

"On Gonzalo Thought"

Document from the PCP First Party Congress Released early 1988

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.

There is a fundamental need for the Party to study Gonzalo Thought for a more correct and appropriate understanding of the general political line and especially of the military line, with the purpose of deepening particular points related to the Peruvian revolution, those specific and inherent characteristics masterfully pointed out by Chairman Gonzalo; in this way we will serve the "great plan to develop bases areas," the advance of the people's war and the future seizure of political power nationwide.

We must study Gonzalo Thought within the historical context from which it arose so as to understand its ideological basis. We must specify its content, most fully expressed in the general political line and the military line that is at its center. We must emphasize its fundamental point, the question of political power, of seizing power here in Peru, inextricably linked to the seizure of power by the proletariat in the whole world. We must pay special attention to strengthening it in the two-line struggle.

In sum, these fundamental questions can be dealt with by applying the following outline.

I. HISTORICAL CONTEXT.

International. Concerning events: 1) the development of World War II and after; 2) the powerful national liberation movement, and, within that, the waging and victory of the Chinese revolution; 3) the Cuban revolution and its repercussions in Latin America; 4) the great struggle between Marxism and revisionism; 5) the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. But the key is to see how in this great class struggle on a world scale, Gonzalo Thought holds that a third stage of proletarian ideology has

developed, first as Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought; then Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought; and later as Maoism, recognizing its universal validity; thus reaching Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, as today's expression of Marxism.

National. 1) Peruvian society and the political struggle in the post-war period, the so-called National Democratic Front, the APRA's action, Odria's government and the struggle against his eight-year rule, the struggle between Apristas and communists; and especially, the development of bureaucrat capitalism in the 1960s and first part of the 70s and the sharp class struggle that accompanied that period, "Velasquismo" and his so-called revolution, the collusion and contention between the comprador bourgeoisie and the bureaucrat bourgeoisie (factions of the big bourgeoisie) supported by opportunism and especially revisionism. 2) The class struggle in the peasant movement. 3) The development of the workers' movement. 4) The movement among intellectuals. 5) The armed struggles in the country, especially those waged by MIR and the ELN in 1965 as well as previously by Blanco, Vallejos and Heraud. 6) The question of the Party: how a party founded on a clear Marxist-Leninist basis degenerated into a revisionist party, the need to retake and develop Mariategui's path while developing and reconstituting the Party, the Communist Party of Peru founded in 1928 by Mariategui himself, and how, through reconstitution, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party was built. Here the basic thing is how Gonzalo Thought profoundly comprehends Peruvian society, centred on the crucial question of bureaucrat capitalism, and sees the necessity of reconstituting the Party and of seizing political power and defending it through people's war.

II. IDEOLOGICAL BASIS

One cannot conceive of Gonzalo Thought without Marxism- Leninism-Maoism, for it is the creative application of the latter to our conditions. The key to this question is understanding the historical process of development of proletarian ideology, of its three stages contained in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with Maoism principal; and most essential is its application of Marxism- Leninism-Maoism as universal truth to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution. It is because of this that Gonzalo Thought is principal specifically for the Communist Party of Peru and the revolution it leads.

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.

III. CONTENT

a. Theory. How it comprehends and applies the three component parts of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism; the importance it gives to Marxist philosophy, the need to train ourselves in it and especially its application of the law of contradiction in the study of all problems, always aiming to define the principal aspect and the motion of things; in political economy, the concern with exploitative relations and especially with bureaucrat capitalism, with the perspective of developing the revolution and the effect of the people's war on the base, as well as its attention to the economic relations of imperialism, assessing their political consequences; in scientific socialism, how it focuses on the people's war and the concrete form that people's war takes in Peru, how the question of power is always kept in mind, and particularly, its forging and development as the new state.

b. On content. The most substantive and most developed part of Gonzalo Thought is found in the Party's general political line; this Thought, then, is the direct basis for the line and its five components, with the most essential being how it understands the Programme and firmly maintains the course the Programme has set.

c. We should emphasize Gonzalo Thought's remarkable fulfillment of the requirements outlined by Chairman Mao: theoretical solidity, understanding of history and good practical handling of policy.

IV. WHAT IS ESSENTIAL

The essential thing in Gonzalo Thought is the question of political power, concretely, the seizure of political power in Peru, thoroughly and completely throughout the country, as a consistent application of the universal truth of Marxism- Leninism-Maoism to our revolution. But since it is communist thought, it understands the seizure of power in Peru as part of the seizure of power for the proletariat on a world scale, and that the seizure of power in the country, today taking concrete form in the People's Committees, base areas and the New Democratic People's Republic in formation with the objective of establishing the People's Republic of Peru, serves to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, for without it we cannot advance to communism. All of this is for the purpose of firmly and resolutely serving the establishment of people's republics and principally the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world, under the leadership of Communist Parties, with revolutionary armies of a new type, through people's war and the unfolding of cultural revolutions until communism shines all over the Earth.

V. FORGED IN THE TWO-LINE STRUGGLE

Gonzalo Thought has been forged in persistent, firm and wise two-line struggle, defending the proletarian line and defeating opposing lines. Among the most important struggles we should highlight those against modern revisionism, especially as represented by Del Prado and his henchmen; against right liquidationism led by Paredes and his gang; against left liquidationism led by Sergio and his so-called "Bolsheviks"; and against the right-opportunist line that opposed the launching of the armed struggle. Without struggle Gonzalo Thought would not have been able to develop; and his remarkable handling of the two-line struggle in the Party is a fundamental question that we should study and learn from.

To study and especially to apply Gonzalo Thought is crucial to being able to better serve the Party, the development of people's war and the world proletarian revolution, just as learning from Chairman Gonzalo is crucial to serving the masses whole-heartedly.

**Released by the Central Committee
Communist Party of Peru**

Early 1988