that it was already established. Gonzalo says, for example, that we need a concentric construction (the Party forms the army which establishes the front). It was already the line of the Popular Fronts after 1945 in the countries of Eastern Europe, as well as in Greece during the civil war after 1945.

One cannot criticize Gonzalo for that: it was not his mission to systematize Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and even this systematization is only a broad commentary

in itself. However, one must be aware that Gonzalo speaks very well of Maoism, but that his Marxism-Leninism-Maoism leans towards Maoism.

A discussion between the MPP and what was to become the CPF (mlm) is exemplary here. The MPP, Peru People's Movement, an organization generated by the Communist Party of Peru for work abroad, said the following. To understand Marxism, one must start from Maoism, because Maoism is the more developed Marxism.

On the side of the CPF (mlm), the approach was instead to consider that one had to understand Marxism in order to be able to arrive to Maoism. Dialectically, both are true.

And one can speak of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism mainly Maoism, because Maoism carries Marxism and Leninism. Beyond ideological considerations, however, it says a lot about the state of mind of the Peruvian Communists.

It is evident that leaning in this way towards Maoism produced the same damage as among the French Proletarian Left, the TKP (ML) in Turkey, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), which after a short period breakthrough, have become bogged down and terribly divided. These last two examples provide two different answers and both false.

In Turkey, there is systematically a split in the Maoist movements after a few years; in India, there has been unification at the expense of any deep ideological debate.

The strength of the Communist Party of Peru is to have retained the Maoist charge while prolonging the fire.

The challenge presented by the arrest of Gonzalo, on the other hand, showed that it lacked Marxist "European" heaviness and "Russian" stubbornness in the forms of Party organization.



But all this concerns, once again, the Communists of Peru. What matters is that Gonzalo said Maoism is the third step after Marxism and Leninism, and provided the elements.

From a global perspective, this is the main thing.

And if there is no more Gonzalo thought in Peru, Gonzalo's contributions remain so for the communists of the world. ■

# GONZALO: FROM THE GUIDING THOUGHT TO THE THOUGHT THROUGH JEFATURA

In its 1988 document On Gonzalo Thought, the Communist Party of Peru presents the emergence of guiding thought and its meaning. Here is the beginning of the document:

“Every revolution, in the course of its development, due to the struggle of the proletariat as the leading class and, above all, of the Communist Party which unwaveringly upholds the proletariat's class interests, brings forth a group of leaders and principally one who comes to represent and lead it, a leader of recognized authority and influence. In our situation, because of historical necessity and for historical reasons, this has meant concretely Chairman Gonzalo, leader of the Party and of the revolution.

But, further, and this is the basis of all leadership, revolutions bring forth a thought that guides them, a product 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 achieve victory and seize power, and further, to continue the revolution and always advance towards the only truly great goal, communism.

This guiding thought, having made a qualitative leap of crucial importance for the revolutionary process, becomes identified with the name of the person who forged it in theory and in practice.

In our situation this phenomenon took specific form first as guiding thought, then as the guiding thought of Chairman Gonzalo, and finally as Gonzalo Thought; for it is the Chairman who, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality, has developed it, thus providing the Party and the revolution with an indispensable weapon which is the guarantee of victory.

Gonzalo Thought has been forged through many years of intense, tenacious and unceasing struggle to hold high, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to retake and develop Mariategui's path, to reconstitute the Party and, most important, while serving the world revolution, to initiate, continue and develop the people's war in Peru whose sole commander and guide in theory and practice is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism.”

It says further:



“This Guiding Thought, having made a qualitative leap of crucial importance for the Party and the revolution, has become Gonzalo Thought, thus marking a milestone in the life of the Party.”

We have here a perspective that leaves two possible scenarios.

When you take the first excerpt, there seems to be a three-part journey. We have, let's say a person X, whose ideological-theoretical / concrete-practical expression passes through the stages of guiding thought, of guiding thought of X, then of X Thought.

However, the second excerpt does not intersperse the second moment, since we go from guiding thought to X thought.

How should we look at it? There are two possible interpretations here. One is correct, dialectical materialist, the second is mechanical-formal.

## **The mechanical-formal interpretation**

What does the mechanical-formal analysis consist of?

It takes without dialectical intelligence the movement in three parts of the first extract and it says: here is the progression. It focuses on the fact that, in the first excerpt, it is spoken for the second stage not only of the guiding thought of X, but in fact of the guiding thought of President X.

Why President? Because there are liberated territories and the leader of the Party has become, in concrete terms, also the leader of these, thereby having to assume the concrete orientation of Power, of its revolutionary application.

Consequently, this means that the front stage is that of guiding thought where there is not yet any liberated territory, nor even possibly a people's war; in the strict sense itself, the people's war being based on the principle of the liberation of territories to form bases, it is an inevitable consequence of the use here of the concept of President in the document of the Communist Party of Peru.

Then, we have the last step marked by the direct use of the name of the person next to the term “thought”.

This means here that, previously, the guiding thought concerned theoretical points and concrete points, but without yet reaching the quality allowing to bring a general direction in the long term, for all the revolutionary period.

What is the reason, in this mechanical-formal interpretation, allowing the qualitative leap to the final stage of thought?

What in the guiding thought allowed the “qualitative leap of decisive importance for the Party and the revolution”?

This is People's War, that is, the second moment (or more exactly what it is supposed to be).

The mechanical-formal interpretation is falsely dialectical. We have :

1. guiding thought [= thesis]
2. guiding thought of the President (of a territory, therefore resulting from the success of the People's War [anti-thesis])
3. X thought [synthesis]

Why is this interpretation pseudo-dialectical? Because it places a formal dialectical reading on reality, without recognizing its dignity, and interprets it, moreover, mechanically.

## **The question of the incarnation**

In fact, the first excerpt only exposes the Gonzalo Thought's assertion in Peru, the document recounting all its political-ideological battles.

Nowhere was it marked that there would necessarily be three stages and, by the way, the second excerpt does not mention it.

The mechanical-formal interpretation ignores, in fact, the principle of jefatura, an absolutely key concept for the Communist Party of Peru.

We can translate jefatura in a summary (or in a caricatured) way by "chieftainship", in a more subtle way by "command" or direction.

However, this is not leadership in general: the Spanish term jefatura implies leadership embodied.

Leadership is not a "principle" that you could adapt to your requirements (for example with "collegiality" or anything like that). It is worn by a person.

Why that? The dignity of the real is at stake. Due to the contradiction between the universal and the particular, it is a particular who finds the universal in a particular, in order to find the universal.

Concretely, a person (the particular) finds again the universal (communism) in the particular (a given country) and thereby rediscovers the universal (Marxism-Leninism-Maoism).

This is how Gonzalo understood that Maoism was the third stage of Marxism. By defining a guiding thought in the concrete conditions of Peru, that is, by adopting a position of communist grasping the communist movement of matter in Peru, Gonzalo was able through his activity to obtain a general point of view.

Hence the better understanding of Marxism and the grasp of the universality of Mao Zedong's contributions.

## **The disembodied character of the mechanical-formal interpretation**

The mechanical-formal interpretation captures none of this. It rejects the principle of incarnation or more exactly, it reverses it. Instead of having Marxism-Leninism-Maoism embodied by Gonzalo, we have Gonzalo embodied by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The mechanical-formal interpretation poses the following: Gonzalo has arrived, he has posed a guiding thought, that is, a correct analysis of the situation.

He became President through the People's War. It is through People's War that we come to Gonzalo Thought. So, it is not the thought that makes the people's war, but the people's war the thought.

As obviously this does not make sense, because there is a guiding thought at the beginning of the process... the mechanical-formal interpretation concludes that there is only one thought, that of Gonzalo, which was at the same time guiding thought already the start of the process.

This is a militaristic reading, first of all, and this is the main aspect, because it is the practical aspect. The mechanical-formal interpretation necessarily results in the liquidation of historical

materialism in order to seek only to push forward violence, understood in a literally revolutionary syndicalist way. We come back to Georges Sorel's theses on "violence".

Here, the myth of the "general strike" is replaced by that of the "people's war". Its inevitable consequence is also - it is the secondary aspect, because it is the theoretical aspect - the refutation of the universal validity of the principle of guiding thought, however affirmed by the Communist Party of Peru.

One would have an individualized course of Gonzalo by the people's war - and Gonzalo then becomes as such a classic of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism... in a totally disembodied way.

To "find" again this here disembodied Gonzalo, it would simply be necessary to adopt the principle of people's war and to resume all the principles applied in Peru.

This is a kind of intellectual fetishism preventing the grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as universal and the guiding thought as particular bearing the universal.

### **The dialectical materialist interpretation**

In reality, it is the guiding thought which comes to the people's war, because it is the theoretical-ideological synthesis allowing the determination - it can only be carried by an individual assuming it concretely, as an individual (it is that is, as a simple person) confronting the universal (that is to say, society), as a communist (and therefore universal) confronting the particular (the given country).

There is no abstract Gonzalo thought, outside of history, providing technical recipes for a militarist-idealist perspective.

There is Gonzalo thought as a concrete application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the concrete conditions of Peru, a particular one thus rising to the universal and having the honor of being the first historically to have grasped Maoism as the third stage of Marxism, after Leninism.

The guiding thought reflects a historical process, which itself carries and thus already contains at its core the People's War - the contradiction is internal and it is in the sense that this description provided by the Communist Party of Peru should be understood:

"This Guiding Thought, having made a qualitative leap of crucial importance for the Party and the revolution, has become Gonzalo Thought, thus marking a milestone in the life of the Party."

There is no intervention "outside" of the thought, no "phenomenon" playing the role of "motor" setting thought in motion towards a new stage.

Thought is the product of History and produces, dialectically, History. ■



# History of the MPP

## – Peru People's Movement

The Peru People's Movement (MPP - Movimiento Popular Perú) is an organization generated by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) for work abroad, in fact mostly in imperialist countries.

It played an essential role in the spread of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The MPP: concrete activists  
with concrete objectives

In fact, it was even through the people of the MPP that both the PCP and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism became known. We must insist on this: there is a concrete dimension, because there are people in the flesh who conveyed a vision of the world, a state of mind, a culture.

There was a central MPP and several MPPs organized in grassroots committees, notably in the United States, France, Switzerland, Sweden; we can relatively add Great Britain and Spain. It was the presence of a Peruvian emigrant community that was decisive in the existence of these local MPPs.

This is very important, because there are people who have only known the PCP and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism intellectually, without going through the MPP. This changes everything, because the chain of concrete transmission is broken.

For example, since the mid-2010s, there has been a real movement in the imperialist countries of people defining themselves as LGBT or more exactly as transsexuals, claiming to be Marxist-Leninist-Maoists Gonzalo Thought and tirelessly publishing remarks on social networks, mainly Twitter. It goes without saying that this is absolutely non-sense in general (and all the more so when one knows



that for the PCP, homosexuality was accepted on a personal level but considered as having to disappear in socialism because of its decadent, anti-dialectical nature).

The MPPs were extremely well organized, functioning as structures obeying very specific standards. Their goal was to make the People's War in Peru as supported as possible.

The first objective was thus to make the PCP known to Peruvians abroad, the second to discuss with revolutionaries in other countries to get them to achieve support.

France has been an example of great success, as the MPP has exerted a notable influence on the Peruvian community in Paris, being able to carry out several major initiatives, such as concerts. The impact of the People's War in Peru was such that there was a real keen interest Peruvians abroad. The peak is in 1992-1993.

### The turning point for the MPP and the splits

Gonzalo's arrest in 1992 and the ensuing ebb of People's War made a big difference to the MPP. Previously, the mass dimension took precedence. Henceforth, ideological questions came to the fore. However, the MPP was to serve as a sounding board only.



With the arrest of Gonzalo and the political issues that arose out of it, the MPP unwittingly found itself embroiled in some very bitter debates.

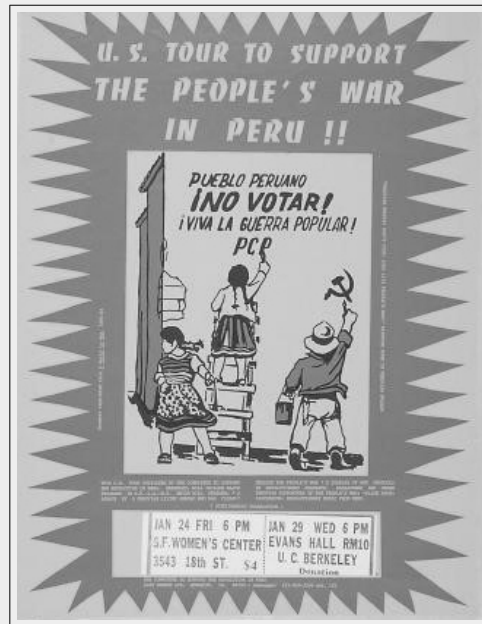
It was by no means ready for this and it made it partly fall back to a very formal style. For example, the MPP only printed its documents with red ink. It could work for a simple press release, but certainly not for the reproduction of 150 pages of documents of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. This is an example of formalism.

In the same vein, during a major conference in Paris at the Forum des images for the centenary of Mao Zedong, with many speakers including a former representative of the Proletarian Left, the MPP made an intervention.

At the end of the conference, several people stood up and chanted pro-Maoist slogans. This could have made sense, but not at all in France where the rational approach prevails for all forms. The

presence of former Moroccan Maoist activist Abraham Serfaty in the group, despite the prestige accorded by it, did not change this.

The consequence was a split within the MPP, local groups taking their autonomy and claiming to be the historical channel of the MPP, as opposed to the usual channel of central leadership. It wasn't the only problem. When in 1993, Alberto Fujimori claimed that Gonzalo was calling for peace, for an end to the People's War, it caused a split in the MPP in the sense of establishing support for the surrender, for the renegades in Peru.



There were thus three camps: the central MPP, the MPP having taken their autonomy, the post-MPP structures holding the end of the people's war and advocating peace agreements (and initially sometimes keeping the name of MPP).

It goes without saying that in the first part of the 1990s, all this entailed great confusion among those who supported the MPP. This is all the more true since there were free elections. In Belgium, Luis Arce Borja published "El Diario Internacional" claiming to be the voice of the PCP, just like Adolfo Olaechea in England.

## MPP and autonomous MPP

Very quickly, if not immediately, pro-peace accord structures move away from pro-People's War MPPs altogether. They are two separate worlds, sometimes with clashes.

Thus, in France, the pro-peace agreements were finally more numerous and a counter-propaganda was set up by the MPP against them in order to counter their initiatives. This was not without difficulty because of the support of the revisionists linked to the Communist Party of France and very strong in the Latin American communities; for example there was a small clash between revisionists on the one hand, MPP and what will give rise to the CPF (mlm) on the other.

However, the real question was one of general direction and this was at the heart of internal debates in the pro-People's War MPPs.

Beyond all consideration, the split within the MPP between a historical channel and a regular channel was mainly based on a different approach.

For the leadership of the MPP, as a generated body, it was necessary to await the instructions of the Party. But these did not come, and by the way never came; it was therefore necessary to continue everything as before.



This can be seen in the publications of its organ, Red Sun / Sol Rojo. It's the same rhetoric over and over again and nothing new is ever brought forward.

This is true from 1993 to 2021; this has the merit of ideological continuity, but it is also a real drying up.

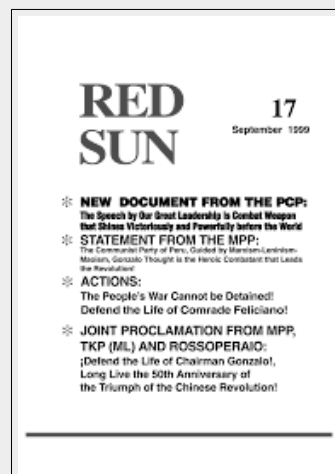
It's so true that even for Nepal it played a role. In the mid-2000s, the CPF (mlm) was the first Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement to criticize the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

But that was in agreement with the (central) MPP, which had exactly the same criticism and had even made it before. However, the MPP did not want to make it public, refusing to abandon the position initially decided upon in its implementation. It thus completely missed the battle against Nepalese revisionism.

Nevertheless it is true that in the 2000s, the (central) MPP had the merit of still existing, as the usual channel, when all the MPP groups that had taken their autonomy had disappeared.

For them, in the 1990s, it was out of the question to wait, it was necessary to take the political initiative.

Then began a vast series of agitation and publication, in favor of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the People's War in Peru, but also against the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM).



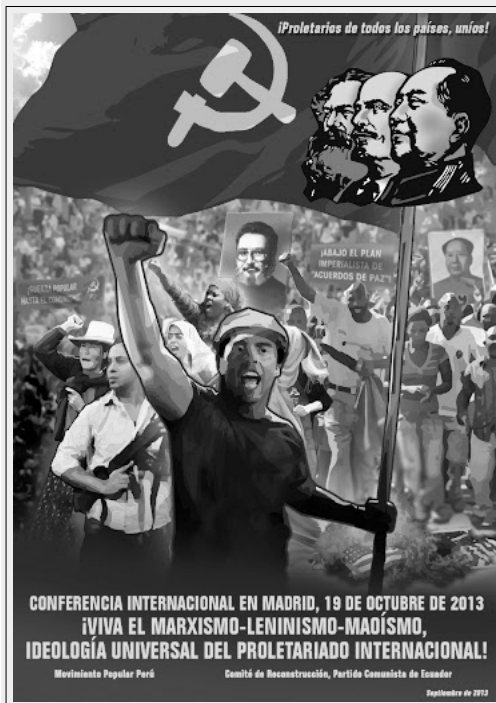
The PCP had joined the RIM as a left-wing faction and had succeeded in ensuring that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism was taken up by the organizations that were members of it.

It was shallow, however, and Gonzalo's arrest caused internal unrest. The left-wing splits of the MPP then launched the offensive by saying that the RIM was blocked, that its London-based Committee (held by the American and Iranian sections) was rotten, that we had moved to a new stage and that we had to move on.

The (central) MPP refused open battle, the left-wing splits of the MPP led it all the more open, especially in the United States (with the review "New flag") and in Switzerland, the MPP France remaining partly legitimist even if it largely agreed. In the absence however of any advance by the PCP in Peru to resolve its problems linked to the arrest of Gonzalo, all these autonomous MPPs disappeared after a few years.

### The MPP of the years 2000–2010

The MPP faced a dilemma. With the People's War in Peru losing its weight, the impact on Peruvian communities was marginal. Remained the relationship to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist (or not) organizations abroad.



Should they be brought to a better Marxism-Leninism-Maoism or shaped in the image of the MPP, or even integrated?

The MPP never managed to make a choice, which brought it to an untenable position. The French example is very telling.

Ideologically, the MPP has always had an excellent relationship with what gave rise to the CPF (mlm). But, at the same time, the MPP intended to play the card of openness, sought to

organize public meetings bringing together very few people and without impact, but playing a symbolic role. It produced a certain schizophrenia. The MPP could even read messages from the CPF



(mlm) at the meeting, without ever take publicly a stand, as for Nepal.

The result was blindness to disaster. In the 2000s, the MPP signed a large number of documents with what became the Maoist Communist Party of Italy and the TKP (ML), the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist).

The documents tended towards Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and clearly approached the level of the PCP, but the base was insufficient from the start, what the MPP did not want to see.

After a few years, the Maoist CP of Italy went back in a massive way, while the TKP (ML) went into something else, becoming a Maoist CP seeing Turkey as capitalist and proposing a libertarian communist society.

It was a complete failure for the MPP which, from the 2010s, was totally isolated except by a few groups shaped in its image, as in Chile or Spain.

### The split of the MPP in the 2010s and a new ideology

At the start of the 2010s, there were only two centers left highlighting Gonzalo. The first is the usual MPP channel, with Red Sun / Sol Rojo media. The second is the MLM Center of Belgium and the CPF (mlm), which notably created in 2013 a publication on the Guiding thought, alongside Maoists from Afghanistan and Bangladesh.



These two camps are then presented by their detractors as the “gonzaloists”.

A third camp will however appear. There is indeed a country, initially marginal with the PCP in its history, where the MPP managed during the 2000s to influence local structures: Germany, in fact especially Hamburg. It was obviously above ground and it triggered the emergence of a new style, a new ideology.

Thus, an MPP (Reorganization Committee) appeared in Germany. The media “Dem Volke dienen” (Serving the people) became its vector, systematically opening the floodgates to recruit around a new ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism thought Gonzalo.

The principle was simple: you had to add Gonzalo to Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong. The principle of Guiding thought fell by the wayside, it was necessary to adopt the ideology of the PCP as a whole.

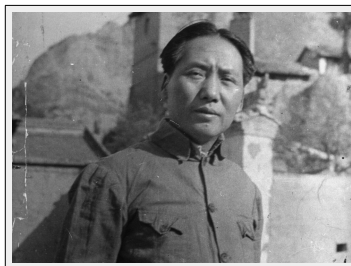
All this obviously did not take place without clashes and troubles; a German movement called “Jugendwiderstand” (Youth Resistance) thus appeared a few years as a split, even bringing together a hundred members in demonstration, but fading very quickly due to its patriarchal-populist style preventing it from any ideological formalization.

Nevertheless, there was a real fad, as evidenced by the proliferation of transsexual twitter accounts with the identity of “Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Gonzalo Thought”. It is naturally in the United States that we find especially such follies, but also in France and Canada.

The central MPP, the usual channel, was denounced as having fallen into the hands of secret agents and the new MPP (Reorganization Committee) benefited from more and more support: Red Flag Committee - Germany, Red Flag Collective - Finland, Maoist Communist Party (from France), Serve the people - League of Communists - Norway, Committee for the Foundation of the (Maoist) Communist Party of Austria, Communist Party of Brazil (Red Fraction), Communist Party of Ecuador - Red Sun.

It goes without saying that only the movements of Latin America really mean something here. Nonetheless, it is the expression of a historical trend rooted in the failure of the MPP to help generate guiding thoughts, while at the same time this principle was being disseminated. This is a contradiction - the resolution of which can only be meaningful in one way or another.

Either there is no guiding thought and it's "Gonzalo thought" which is universal - which brings to practice revisionism from what Gonzalo explained of Maoism. Or there is a guiding thought in every national framework and the conception of an universal "Gonzalo thought" is cosmopolitan and anti-leaders. ■



## Declaration of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Center of Belgium during a reunion of the Red Help in Brussels following Gonzalo's death, on the 16th of September 2021

**"We humans are mere fragments of time and heartbeats, but our deeds will remain for centuries stamped on generation after generation. We will people the Earth with light and happiness."**

### **Abimael Guzmán Reynoso, "Gonzalo"**

Gonzalo's death on September 11, 2021, after 29 years in prison, marks the end of an entire era. With the Communist Party of Peru, with the People's War throughout the 1980s, he represented the continuity of the whole revolutionary wave of the 1960s and 1970s.

For us, it represents more than continuity: we prefer to speak of a culmination, a climax. With Gonzalo, the Communist Party of Peru managed to go far enough, through the People's War, to understand that Maoism was the third stage of Communist ideology.

Many revolutionaries have gone in this direction, but they stopped along the way. The French Proletarian Left, for example, spoke of Maoism from the end of the 1960s, but it was not able to define it and it quickly disappeared.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the AMADA group - the future PTB - interpreted Maoism in our country in a manner consistent with its own approach. It is a process where students, equipped with the valuation of knowledge, must learn from the people in order to serve them. This process would be sufficient in itself and there would be no need for ideological knowledge, revolutionary traditions.

The Communist Party of Peru, on the other hand, was victorious and it is not possible to deny its advance in the field of ideology. Being a communist in the 21st century means embracing Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

But Gonzalo stressed one very important thing: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism must be applied in a concrete national situation. He said that a guiding thought was needed to guide the Communists. In Peru, we speak of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Gonzalo thought.

And it has always been said by the Peruvian Communists that in every country, similarly, such a thought was needed. We don't understand why this very

essential aspect is mostly overlooked even by people who understand Gonzalo's importance. Gonzalo did a whole analysis of Peru, extending that of Mariategui.

Without it, nothing would have been possible. We cannot assume that the revolution will happen in the same way in every country. In Belgium, there are Flemings and Walloons, who speak two different languages; in Germany there are Catholics and Protestants in equal parts; in Italy there is a very different North and South in their economic development.

Each country has its own historical, economic, social and cultural characteristics. There are no universal or one-size-fits-all recipes: you have to understand reality, study it, live it. It's a long, very long process that can last for decades. But without it, you only stay on the surface.

It was to better understand this issue that we supported the document project entitled "The Guiding Thought of the Revolution: The Heart of Maoism", in the spring of 2013, almost ten years ago. There was an in-depth presentation of different revolutionary figures who were ultimately the guiding thought in their country: Akram Yari in Afghanistan, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya in Turkey, Siraj Sikder [pronounced Chiraje Chikdér] in Bangladesh, Alfred Klahr in Austria, Gonzalo in Peru.



We think it is especially useful today to turn to this document, as it helps to better understand how Gonzalo was able to bring together the contributions of Mao Zedong.

It is with great emotion and with a raised fist that, from Belgium, we salute the memory of the great revolutionary Abimael Guzmán Reynoso, as we salute the popular masses and proletarians of Peru.

We say: dear comrades from Peru, despite this enormous loss, it is full of optimism that the MLM Center of Belgium turns to you. We call on you to understand both sides of reality. Under such circumstances, the night is pitch black, darkness seems to envelop every aspect of reality, but in fact dawn is already beginning to make the red sun shine!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism! People's War until Communism!

**Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Center of Belgium**

# The Maoist Problem: fulgurance and implosion

This is the basic problem of Maoism, something recurring until today and so it is something that awaits its historic resolution. Maoism allows fulgurance (dazzlingness, brilliance, lightning...), but at the same time it faces its opposite, implosion.

This dialectical opposition is found in France with the UJCML and the French Proletarian Left of the 1960s and 1970s, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist), and the Red Brigades. in Italy, and the list can go on.

In each case there is a draw of air, a whole new generation of young people fully involved under the banner of Maoism. The approach shakes the country, there is a great ideological and cultural level, the movement is particularly striking.

Then, quickly, after a few years most of the time, there is an implosion. The movement disintegrates, it splits, a significant part of the activists dissociates, even repents. And the Maoist organization disappears as quickly as it arrived. Then begins a patient work of reorganization or reconstruction on the part of those who stay in the course.

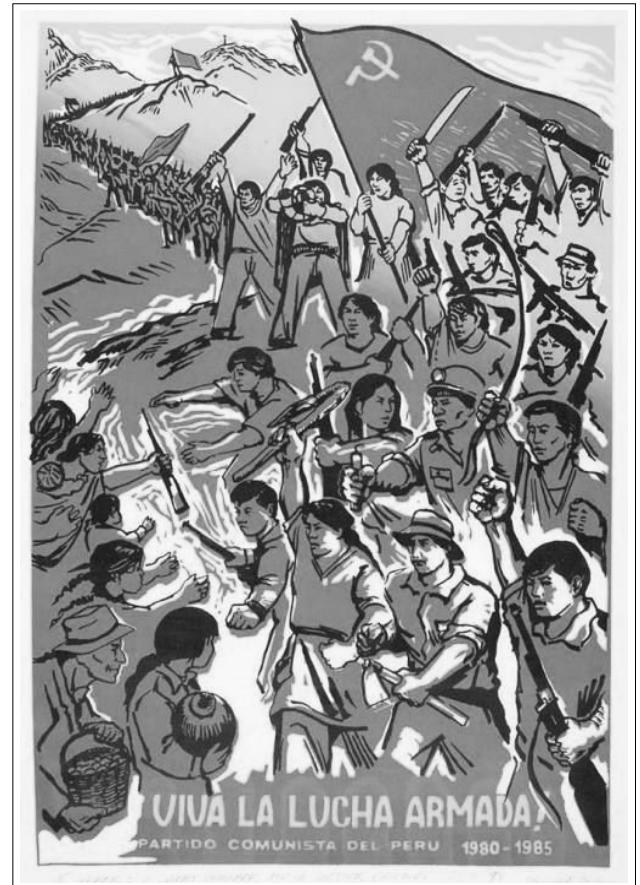
This is obviously only a description of a trend. There are some pretty profound differences, just in the fact that the flash sometimes lasted only a few years or, on the contrary, lasted for a decade. In France and India it was thus quite brief, while in Italy and Peru it was a long streak.

Because, it should be noted, the Communist Party of Peru is no exception to the rule. The arrest of its leader Gonzalo led to serial splits and a large part of the organization even slipped into capitulation, advocating peace agreements.

If, therefore, the Communist Party of Peru has been the best student of Maoism in terms of dazzling power, it does not present a solution to the threat of implosion.

It should be noted here that there is a false solution to this problem. We know that the Albanian leader Enver Hoxha, on the death of Mao Zedong, suddenly denounced him and radically changed his own discourse, beginning to explain that People's China had only been a radical petty-bourgeois and not a socialist.

This is the so-called “pro-Albanian” current. However, this “pro-Albanian” current says the following: Maoism proposes a people's war without perspective, it is subjectivist, it advocates tendencies within the Party, it leads to rout through implosion. And the “pro-Albanian” current of proposing a programmatically minimalist Marxist-Leninist Party in order to maintain unity.

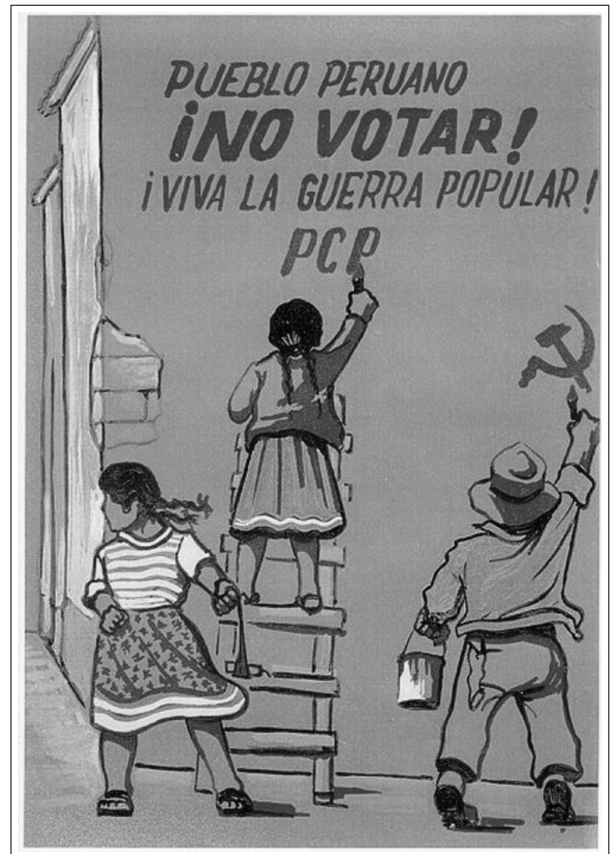


This is a completely formal and absolutely false answer, since it denies the complexity of the real, the historical movement, the law of contradiction. And this response has been all the more successful since there is in a given country a tradition of formalism, stiff appearances, and mental rigidity. This is why France has historically been a great bastion of the “pro-Albanian” current, much more than of Maoism. Another stronghold is Spain, similarly in the continuity of a narrow-minded, practically feudal-aristocratic state of mind.

We must also mention Turkey, where historically pro-Albanian structures abound (THKO, TIKB, MLKP, etc.). The “pro-Albanian” response to the implosion problem is anti-dialectical, as it denies dazzling in order to suppress the implosion, which amounts to deny the revolutionary movement and simply proposing a kind of reformism presenting itself as “going until the end”. The aridity of the “pro-Albanian” current shows that we are here in the demolition of thought and culture; boredom and blandness characterize it.

The “pro-Albanian” current is in fact a bourgeois reaction to the capacity of Maoism to appeal to subjectivity. Maoism frees minds, it is an intellectual bomb, a cultural liberator, an ideological explosion.

In all the countries where Maoism has asserted itself, there have been powerful markers playing in a very profound way on society, exerting a formidable attraction, of a high cultural level, with in particular writers and filmmakers responding to the appeal (let's just mention here Jean-Luc Godard, Yilmaz Güney, Mrinal Sen).



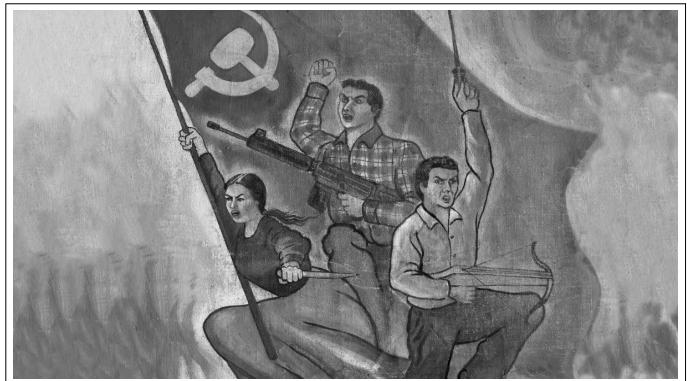
This fulgurance is the proof of the revolutionary character of Maoism and its fulgurance is the expression of revolutionary fire. How, however, can we ensure that this does not lead to the implosion, caused by the immense historical tension, the extremely rapid arrival of a new generation on the historical scene? There is in fact no doubt that a mass of young people between 20 and 30 years of age making a sudden irruption in revolutionary action has the advantage of youth, but also weaknesses concerning cultural anchoring and the historical heritage of the country.

The new Maoist generation carries the new, but the new is also produced by the old and this is where things get tricky. The Communist Party of Peru has succeeded

precisely where the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) failed. The Communist Party of Peru was indeed based on a very great knowledge of Peruvian culture, profiting in particular from the work of José Carlos Mariategui in the years 1920-1930, but not only: there had been a lot of work on Peruvian folklore being made. It was not for nothing that sticks of dynamite were thrown using traditional slingshots among the Quechuas.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) literally got its feet in the carpet here, as it was truly carried in the 1970s by young activists in the city of Calcutta in West Bengal, seeking to precipitate the things without being based on in-depth considerations of the cultural and historical reality of the country. If the Indian Maoists have since reorganized themselves, here they have a unitary “pro-Albanian” approach so to speak and we are still awaiting a substantial exposition of what are Hinduism, Indian Islam, Buddhism and Jainism, etc.

A fulgurance, in order to take root, to have a prolonged nature, must necessarily synthesize historical reality. We know that there was an error of interpretation here: at the end of the 1960s, the French and Belgian Maoists,



for example, said to themselves that it was necessary to “go to the people”, to take a “long march” in establishing themselves in the world of labour.

This was an anti-ideological reading: as if the historical synthesis could come of itself by meeting concrete people, even by adopting their way of life! This only resulted in a more or less aggressive revolutionary unionism.

No, what is needed is a guiding thought, a synthesis of the development of the country through its contradictions. It means being anchored in reality in a human way, living evolution itself, being at the forefront. Gonzalo summed up this question very well. But, precisely, why did the implosion take place all the same in Peru, despite the existence of a guiding thought? This is the big question to be answered.



And the answer lies in the harmony of the elements of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, that is, the inter-relation, the inter-penetration of Marxism, Leninism, Maoism. Marxism indeed already carries within it Leninism and Maoism, Leninism already carries within it Maoism, just as Leninism is the expression of Marxism and Maoism the expression of Marxism-Leninism.

To act, we rely on the highest point of ideology, on its concrete interpretation by means of guiding thought. But, at the same time, concrete action is abstract, because if it is peculiar to a country, it has a universal dimension. This is what prevents the implosion, because it is the real dialectical counterpart of the fulgurance. In other words, it is not entirely correct to say that there is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in general and its concrete application in a given country, with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism guiding thought.

Gonzalo summed it up as follows:

“In sum, Gonzalo Thought is none other than the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our concrete reality.

This means that it is principal specifically for our Party, for the people's war and for the revolution in our country, and I want to emphasize that. But for us, looking at our ideology in universal terms, I emphasize once again, it is Maoism that is principal.”

There is indeed the general in the particular and the particular in the general. The dazzling implication of guiding thought must have as counterpart Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in general.

This is, if one will, the contradiction between theory and practice, but not only, because guiding thought is also theory and universal ideology also practice. It is more about a developmental harmony between the national character of the revolution and its international dimension, between the particular and the universal.

If we lose sight of this, then it is the vertigo of success and it is implosion, because the reality of a country also bears, in addition to the national dimension, also an international dimension, a universal dimension.

The error of the Communist Party of Peru - this is the great assumption that must be made - was here to have considered that when the old Peruvian state collapsed it

would be replaced by the United States intervening directly and that the people's war would turn into a war of national liberation.

This was central to the conception of the Communist Party of Peru and, mistakenly, it was never openly addressed after 1992 on the Peruvian side. It was a strategic consideration, however, for anyone who really knew the Communist Party of Peru and its directions.

In doing so, the Communist Party of Peru was pushing the international question aside, setting aside the universal dimension of the revolutionary process in Peru itself. In fact, as with the Italian Red Brigades, this produced a leadership crisis - not because the leaders were arrested, but because the principles of Country Leadership have not been laid down programmatically, at the historical level.

It was in fact necessary to be able to propose the equivalent of ministers, with a list of detailed measures and a technical-administrative, cultural-historical level, full of credibility.

The problem with fulgurance, to be clear, is that it collapses when it is focused on destruction at the expense of construction. The victory of the Russian and Chinese revolutions was possible thanks to the historical credibility of their leaderships in the management of the country. The dazzlingly advancing Maoists did not achieve this level of credibility, hence their historic defeat at some point, despite reaching the level where, precisely, this question of strategic-historical proposition arose. ■

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## the review Communism

since 2016

in an English  
and a French version



# Gonzalo and the question of the guiding thought, Thought in development, People's War

To say that thought is necessary, in each country, as a synthesis of social reality, to make the revolution, is certainly essential. Nevertheless, it is useful to make some clarification about the formation of the thought.

As the Afghan comrades have pointed out, a thought like the Gonzalo thought is a very strongly developed thought, it is a thought that has managed to develop into the universal aspect of People's War. But some thoughts can exist without being so developed. A thought can also be carried out in different stages.

It has to do with the fact that thought is a reflection of the social evolution of reality. If we take a look at Gonzalo's 1988 interview, we can find two explanations that help us in this question of levels of thought.

Gonzalo says :

"It is the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the Peruvian revolution that has produced Gonzalo Thought. Gonzalo Thought has been forged in the class struggle of our people, mainly the proletariat, in the incessant struggles of the peasantry, and in the larger framework of the world revolution, in the midst of these earthshaking battles, applying as faithfully as possible the universal truths to the concrete conditions of our country.

**Previously we called it the Guiding Thought.**

And if today the Party, through its Congress, has sanctioned the term Gonzalo Thought, it's because a leap has been made in the Guiding Thought through the development of the people's war.

In sum, Gonzalo Thought is none other than the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our concrete reality.

This means that it is principal specifically for our Party, for the people's war and for the revolution in our country, and I want to emphasize that. But for us, looking at our ideology in universal terms, I emphasize once again, it is Maoism that is principal."

We find also in the interview:

“In Engels' view, it is necessity that generates leaders, and a top leader, but just who that is is determined by chance, by a set of specific conditions that come together at a particular place and time.

In this way, in our case too, a Great Leadership [Jefatura] has been generated. This was first acknowledged in the Party at the Expanded National Conference of 1979.

But this question involves *another basic question that can't be overlooked* and needs to be emphasized: **there is no Great Leadership [Jefatura] that does not base itself on a body of thought, no matter what its level of development may be.**

The reason that a certain person has come to speak as the Leader of the Party and the revolution, as the resolutions state, has to do with necessity and historical chance and, obviously, with Gonzalo Thought. None of us knows what the revolution and the Party will call on us to do, and when a specific task arises the only thing to do is assume the responsibility.”

Here, Gonzalo explains two things that are of interest to us on the question of the level:



- first, there was a guiding thought, which experienced a leap (with the People's War);

- then there is this very important sentence: “there is no Great Leadership [Jefatura] that does not base itself on a body of thought, no matter what its level of development may be”.

So, we can make a hierarchy of the evolution of thought:

1. Applying universal truths as faithfully as possible to the concrete conditions of a country gives rise to guiding thought.
2. This guiding thought goes through different stages.
3. At its highest stage, it experiences a final leap with the People's War, rising to the question of the universal.

Here we must stress the importance of the fact that Gonzalo explains that in order to build a

direction - and without direction there is nothing in practice, all efforts are in vain - there is the absolute necessity of a “thought”.

And he also tells us that this thought does not have to be very or completely developed to already exist. It can exist at a low level of development.

There are two aspects here. First of all, this is all a reminder of the correct lessons of Kautsky and Lenin on the absolute necessity of a theory, of a direction, on the basis of the correct ideology.

This is the correct point of view opposed to all liquidating tendencies ("council communism", revolutionary unionism, spontaneism even disguised as "Maoism", etc.).

The second aspect is that it gives an indication of the first tasks that the communists must carry out. In a given country, to make the revolution, the Communists need the People's War, and to have the People's War they need the developed thought.

To have this thought developed, they need a guiding thought, and to have this guiding thought, they need to forge it. Without it, they have nothing.

This is the central point: forging the right thought, the correct ideology in a given country, this is the main battle - without it there can be no development of communism. ■



The emergence of a particular strain of coronavirus, never identified in humans, is no coincidence.

It is a product - entirely new, a qualitative leap from the virus - of the collision between cities and countryside caused by the capitalist mode of production (CMP).

These cities and countryside are, moreover, themselves largely shaped by the CMP, which is true of the way of life of humanity in general.

And all of this is happening on a planetary scale. We should not therefore think that the health crisis comes from outside of humanity, from outside the CMP, on the contrary. It was born from within the CMP and from the world it formed in its image. A world which is by no means finished, firm, stable, permanent ... and which is collapsing under the blows of what is new, exponential, in rupture.

Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19): a product of the capitalist mode of production  
CPF (mlm) March 2020

# Gonzalo, loyal defender of the thesis that nothing is indivisible

One question is important for understanding Maoism: to what extent does Gonzalo hold positions consistent with Mao Zedong's teachings that "nothing is indivisible"?

Should we consider Gonzalo as the one who carried the flag of Maoism, after the counter-revolution in People's China in 1976?

Let's look at the different points here. Already, it must be seen that Gonzalo, in the famous interview, considers his trip to China as the starting point of his understanding of ideology.

"Yes, I've been to China. In China I had the chance, which I'd like to see many have, of being in a school where politics was taught, from international questions to Marxist philosophy. They were masterful lessons given by proven and highly competent revolutionaries, great teachers.

Among them I can remember the teacher who taught us about open and secret work, a man who had devoted his whole life to the Party, and only to the Party, over the course of many years--a living example and an extraordinary teacher.

He taught us many things, and he wanted to teach us more but some didn't accept it--after all, there are all sorts of people in this life.

Later, they taught us about military questions. But here they also began with politics, people's war, then the forging of the armed forces, strategy and tactics.

And then the practical part that went with it, like ambushes, attacks, military movements, as well as how to assemble explosive devices.

When we were handling delicate chemicals they urged us to always keep our ideology first and foremost, because that would enable us to do anything, and do it well. We learned to make our first demolition charges.

For me it is an unforgettable example and experience, an important lesson, and a big step in my development--to have been trained in the highest school of Marxism the world has ever seen.

Well, if you'd like an anecdote, here's one. When we were finishing the course on explosives, they told us that anything can explode.

So, at the end of the course, we picked up a pen and it blew up, and when we took a seat it blew up, too. It was a kind of general fireworks display. These were perfectly calculated examples to show us that anything could be

blown up if you figured out how to do it.

We constantly asked, "How do you do this? How do you do that?"

They would tell us, don't worry, don't worry, you've already learned enough.

Remember what the masses can do, they have inexhaustible ingenuity, what we've taught you the masses will do and will teach you all over again. That is what they told us.

That school contributed greatly to my development and helped me begin to gain an appreciation for Chairman Mao Zedong.

Later, I studied some more and I have tried to apply it. I think I still have a great deal to learn from Chairman Mao Zedong, from Maoism, as well as from Mao's practice. It isn't about trying to compare myself to him, it is simply using the highest pinnacles as a reference point for achieving our objectives.

My stay in China was an unforgettable experience. I was there on another occasion as well, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was beginning.

We asked them to explain what was then called Mao Zedong Thought. They taught us some more and that helped me understand more, a little more I should say."

There are three things here that might go unnoticed, but which are of utmost importance:

- "they told us that anything can explode" : allusion to the fact that everything is divisible;

- Gonzalo speaks of "the highest school of Marxism the world has ever seen";

- it is underlined that the GRCP allows a deepening of the knowledge of the teachings of Mao Zedong: "when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was beginning... They taught us some more and that helped me understand more, a little more I should say"

The "a little more" is of great significance, because this a little more is precisely allowed by the GRCP! We find this question of non-indivisibility later.

"I believe that fear and lack of fear form a contradiction."

This is very clearly a hint that everything is dividing. There is another hint, extremely subtle; where Gonzalo begins with human history and ends with the universal movement of matter, passing through a metaphor that is not:

"I think that the worst fear, in the end, is not to have faith in the masses, to believe that you're indispensable, the center of the world.

I think that's the worst fear and if you are forged by the Party, in proletarian ideology, in Maoism principally, you understand that the masses are the makers of history, that the Party makes revolution, that the advance of history is certain, that revolution is the main trend, and then your fear vanishes.

What remains is the satisfaction of contributing together with others to laying the foundation so that some day communism may shine and illuminate the entire earth."

When Gonzalo says "What remains is the satisfaction of contributing together with others to laying" in Spanish "de ser argamasa y, junto a otras argamasas, servir a poner cimiento", which means "to be mortar and, together with other mortars, serve to lay a foundation", it is not voluntarism, but an allusion to the general and inevitable transformation of matter.

Likewise, Gonzalo subtly explains that "Communism is shining and illuminating

the whole Earth. " Now, what is it that "shines and illuminates"? The sun, of course! Gonzalo is referring here to the sun, which provides energy and allows the Earth to shine! It is the famous sun illuminating the planet earth struck by hammer and sickle that we find in all Soviet coats of arms, it is the "red sun" put forward by the Communists of China!

Let's even go even further in interpreting what Gonzalo said. He says, apparently innocently, that "some day communism may shine and illuminate the entire earth".

Now, what is it that "shines and illuminates"? The sun, of course! Gonzalo is referring here to the sun, which provides energy and allows the Earth to shine!

It is the famous sun illuminating the planet earth struck by hammer and sickle that we find in all Soviet coats of arms, it is the "red sun" put forward by the Communists of China!

Let's even go even further in interpreting what Gonzalo said. He says, apparently

innocently, that "Many times I don't have time to read what I'd like to".

On the surface, this is a simple remark - but dialectical materialism oozes this sentence from every pore.

Gonzalo talks about reading, something that takes place in space, and he pits time against it!

Gonzalo, with this simple sentence, refers to the contradiction between space and time; let us recall that he did his doctoral thesis on the notion of space in Kant, moreover Gonzalo alludes to it a little later when he says:

"This inclination for science can be seen in the thesis that I wrote for my degree in philosophy. It is an analysis of time and space according to Kant, from a Marxist point of view, using mathematics and physics."

All this clearly shows that Gonzalo explains himself and always explains by speaking of the principle, our principle, that nothing is indivisible. ■





# Communist Party of Peru

## We are the initiators

[ILA 80]

We are the initiators and we should keep this fact deeply in our spirits.

This meeting is historic.

Comrades, we will pass into history as the initiators. For some time, the Party has been writing this history on indestructible pages.

We are the initiators.

This first Party Military School is both a seal and a breach, it concludes and begins.

It concludes the time of peace and opens the time of war.

Comrades, our tasks with unarmed hands have concluded, and today our armed words begin: let us uplift the masses and peasants under the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought.

One period has ended and the preparations for the new one have concluded.

From here, the past deeds are sealed and we open the future.

The key of the future is determined by actions, the objective is power.

This we shall do, history demands it, the class urges it, the people have foreseen and want it. We must accomplish it and it will be accomplished.

We are the initiators.

We should discuss some problems.

Just as you, I will also speak with an open heart, sincere words and a rational sentiment. This also has a strict logic.

# I. We Are Entering the Strategic Offensive of the World Revolution.

Centuries of devastating exploitation have passed. The masses have been exploited, subjugated, forced to yield and implacably oppressed.

But through all this time, the exploited masses have always resisted, because they have no other sentiment than the class struggle.

However, throughout history, the masses were abandoned and had no direction. Their words, protests, actions and rebellions were crushed and defeated.

But the masses never lost hope.

The class always has hope. The masses are the light of the world that forge themselves ahead.

They transform and create instruments with their own hands. They are the social fabric, the inexhaustible beat of history.

Thus, they have been generating ideas, science of the most advanced kind.

But the laws of history that came about as a result of the development of the class struggle have generated one last class: the international proletariat.

The class has surged up struggling in the midst of a sinister system, capitalism, which appeared sweating blood and muck from all its pores. A system in whose center the combative proletariat developed unions, strikes, resistance and revolutions.

All of this became embodied in Marxism, and the class, endowing itself with a Party, evolved into a mature class with its own interests. The masses of the world finally have their liberator.

In the old times, the masses awaited for a liberator. They used to put their faith in the hands of supposed saviors, until the powerful and invincible proletariat appeared, which is capable of creating a true new order.

The class organized itself politically, and another history begins to unfold to become a reality.

In one hundred years of struggle, setbacks, and victories, the proletariat has learned how to fight and seize power with arms.

The workers took it once in an embryonic form but were crushed with blood and fire. Nevertheless, we remember the Paris Commune, where those who were reviled are today heroes.

And their example lives on, while their tormentors are forgotten.

The workers with Lenin seized power in Russia and created a powerful State.

The class continued fighting and with Mao Zedong paved a new road and resolved unsolved problems. The class began to fight under the flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought.

Around the Second World War, the revolution entered a strategic equilibrium, leaving behind the reactionary holy alliances and their previously untouchable tormentors and enemies.

With the powerful international workers' movement, the cresting waves of the national liberation movements, the development of Communist Parties, and the elevation of Marxism to the high summit of Mao Zedong Thought, a new situation has been created: we are entering the strategic offensive of the world revolution.

In the next 50 to 100 years, the domination of imperialism and all exploiters will be swept away.

History cannot go backwards. In the hands of the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Parties and through the mighty force of poor peasants, the peoples war will be sustained and grow each day until overthrowing the old order.

The world is entering into a new situation, the strategic offensive of world revolution.

This is of transcendental importance.

As Chairman Mao said: "The storm draws near and the wind roars in the tower."

Thus, the vortex draws near, the vortex begins, and the invincible flame of the revolution grows, converting itself into lead and steel. And from the din of battle along its inextinguishable fires will come forth the light.

From the darkness a light will appear and a new world will be born. The old order of reaction crackles, its old boat leaks and sinks in desperation. But comrades, nobody can expect reaction to retire gently.

Marx warned us: Even while drowning, the reactionaries were capable of inflicting asphyxiating chokeholds and desperate blows in order to see us sink. That is impossible.

The reaction has the hyena's dreams of blood. Convulsive dreams shake their somber nights. Their hearts scheme sinister hecatombs.

They arm themselves to the teeth but they cannot prevail. Their destiny is weighed and measured. The time has come for the settling of accounts.

The imperialist superpowers, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and other powers seek to invade, penetrate, suffocate, destroy and drown everything with terror.

But as Chairman Mao said, by attacking, assaulting, and launching offensives they overextend themselves and enter the powerful core of the people.

The people rise up, arm themselves and rebel, putting nooses on the necks of imperialism and reaction. The people take them by the throat, threaten their lives and will strangle them out of necessity.

The reactionary meat will be trimmed of fat, they will be torn to tatters and rags, the scraps sunk into mire, and the remainders burned.

The ashes will be thrown to the winds of the world so that only the sinister reminder of what must never return will remain.

Comrades, that is the world today. It has befallen on us to live in an extraordinary epoch. Thus it is written, mankind never had such a heroic destiny.

To the people of today, to those people who breathe, struggle, and fight, has befallen the task of sweeping reaction from the face of the earth, the most illuminating and magnificent mission given to any generation.

We find ourselves in this situation: the world revolution enters a strategic offensive.

Nothing will prevail against it. The innumerable iron legions arise, and more and more will arise, inexhaustibly multiply, encircle and annihilate reaction.

Reaction, which unleashes its bloody claws tearing the flesh off the people, continues to sow discord, embroil, and seeks to sate itself with the blood of the people.

But the people's blood ascends like furious wings and the stricken flesh converts itself into a powerful vengeful lash.

Their muscles and actions are converted into steel battering rams in order to destroy the oppressor who will be irremediably crushed.

Comrades, reaction will not prevail in any form. The hour has sounded, the revolution will triumph. The struggle will be hard, arduous, cruel and difficult.

Victory is ours.

The masses will prevail, the peasants will arise, the working class will lead, the Communist Party will command and the Red Flags will be raised forever.

Reaction has entered its final chapter. We will develop in that world.

## **II. Our People Begin to Seize Power Through Armed Struggle**

In this magnificent epic of world history, our people along with the Latin American working classes and masses have a role to play. This role is being fulfilled. Our people begin to seize power through armed struggle.

It is hundreds of years of struggle in which the peasant movements have shaken the foundation of exploitation, but they have not been able to uproot it as yet.

In this country the Communist Party was forged as pure steel. It brought light to the people by upholding Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrades, in this country we are embarking upon a third epoch. The third epoch is a battle between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution, which are prepared for violence.

Counter-revolution with its old and bloody violence, peace at the hands of bayonets, their damned wars that annihilate people in the prisons, schools,

factories, in the countryside, and even assassinating children with hunger and misery in their maternal wombs.

Today, that sinister violence meets its match. The revolutionary violence prepares to take up the battle in arms.

Our people with a rich history are finally embarking to the final chapter, the completion of the democratic period of the revolution.

The masses tremble, the flood tide rises, and the storm approaches. Reaction in this country as well as in the world, also dreams of soaking the revolution with blood and fire, of drowning it in blood.

These are old, dark, and violent dreams.

They are not facing the same situation as yesterday. Time has passed and bureaucratic capitalism has matured the revolution.

The agrarian laws promulgated by the regimes have been failures one after another, and the peasants have understood the lesson: nothing will be given to them, nothing will derive from a law. The land must be conquered by their own armed hands.

The working class is more aggressive, mature. It has a higher level of consciousness, it is numerically larger, politically more powerful, and much stronger than in the past.

The popular masses have grown in our country.

The petty bourgeoisie is being proletarianized. It has no other destiny than to serve the revolution and put itself at the disposal of the proletariat.

Its only course of action is to serve the revolution according to the dictates of the working class and to forcefully fight behind the road paved by the Party. This is good to remember, because from this experience we should particularly win over the intellectuals.

As Mariategui has already shown us, the masses must be mobilized and only in this manner will we will fulfill our role and serve the great battle that history has arranged for us.

Comrades, we have concluded that we are embarking into the third epoch of contemporary Peruvian society.

But just as yesterday, when we expounded upon the two moments of contemporary Peruvian history as part of the process of the development of bureaucratic capitalism in this country, some condemned us and rejected our thesis and ideals with insolence and contemptible accusations of infantilism.

We are putting forth today, with a clear and precise vision, that our country enters a third epoch.

This thesis will also be subjected to misunderstanding.

But it is no longer possible to condemn us with childish labels of infantilism, because this time, history has shown us to be right in many things, and they will also learn lessons [translator: this refers to the two line struggle within the Party].

Nevertheless, it is not easy for our accusers to easily accept and comprehend it. It requires convincing deeds, concrete actions that pound into their hard heads and shatter their speculation to pieces, so that they also may carry the reality of this country in their spirits.

The understanding of the third epoch is key to the advance of our people.

What does the third epoch imply?

It implies the revolution, the people with arms in hand begin to seize power, that reaction with 400 years of exploitation, added to the exploitation of other epochs, (comrades, we should think clearly, 400 years of foreign oppression, a vile slave system that continues to exist today, a state which although weak, still has force), implies that reaction will try to contain us and oppose the advance of the revolution.

It is well known by materialists that what exists refuses to die; reaction exists and therefore refuses to die. It is an unburied corpse but it protests, negates, resists, and attacks with fury and desperation, opposing its placement into a casket for its burial.

Thus, we must understand that the revolutionary struggle will be hard, violent and cruelly contested by reaction.

They will send their sinister army armed to the teeth to fight us, assaulting the working class, the peasants and popular masses, spreading their sinister claws.

They will try to encircle, isolate, crush and wipe us out. But we are the future, the strength, and history.

Comrades, revolution and counterrevolution are also contending forces in our country.

They are two parts of a unity of opposites in constant struggle.

The reactionaries are armed and concentrated, defending the metropolis and capitals.

We are rooted in the countryside, in small villages, with the masses, especially with the poor peasants, with the force of the people, among their disorganized force in order to organize it into a powerful army.

But this will not be easy.

The dark, sinister armies of reaction will fight against us, mount powerful aggressions and great offensives. We will respond in kind, splitting them, making them fall apart, and converting their offensives into a multitude of our small offensives.

Therefore, those who encircle will be encircled, the would-be annihilators will be annihilated, the would-be victors will be defeated and the beast will finally be corralled.

As we have been taught, the clamor of our armed voices will make them tremble with terror. They will be crushed by their own fears and be converted into scattered black ashes.

That is what will happen. This is the way it is, Comrades.

Nevertheless, the fight will be hard, long, difficult and cruel. We need to steel our spirits, be strong, vigorous, fearless and confident in our victory.

May the confidence of victory dwell in our hearts in as much as we serve the people and class. The problem is to initiate the armed struggle with decisiveness and firmness. We must deploy it and populate the land with our flags and with sonorous actions that history will record.

Comrades, our people are embarking on the seizure of power with arms. We are launching the most magnificent march that our country has ever seen before.



Nothing like this will ever be seen again. It will be truly remarkable.

This is what we will do!

The people, the class, and the proletariat demands it. We can not and must not fail.

### **III. The Party Develops Itself Through Armed Struggle.**

It has been more than 80 years of working class struggle and 52 years of the Party's existence. It took about 10 years for a group of men and women, led by Mariategui, about 10 years to found the Party.

His name is imprinted forever in our ranks, the peoples of the world and the international working class.

Time has passed, many of us have fought, and will continue to struggle until exploitation is abolished. That is our destiny. We are a growing torrent confronting fire, rocks and mud.

But our power is greater.

We convert everything into our fire. The black fire will be transformed into red fire and the red is light. That is where we are, that is the Reconstitution of the Party.

Comrades, we are reconstituted.

The Party is a Party of a new type. The purpose of this Party of a new type is to seize power for the working class and the people of this country.

The Party can not be developed more but through the use of arms, through armed struggle. That is the hard lesson we have learned in 50 years, a great lesson that we should never forget: we have no power because we have no guns.

Like Chairman Mao has written, whoever has more guns has more power. Whoever wants to seize power must forge an army, and whoever wants to keep power must have a powerful army.

This is what we will accomplish. The Party has embarked to develop itself through armed struggle, our historical course. We cannot go backwards.

Comrades, we can now state that the development of the Party has prevailed. Its possible destruction, as it had to be, has been averted.

This is the conclusion we can derive from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Session of the Central Committee and the First Military School.

We have completed a task that we only now have begun to appreciate.

We asked ourselves, how will we develop the Party?

A plain and simple response is: Through armed struggle.

In critical times the situation enters into contentious struggles, and according to the law of contradiction, specific circumstances can lead into development or destruction, of course transitory, but it does not cease to become a destruction if that could lead us to sink in the mud or march through a muddy place.

The Party has triumphed as it had to. Its destruction cannot take place. The Party embarks firmly, decisively, voluntarily and energetically in its development.

Comrades, this is what is derived from these meetings. However, what contradiction is being debated?

The launching of armed struggle presents a contradiction: The old versus the new. The development of the Party through armed struggle is the new, and the old is our accomplishments up to now, including the good ones.

Even the best of our achievements have aged, and no matter how much we add to this tradition, we also add to that great garbage which parties, classes and organizations generate throughout decades.

We must be very clear on this point. There is only one new thing, to develop the Party through armed struggle. Today, this is our contradiction. Just like in the international arena where the contradiction is between the strategic offensive and the strategic defensive of reaction, in our country the contradiction is between the armed people and armed reaction.

This contradiction, through the People's War, will inevitable lead to the triumph of the class and sweep away 400 years of oppression. Comrades, in the Party there is also a contradiction. It calls for serious reflection and no one should doubt it.

Today, the Communists should be clear on the contradiction of the old versus the new. I reiterate, the new is the armed struggle: the unfading flames of People's War, the steel which must be made purer, the sharp sword and piercing spears in order to wound the entrails of reaction. This is new.

Everything else is old, it is the past, and from that past we must guard ourselves, because the past always tries to reestablish itself in a thousand forms in the future.

Comrades, let us not forget that in order to guarantee the consolidation of 100, we need to advance as 200. Today, advancing with 200 means to initiate the armed struggle, to begin the action is the guarantee of thoroughly sowing the new with lead, crumbling the old walls. Comrades, this is the new.

Everything else is old. We should be absolutely clear and understand it. The Party has embarked on its development through arms. This is our fundamental situation. Having stated this point, we have three conditions: First, we embark on the strategic offensive of world revolution.

That is our situation. The revolutionary tide is on our side. Second, the people set out to seize power with arms. The future will be decided through the advancement of People's War.

Third, the Party begins to develop through the armed struggle. Thus, the Party will become the powerful Party which the revolution needs, and since it is needed it must be forged.

Comrades, the world process, the process of the nation and the Party are interrelated. Therefore, the future is assured, it is palpitating in the armed actions that we will commence to undertake. It is a delicate task that needs to be nurtured with the clamor of our arms, developed with guerrilla warfare, fortified with People's War, cared for and nourished like the seed of an army, giving birth to armed columns, allowing it to flourish into a guerrilla army that we must build into a powerful army.

Comrades, these three conditions determine that the Party leads the armed struggle of the masses. In our hearts, minds and wills, the power of the people is alive, and we carry it with us.

In the beginning we have no rearguard or we will have one that is small, weak, fragile and uncertain.

Comrades, we must never forget the people's power, the State of the working class, the State of workers and peasants. This State marches with us, we carry it on the muzzles of our rifles, nestled in our minds, throbbing in our hands, and it will always be burning in our hearts. It is the first thing on our minds. We should never forget it.

Comrades, the armed struggle will be born fragile and weak because it is new, but its destiny will be to develop through change, from the variation of fragility like a tender plant.

The roots we plant at the beginning will be the future of a vigorous State. Comrades, all this begins to flourish with the modest and simple actions that tomorrow we will carry out.

There are three interrelated things: world history, the history of our country, and the history of our Party. These are three convergences, three realities, three combinations and only one final conclusion, only one unmovable truth, only one future. We will respond to the flourishing revolution in our country.

## **IV. We Begin to Develop the Militarization of the Party Through**

Actions and Apply the Plan of Initiation.

This is a derivation from the three issues discussed above. It is a logical, necessary, irrefutable and irreversible conclusion. On the three previous issues, the Party in the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee has concluded as follows: the “Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions”.

It ratified that through armed actions, the Party will be transformed into a powerful and recognized vanguard of the Peruvian working class, and the legitimate center of the Peruvian revolution. The Second Plenary Session has also ratified a “plan of initiating the armed struggle” that solves a problem unresolved until today, of how to begin the armed struggle.

Comrades, this is not to instill ourselves with pride but to understand our immense responsibility. No trace of vanity should ever be in us. Modesty

and simplicity should accompany us, and the more we fulfill our tasks, the more modest and simple we become, because we are the faithful servants of the people and class.

We should learn to conduct ourselves in that manner. Many things will change and even more profoundly among us. We have comrades by way of the actions of universal history, by Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, by the labor of our people that begin to define their history through arms, by the labor of fifty years of Party struggle and of innumerable Communists, and as a derivation from what our own founder initiated.

We have resolved the problem of initiating the armed struggle. We have resolved the first fundamental military problem, how to initiate the armed struggle. We know what needs to be done and how to arm ourselves.

Most importantly, we know how to raise up the peasantry so that through arduous struggles we can unleash guerrilla actions from that powerful land. We know how to confront and destroy their encirclements.

Comrades, the problem of initiating the armed struggle in Peru is resolved. No one should have doubts about it. We have nothing to doubt. The problem is resolved. Take it for what it is, a derivation from Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, a result of our people embarking on the seizure of power with arms.

A derivation from fifty years of the Party. Thus, we will have a historical sense, a comprehension and knowledge of where we stand now, where we are going and the safe port we will arrive.

## **V. We Arm Ourselves in Theory and Practice to Launch the People's War.**

We are arming ourselves in theory and practice with the Military Line and with the general political mobilization. We are forming detachments and developing actions to initiate the armed struggle. This should be indelibly recorded.

This First Military School is historic. We asked ourselves, what is this school?

If the Second Session of the Central Committee is the “Chime of Glory”, what is this school? We will repeat it once more, it is “the Seal and Breach”, because it closes and opens. It concludes our unarmed life and begins our People's War.

Comrades, that is this school. Here we have applied the agreements of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee. We have successfully completed and resolved problems, that the Central Committee shall ratify very soon, at the same time it arranges for the Party's readjustment and the commencing of actions.

Thus, the Party, through its central organizations, its leaders and cadres, arms itself with the military line in theory and practice.

Comrades, the last meeting is a demonstration of the distribution of forces: proof of the encirclement and annihilation of pessimism and opposition. It has burned and annihilated what among us and inside of us could have opposed.

We have raised up optimism and are filled with enthusiasm. The victories to come have been unfurled. We must understand it in this way. We have seen the fighters march, we have seen advanced fighters with their leaders at the foreground, opening breaches; we have seen the ranks march in order to maintain and support the actions.

We have seen at last the definitive action, a passionate and ardent faith to reach the summit. What we have done today is a demonstration of how to act militarily. That is why we say we are arming ourselves theoretically and practically.

In this manner, arming the cadres and leaders for basic effectiveness, we have obviously entered the general political mobilization. Remember what Chairman Mao said: the key is to mobilize the cadres.

That has been accomplished. The mobilization has begun, and what we have achieved here will be reverberated tomorrow in more powerful waves, because the masses yearn to hear the Party say that we should begin to take action and they want to know how to do this.

Comrades, let us inform the bases of the good news.

We must apply the plan of initiation and we should start it tomorrow. It is what the beating hearts of the militants and the masses that work jointly with us desire to hear and dream of realizing.

Comrades, the general political mobilization of the Party is on the march. Forming armed detachments and developing military actions we initiate the armed struggle. This begins from here, and that is why this meeting is both a seal and a breach.

## **VI. We Are the Initiators.**

We are the initiators. We began by stating we are the initiators.

And we end by stating we are the initiators. Initiators of what? Of the People's War and the armed struggle that is in our hands, shining in our minds, beating in our hearts and irrepressibly agitating in our wills.

This is what we are “a handful of men and women, Communists, paying homage to the leadership of the Party, the proletariat and the people.

On this 19th of April, history will state, standing upright they expressed their declaration of revolutionary faith, with their hearts burning with an inextinguishable passion, with firm and resolute wills, and with clear and bold minds, assuming their historical obligation of being the Initiators.

What they decided on April 19th took shape in autumn with boycotts and the harvest, followed through with actions against the reactionary power, aiming at local authority, continued with land seizures and with the peasant masses in rebellion the guerrillas were raised up.

The guerrillas generated the powerful army we have become today, and the State based on it. Our country is free...”

That is what they will say, comrades.

This is materialized in our party decision, apparently simple but of great historical importance.

Comrades, do these three final issues also presents us with contradictions?

Yes, they do. Here, in the Party, the focus is on our agreement concerning the “Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions” and in applying our Plan of Initiation is the essence of the new, a new part of the

world which cannot be detained because our armed hands have surged with more to follow tomorrow.

The new is focused in our country, the armed solution, and the Party's development through arms intensifies through the armed struggle. Thus, on the question of developing and applying the plan of initiation, the new is the focus and the old is confronted.

The old will pledge itself to the opposite, but it is already defeated, it is a great defeat for the Right. Their destruction is already assured, the development has triumphed, let us shape it through thunder, write it with lead, so that it remains written forever on pages of steel upon the ridge of the mountains; so that it can never be erased nor written in a contrary form.

That is the contradiction.

At the end, everything reduces to a fifth problem. The contradiction enters to address the problems of arms, war, armed struggle and how to initiate it. If up to now we have acted as an unarmed people, the problem now is that we begin to act with armed hands.

From times of peace to times of war. And the times of war have other requirements and other urgent demands.

Comrades, the contradictions will accumulate but we will handle them. We have learned to handle history, the laws and contradictions. It is in our hands to resolve them, shaping them with armed deeds.

Nothing will stop us. We will pass through times of irreversible war, the contradiction will unfold, it will take us to a successful conclusion.

We are the initiators. What contradiction is presented to us? We and the other Communists of our bases, present or not, who reverberate within us, await with anxiety what is decided here. All of us have a problem, a contradiction: the great rupture.

Comrades, the time has come. It is time for a great rupture. We will break all ties with what is old and rotten in order to completely and thoroughly destroy it, for if we have an interest in that decrepit world, we would not be able to destroy it.



Men speaking individually can be weak. Each of us should think hard. As an individual, each person can be fragile and weak.

But the revolution is all-powerful, and the armed revolution even more so, because it is sustained by the masses, who are the force of the land and led by the Party, which is the light of the universe.

Comrades, we begin the great rupture. We have stated many times that we embark upon that rupture and that many ties shall be broken since it links us to the old and rotten order, and if we don't do it, we could never demolish it.

Comrades, the time has come, there is nothing more to discuss, the debate has been exhausted.

It is time to act, it is the moment of rupture and it will not be done with slow and tardy meditation, nor in the halls nor in silent rooms. It will be done with the roar of armed actions.

This is the form for carrying it out, a correct and adequate form, the only form. It is through actions, as we have studied, that the conscious capacity of people intensifies, the will is tenser, our passions more powerful and our energy enraged.

Comrades, through actions we will find the energy, force, and sufficient capacity for the great rupture. We have embarked upon this. The trumpets begin to sound, the murmur of the masses grows and it will continue growing, it will deafen us, it will bring us to a powerful vortex, with one note: We will become the protagonists of history, conscious, organized and armed.

Thus, the great rupture will be open and we will become the makers of a definitive dawn.

This is what we have embarked upon, comrades.

I want to conclude.

This School, this First Party Military School, is the seal and the breach, it seals the deeds done up to today and opens a breach for tomorrow. What we have accomplished until now is very positive and has borne fruit.

There is a saying that people are judged by their deeds. The deed is done, it is before us. There is nothing more to prove. What has been done until now

is good. The breach, what we must do, will be even greater and definitively the only great thing we have to accomplish.

It will come forth from arms, from the barrels of the guns. It will come forth from the direct action of the Party upon the masses. It will come forth from the People's War.

Comrades, this school is historic. We cannot understand its dimension, we cannot weigh it as it deserves unless we turn our gaze decades into the future.

This is the School of the Initiators. It is the name given to it by the Central Committee. In a word it is ILA 80, which means: Initiate the Armed Struggle in 1980.

It is a commitment and challenge.

We are deployed.

We will surpass it.

I am not only saying that we will accomplish it, but we will surpass it, because it is a mandate and a historic necessity imposed upon us by our people, nobody can speak to the contrary.

Comrades, the role of the School of Initiators, ILA 80 is: Initiate the armed struggle in 1980.

Decades later, in the future, it will be interpreted like this: ILA 80, the armed struggle was initiated in 1980.

ILA was done here.

That word is beautiful, it has a double meaning and if we look at it even more, it has a further meaning.

It is the synthesis of what we have done up to now.

It shapes all the past.

Comrades, what has guided us?

To initiate the armed struggle, was not this stated in the Ninth Plenum?

Comrades, it is the past summarized, opening into the present, it is the future that must be irrevocably accomplished. ILA 80 is also the implementation of our past agreement on initiating the armed struggle.

In the present it means initiating the armed struggle today, this year, and in the future. The armed struggle was initiated in 1980.

Comrades, all that we have done during these complex days, in difficult moments, but in the final analysis, satisfactory days, fruitful, healthy, good and vital days, is all realized in the “School of Initiators: ILA 80”.

The Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee congratulates those present and everyone else because with their actions they helped in the materialization of this reality.

Congratulations to the Party, because with its actions, it has made this reality concrete. Congratulations to the masses and our people, because their actions through centuries have been realized here.

Congratulations to the working class of the world, the international proletariat and the peoples of the world, because their actions have borne fruit here.

We render homage, as always, to the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, because their grandeur which will always live has been realized here.

They, now live within us.

The spirit of the revolution dwells in the Party, our people, and our class.

Finally it has arrived! All our struggles have been validated. Comrades, finally it has been realized: Initiate the armed struggle today.

Everything that we have accomplished, including errors that have served as experience, are validated here. This is the essence of this School.

The Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee feels and expresses through this speaker an immense delight, because we have completed a simple and magnificent task: that the initiation of the armed struggle, ILA 80, dwells here and puts the final touches on the past, specifies the present and opens the future. Comrades, we have accomplished this.

Thus the future opens with promise and hope. We remember the words of a wise old man: “What life promises you, fulfill it yourself to life”.

Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought, the international proletariat, the people of the world, the working class, the people of this country, the Party with its bases, cadres, and leaders, all this magnificent action through the centuries has been realized here.

The promise blossoms and the future unfolds.

ILA 80.

Our duty is to fulfill it. What has been given to us as a future, we must fulfill it with our own lives, for the people, workers, and Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrades, the efforts invested are a satisfaction, a delight in the accomplished tasks, pleased by what has been done, and seek no compensation.

The future is in the barrels of the guns! The armed revolution has begun!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought!

Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!

Initiate the Armed Struggle!

**April 19th, 1980**

**Military School**

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU**

