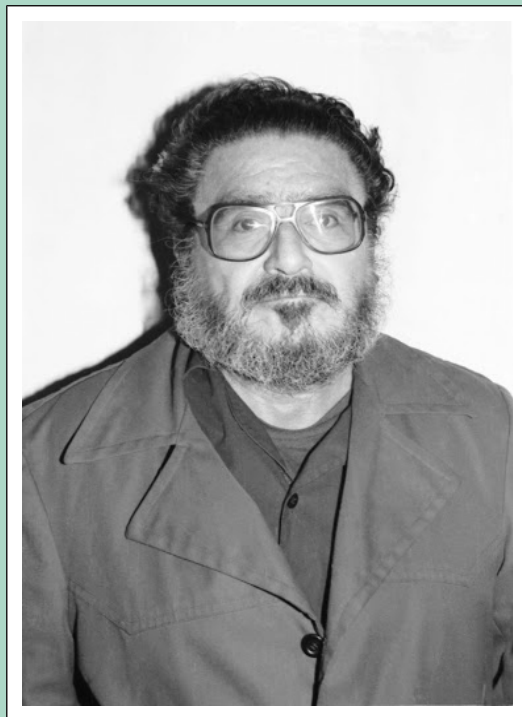


international marxist-leninist-maoist journal

# COMMUNISM

#5 – september 2017

## In defense of Gonzalo, theoretician of Maoism



- Déclaration commune en défense de Gonzalo
- Lenin on the leader
- Peru People's Movement on Gonzalo's situation
- CPF (MLM) : In defense of Chairman Gonzalo
- Gonzalo and Shakespeare

# Enthusiasm

means to participate in the force of the Gods, therefore, we are full of enthusiasm.

This number is the fifth one and has been published in September, 2017, as a common initiative from Belgium and France. We promote the following websites as revolutionary media:  
massline.net from Afghanistan,  
sarbaharapath.com from Bangladesh,  
centremlm.be from Belgium,  
lesmaterialistes.com from France.

We participate in the divinities of the real world:  
The masses, the class, Marxism and the revolution.  
That is why we have inexhaustible enthusiasm.  
That is why we have strength, optimism, and a vigorous spirit overflowing with enthusiasm.

**Gonzalo**

**Communist Party of Peru**

*We begin to topple the walls  
and unfold a new dawn, 1980*

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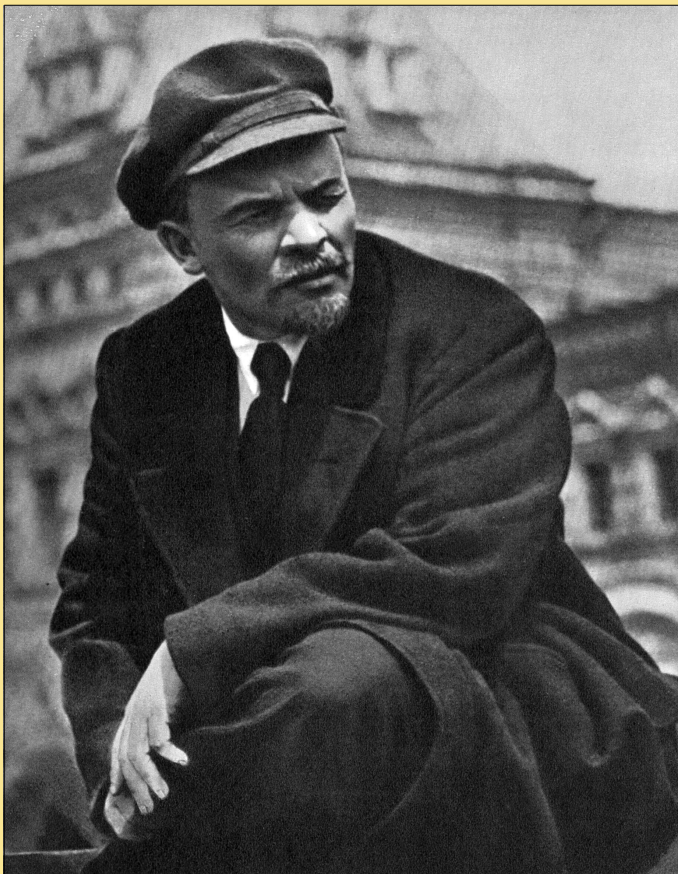
# September 2017 ♦ joint declaration

- > Marxist Leninist Maoist Center of Belgium
- > Communist Party of France (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)

## In defense of Gonzalo, theoretician of Maoism

*“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.”*  
Gonzalo

History produces revolutionary leaders, people who breaks with the ideology dominating their epoch, denouncing injustice, studying the roots of the problems, paving the way for a revolutionary solution. They are the synthesized product of class struggles, like they synthesize class struggles.



Those leaders are not interesting as individuals in such, even of course respect is to be done for their accomplishment and their human ability to carry a break that others were not able to make.

Those leaders are interesting as they express the correct Thought to follow to be able to change the situation. It is the principle of the Guiding Thought, which we explained in an historical common document in Spring 2013.

In November 2016, we explained also the basis of Lenin Thought, which are carried notably in the following documents of Lenin : Guerrilla Warfare (1905), Lessons of the Moscow Uprising (1906), Leo Tolstoy as the Mirror of the Russian Revolution (1908), The Development of Capitalism in Russia (second preface).

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Lenin Thought was the direct expression of the Russian situation, of the understanding of the Russian society, of its historical needs. In 1934, as 29 volumes of Lenin works were published, the following writers were for example quoted by Lenin : Mikhaïl Saltykov-Chtchedrine 320 times, Nikolai Gogol 99 times, Ivan Krylov 60 times, Ivan Tourgueniev 46 times, Nikolai Nekrassov 26 times, Alexander Pouchkine 19 times, Anton Tchekhov 18 times, Alexander Ostrovsky 17 times, Gleb Ouspensky 16 times, Ivan Gontcharov 11 times.

It is a good expression of the connection with the Russian culture and situation. The October Revolution was, in 1917, the expression of Lenin Thought.

In the same way, the Chinese revolution was the expression of Mao Zedong Thought. And in each country, history produced revolutionary leaders who begin a revolutionary process.

For this reason, we wish to stress the importance of rejecting the double attack on Gonzalo which happened ideologically in France those last few days.

As leader of the Communist Party of Peru, which launched a Peoples's War, Gonzalo understood the principle of the Guiding Thought. It permitted him to explain that Maoism was a third stage of Marxism, after Leninism.

There is no other “Maoism” that has been defined. All others attempts are without any sense, a weak construct. Historically, the concept of “Marxism-Leninism-Maoism” comes directly from Gonzalo.

There is therefore no historically sense in translating in French and publishing, like it was done those last few days, a translation of a “Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Basic Course”, made by people who joined afterwards the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

This can only be an attempt to negate the role of Gonzalo and the signification of its teachings. Gonzalo's name doesn't even appear in this document. But what appears is the concept of “MLM Thought”, which is of course an attempt to skirt the question of the Guiding Thought based on a national frame.





It is any way well known historically that in India, like in the Philippines, there is a huge tradition of refusing Maoism in name of Mao Zedong's Thought, the main parties in those both countries



participating for this reason for a long time to the international congresses organized by the revisionist Workers' Party of Belgium.

It shows very well that a Maoism, not accepting the only definition of Maoism, the one of Gonzalo, is only "Mao Zedong's Thought". When the Communist Party of the Philippines hails North Korea, it shows that its Maoism is incorrect.

It is also erroneous that the Marxist–Leninist Communist Organization – Proletarian Way produced a document against Gonzalo, accusing him of capitulation, whereas he is in jail since his arrest in September 1992, 25 years ago.

Such an accusation, published those last days, is based only on what the enemy accepts to say about him, and this is for this reason a clear break with the revolutionary tradition of not criticizing an arrested comrade in the hands of the counter-

revolution.

There is also a great naivety to explain that Gonzalo is a traitor, when he's still in total isolation, in a tiny cell. When somebody capitulates, he's put forward by the reaction.

The production of fake letters of capitulation is nothing new either : it was already made for the revolutionary leader Thomas Münzer in Germany in 1525.

As said, it is basic teaching of the revolution that the reaction is not to be trusted.

And in its accusation, the Marxist–Leninist Communist Organization – Proletarian Way affirms that the Communist Party of Peru said that Gonzalo Thought would be a new stage of marxism. This is of course not true at all and it shows that the Marxist–Leninist Communist Organization – Proletarian Way doesn't know or understand the Communist Party of Peru.



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And how can it be else, when the Marxist–Leninist Communist Organization – Proletarian Way believes that all countries in the world are capitalist (and not capitalist or semi-feudal semi-colonial), that Stalin was a counter-revolutionary, rejecting the universal character of People’s War ?

It's also strange to see the Marxist–Leninist Communist Organization – Proletarian Way denouncing the “capitulation” of Gonzalo, when it has itself supported Prachanda, the revisionist leader of Nepal, until the end of its capitulation.

This is here good example, because genuine revolutionaries have foreseen Prachanda's errors at a very early stage. There is no such thing like a genuine revolutionary leader who, suddenly, capitulates.

This is why we can't trust the German state when it says that Ulrike Meinhof killed herself in her prison cell, or when the social-imperialist USSR said that the great Greek leader Nikos Zachariadis killed himself in exile. These are lies.

In the same way, it is a question of trust in the movement of History not to believe in Gonzalo’s capitulation. His arrest, like he said, is only a “bend in the road” for the Peruvian revolution.



Such a bend can take time, exactly like the revolution in the imperialist countries is knowing a strategical retreat since the wave of the 1960’s-1970’s, when anyway Asia, Africa and Latin America became the “storm centers of world revolution”.

What counts, in such situation, is that the revolutionaries unite themselves in avant-garde parties in each country, defending the revolutionary traditions and struggling against Revisionism and subjectivist interpretations coming from outside the historical revolutionary current.

This, to be ready for the next great wave of the World Revolution.

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

*September 2017*

# LENIN ON THE LEADERS

## [ FROM “LEFT-WING” COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER. ]

The mere presentation of the question—“dictatorship of the party *or* dictatorship of the class; dictatorship (party) of the leaders, *or* dictatorship (party) of the masses?”—testifies to most incredibly and hopelessly muddled thinking.

These people want to *invent* something quite out of the ordinary, and, in their effort to be clever, make themselves ridiculous.

It is common knowledge that the masses are divided into classes, that the masses can be contrasted with classes only by contrasting the vast majority in general, regardless of division according to status in the social system of production, with categories holding a definite status in the social system of production; that as a rule and in most cases—at least in present-day civilised countries—classes are led by political parties; that political parties, as a general rule, are run by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members, who are elected to the most responsible positions, and are called leaders.

All this is elementary. All this is clear and simple. Why replace this with some kind of rigmarole, some new Volapük?



On the one hand, these people seem to have got muddled when they found themselves in a predicament, when the party's abrupt transition from legality to illegality upset the customary, normal and simple relations between leaders, parties and classes.

In Germany, as in other European countries, people had become too accustomed to legality, to the free and proper election of “leaders” at regular party congresses, to the convenient method of testing the class composition of parties through parliamentary elections,

mass meetings the press, the sentiments of the trade unions and other associations, etc.

When, instead of this customary procedure, it became necessary, because of the stormy development of the revolution and the development of the civil war, to go over rapidly from legality to illegality, to combine the two, and to adopt the “inconvenient” and “undemocratic” methods of selecting, or forming, or preserving “groups of leaders”—people lost their bearings and began to think up some unmitigated nonsense.

Certain members of the Communist Party of Holland, who were unlucky enough to be born in a small



country with traditions and conditions of highly privileged and highly stable legality, and who had never seen a transition from legality to illegality, probably fell into confusion, lost their heads, and helped create these absurd inventions.



On the other hand, one can see simply a thoughtless and incoherent use of the now “fashionable” terms: “masses” and “leaders”. These people have heard and memorised a great many attacks on “leaders”, in which the latter have been contrasted with the “masses”; however, they have proved unable to think matters out and gain a clear understanding of what it was all about.

The divergence between “leaders” and “masses” was brought out with particular clarity and sharpness in all countries at the end of the imperialist war and following it. The principal

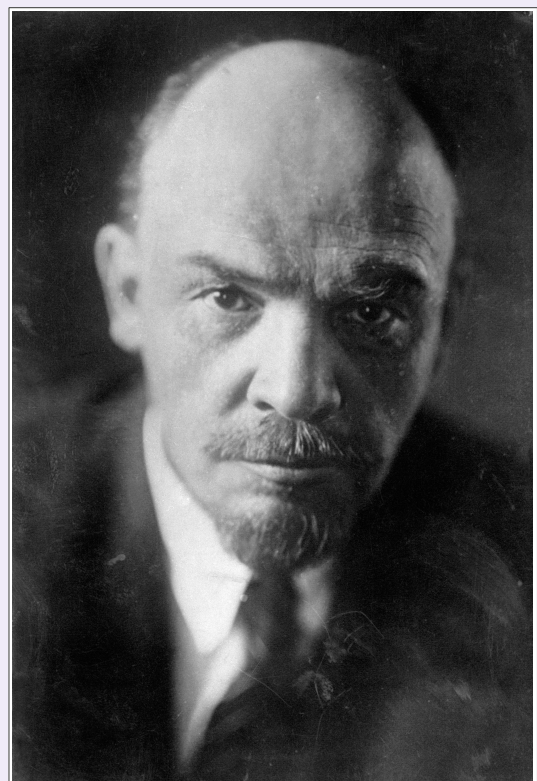
reason for this was explained many times by Marx and Engels between the years 1852 and 1892, from the example of Britain. That country’s exclusive position led to the emergence, from the “masses”, of a semi-petty-bourgeois, opportunist “labour aristocracy”.

The leaders of this labour aristocracy were constantly going over to the bourgeoisie, and were directly or indirectly on its pay roll. Marx earned the honour of incurring the hatred of these disreputable persons by openly branding them as traitors.

Present-day (twentieth-century) imperialism has given a few advanced countries an exceptionally privileged position, which, everywhere in the Second International, has produced a certain type of traitor, opportunist, and social-chauvinist leaders, who champion the interests of their own craft, their own section of the labour aristocracy.

The opportunist parties have become separated from the “masses”, i.e., from the broadest strata of the working people, their majority, the lowest-paid workers.

The revolutionary proletariat cannot be victorious unless this evil is combated, unless the opportunist, social-traitor leaders are exposed, discredited and expelled.



That is the policy the Third International has embarked on.

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# PERU PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT ON GONZALO'S SITUATION

[The MPP is generated by the Communist Party of Peru for the work abroad.]

“There is nothing that does not contain a contradiction.” Then one has to see which the contradiction is in Chairman Gonzalo: is it between treason towards revolution, or continuing the road of revolution? Or which is it?

He, himself, in the Interview pointed out that: “Nevertheless, there is always a contradiction between the revolutionary line that is principal in our thinking and the opposing line. Both lines exist, since no one is a hundred percent communist. In our minds a struggle between two lines is waged, and this struggle is also key in forging the cadre, aiming always at keeping the revolutionary line principal. This is what we strive for.”

It is evident that Chairman Gonzalo cannot, either, be considered a monolithic being without contradictions, understanding this is fundamental. But one, likewise, has to see the particular contradiction that he has - this is that of being Great Leadership - and understand that therein lies the contradiction, observe that we are not dealing with a formal post but a condition that has come up and been proven in revolutionary practice during various decades that has come to develop to a higher level.



Therefore, within Chairman Gonzalo, the contradiction is no longer between treason against revolution or continuing the road of revolution, it is not between applying Marxism or revising it, but the contradiction is between making a completely correct application or having errors due to confronting new problems.

This is not strange, it is not because Chairman Gonzalo is a superhuman or anything like that, it is the result of the development of class struggle, an objective result of the

development of matter.

Communism will inevitably impose itself in the world, this is a fundamental position that every Marxist-Leninist-Maoist necessarily assumes, it is a precondition of being Marxist; this due to, in the final analysis, that the tendency of matter is to advance; history does not develop in closed and eternal circles, history goes forward and it is impossible to turn its course backwards.

Communism cannot develop into a class society, for in communism, the classes have ceased to exist along

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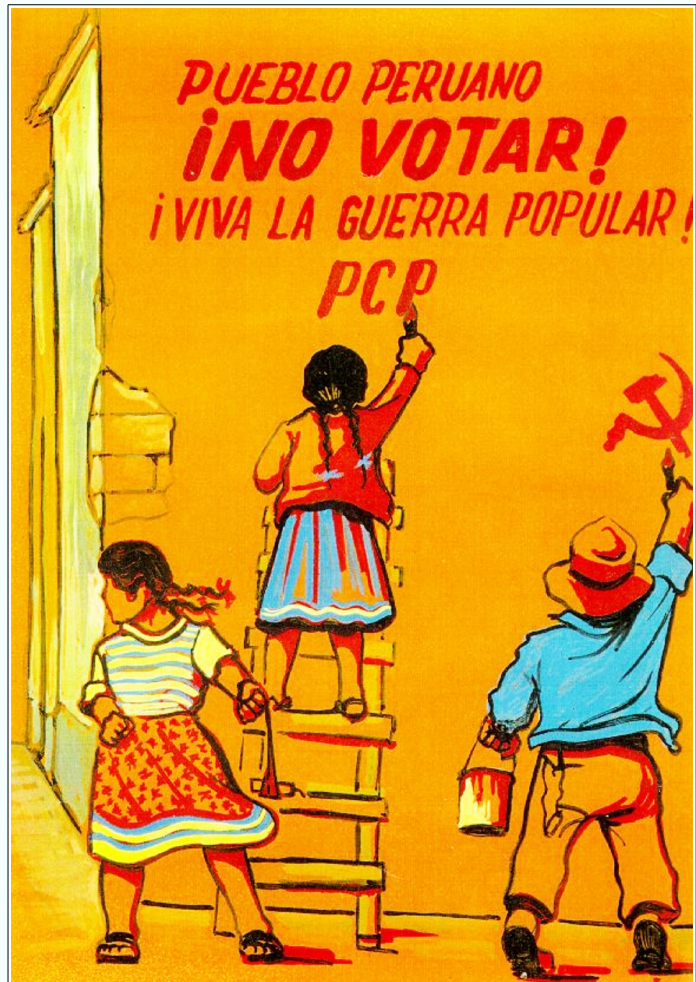
with all the prerequisites for their existence; it is impossible for a human being to foretell how the economical, political, cultural and social relations between people will be in communism, but, it is possible to affirm with complete certainty, that there will no longer, never more, be social classes in human history when the forever golden Communism has been born.

This does not mean that there will not be contradictions in communism, evidently there will, but the contradictions that will drive the development of human society forward will no longer be between classes, but of another type.

Then, if the Marxists understand it so, as we have seen in the example of how we understand Communism, the development of society: why are some not capable of understanding that the Great Leaders of the proletariat, titans like Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, as products of the development of class struggle, have reached a level of development in which it is impossible that they can become revisionists?

Or do the gentlemen who argue that it is possible that Chairman Gonzalo may be the author of the “peace letter” because everything divides into two, also believe that the founder of Marxism, of the entire International Communist Movement, Karl Marx, would have become a partisan of Bakunin if he had been held isolated for a year and received false information from German reaction's butchers?

Do these gentlemen believe that the great Lenin would have become one of the treacherous rats of the II International if he had been held isolated for a year and received false information from the gendarmes of the Czar?



Do the intellectualoids believe that Chairman Mao would have transformed into a capitulator if he had been held isolated for a year and received false information from the genocidal forces of Japanese imperialism?

It is evident that no one who knows the work of these three unfading peaks can consider the mere speculation on their firmness and absolute dedication to the World Leadership Proletarian Revolution as anything but coarse and stupid; for Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, are Great Leaderships, and even though we do not say that Chairman Gonzalo may be the fourth sword of Marxism, he too, is Great Leadership.

But, like a drunkard grasps for something in order not to fall, our “Maoist theoreticians” also come with their “argument” on torture and “brainwash” in order to give their coarse position foundations; this is too much!

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It is impossible that a comrade who has understood a pinch of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism could think that a human being, through "brain-wash", can change his way of thinking and elaborate a new ideological-political line without having the antecedents beforehand.

What they can do with torture and "brainwash" is to kill a person's brain, producing a "vegetal" state in him, but it is not possible to achieve that the person begins to, on his own, build up a new ideological-political line.

If the foundation for the coarse position that "Chairman Gonzalo may be behind the letters" is that imperialism and reaction, with the support from the rats of the ROL, have "brainwashed" Chairman Gonzalo, this means, in other words, that they have assassinated him; all this, then,

are speculations that only serve the enemy's plans and it is necessary for the Maoists of the world to unmask and crush them because they are based on "the external motive force" not on the fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal; it lies in the contradictoriness within the thing" and as a consequence they do not understand the correct interrelation between the internal and external causes which is that: "external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes."

Therefore the philosophical foundation for the position that "it is possible that Chairman Gonzalo may be is anti-Marxist, it is an utterance of a metaphysical conception that gives room to subjectivism, one-sidedness and superficiality.



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## CPF (MLM)

### IN DEFENSE OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO (2013)

Chairman Gonzalo, imprisoned since 1992, in a Peruvian military jail, is deeply ill and his life is threatened. It is a moment of an extreme importance; the life of the great Maoist of these last thirty years is in danger. Therefore, it is necessary to recall: to fight for Chairman Gonzalo means to fight for Communism! It is necessary to study Gonzalo and to apply his masterful understanding of the People's War, of the Thought, of dialectical materialism!

Here, it is necessary also to stress the importance of the Organization of the Workers of Afghanistan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist), which just made a call to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, to mobilize in this sense. This call is correct, and is the expression of the very important work of the Organization of the Workers of Afghanistan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist) to underline the importance of Gonzalo in our communist identity.

As these comrades of Afghanistan say about Gonzalo: "He is People's War until communism." Gonzalo incarnates the ideological leap to Maoism. The question of Gonzalo is precisely what separates us of new revisionism pretending to be "maoist"!

As these comrades of Afghanistan say:

"Today, it is Chairman Gonzalo and his all-powerful thought that gives the correct formulation of the scientific ideology of the international proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism.

The international line, Democratic line, mass line and military line of Communist Party of Peru which has been authored by Chairman Gonzalo, have international importance and great significance for world proletarian revolution. Chairman Gonzalo's contributions are combat

weapons that enables us the smash the rotten "new synthesis of Bob Avakian" and "Kiran-Prachanda twins revisionism of renegades of Nepal".

So, in defense of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we have to defend the legacy of its major contributions, and those major contributions are those who represent the all-powerful formulation of MLM by Chairman Gonzalo.

The above mentioned LINES are the extract of MLM in our epoch. So, to fight for Chairman Gonzalo's life means to fight for Communism. We ask for unconditional release of Chairman Gonzalo, and we fight for it."

The CPMLM of France always defended Gonzalo and is proud of having made a common document with the comrades of Afghanistan and Bangladesh on the concept of thought elaborated by Gonzalo, following the teachings of Mao Zedong.

The CPMLM of France always celebrated Gonzalo, not like the fake Maoists in our country who always rejected him or pretended defending him, only to betray him in a more perverted way. Gonzalo, our best comrade, kept in total isolation and victim of ideological hoaxes pretending that he became a renegade, must be defended.

And all the reactionaries of the world must be warned: Gonzalo's lessons are eternally a part of our all powerful ideology ; any attack against him will transform itself in a contribution of the new revolutionary storm coming, the new red wave of the world proletarian revolution.

Gonzalo means People's War until Communism! Gonzalo means the understanding of the thought necessary in each country to make People's War! To defend Gonzalo is to defend dialectical materialism!

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# Gonzalo

## and

# Shakespeare

The real name of Gonzalo is Manuel Rubén Abimael Guzmán Reynoso. It is indeed a secondary question, but of interest : why did he choose the name of Gonzalo ?

We can maybe think that he gave us a hint. In the famous *interview* he gave in 1988, he explained the following thing :

« Many times I don't have time to read what I'd like to. What do I like to read ? I read a lot of biographies. I think that literature is a great form of artistic expression.

For instance, I like to read Shakespeare, yes, and to study him. When you study Shakespeare you find political issues. There are very clear lessons in Julius Caesar for example, and in MacBeth.

I like literature, but politics always wins out with me, and leads me to look for the political significance, what is behind it. After all, behind every great artist there is a political leader, there is a man of his time who is waging class struggle. »

Here, Gonzalo shows his masterful understanding of “thought” as mere reflect of reality. His position, here, is the one of socialist realism; he knew that art is merely a form of expression of the global movement of reality, of class struggle.

And here we see that he spoke of Shakespeare. Let's take a look at Shakespeare's work. Do we find a “Gonzalo” ? Yes, we do, and we got a famous one, in the play “The tempest”.

But of course, we have to take a look further, to understand if he took possibly his name from this play. And what do we have? A Gonzalo making a famous political speech – which is conform with the spirit



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of what Gonzalo spoke of.

In the play, Gonzalo is an adviser to King Alonso of Naples, full of honesty. At a moment, he makes a speech in the spirit of Thomas More and Montaigne.

In fact, the Gonzalo of Shakespeare's play even directly paraphrases Montaigne's view of the inhabitants of America, in the in France hugely famous passage "On Cannibals".

Let's quote Shakespeare's play :

**GONZALO.**

My lord Sebastian,

The truth you speak doth lack some gentleness

And time to speak it in; you rub the sore,

When you should bring the plaster.

**SEBASTIAN.**

Very well.

**ANTONIO.**

And most chirurgelonly.

**GONZALO.**

It is foul weather in us all, good sir,

When you are cloudy.

**SEBASTIAN.**

Foul weather?

**ANTONIO.**

Very foul.

**GONZALO.**

Had I plantation of this isle, my lord,—

**ANTONIO.**

He'd sow 't with nettle-seed.

**SEBASTIAN.**

Or docks, or mallows.

**GONZALO.**

And were the king on't, what would I do?

**SEBASTIAN.**

'Scape being drunk for want of wine.

**GONZALO.**

I' the commonwealth I would by contraries

Execute all things; for no kind of traffic

Would I admit; no name of magistrate;

Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,

And use of service, none; contract, succession,

Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;

No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;

No occupation; all men idle, all:

And women too, but innocent and pure;

No sovereignty,—

**SEBASTIAN.**

Yet he would be king on't.

**ANTONIO.**

The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning.

**GONZALO.**

All things in common nature should produce

Without sweat or endeavour; treason, felony,

Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,

Would I not have; but nature should bring forth,

Of it own kind, all foison, all abundance,

To feed my innocent people.

**SEBASTIAN.**

**COMMUNISM**

No marrying 'mong his subjects?

**ANTONIO.**

None, man: all idle; whores and knaves.

**GONZALO.**

I would with such perfection govern, sir,  
To excel the golden age.

**SEBASTIAN.**

Save his Majesty!

**ANTONIO.**

Long live Gonzalo!

If Abimaël Guzman has chosen Gonzalo because of he play, then he had a great sense of humor, a sense of distance which is great. Gonzalo is a name like a symbol, a symbol of an “utopia” - and in the play the utopia concerns South America, as the words are taken from Montaigne’s words on the inhabitants of the colonized areas.

As Peru is in South America, we may think that Gonzalo’s name is a hint to Shakespeare’s *Tempest*.

And even if it is not the case, it sounds at least like a revolutionary echo of the revolutionary figure of Abimaël Guzman, Gonzalo, historical leader of the People’s War led by the Communist Party of Peru.

Culture calls culture.

Revolution calls revolution.

And so we do, like in Shakespeare’s *Tempest*, say “Long live Gonzalo” !



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