

# The Conference on the 50th Anniversary of the Assassination of İbrahim Kaypakkaya<sup>‡</sup>

Peru People's Movement

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\*<https://vnd-peru.blogspot.com/2023/06/mpp-al-simposio-con-motivo-del-50.html>

†[https://vnd-peru.blogspot.com/2023/06/mpp-al-simposio-con-motivo-del-50\\_7.html](https://vnd-peru.blogspot.com/2023/06/mpp-al-simposio-con-motivo-del-50_7.html)

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# Part I

*Long live the 50th anniversary of the heroic sacrifice of the immortal comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya!*

On this special occasion, we greet the International Communist League (ICL) and the TKP/ML campaign celebrating the 50th anniversary of the heroic death of the great leader of the revolution in Turkey and the world revolution, Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya.

This celebration holds great significance, not only for our comrades in the TKP/ML but also for all the communists around the world. We know what his life meant and the example he has left us. We embrace that life, that example, that blood, and we incorporate them into our own flesh, igniting our own minds and strengthening our will more and more, so that the path opened with effort becomes the path we continue together with our comrades in Turkey, as part of and in service to the world revolution, until we fulfill the task to which he dedicated himself. The best tribute that can be paid to him, and that is being paid, is to persist on that path, in that direction. It is the theoretical and practical commitment assumed at the cost of shedding his precious blood for the leaders, militants, fighters, and masses of the Party and the guerrilla army TİKKO, which Comrade Kaypakkaya founded. Comrades, together we will not stop until communism!

In an invitation, the Central Committee of the TKP/ML says:

“This year is the 50th anniversary of the assassination of our communist leader, Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya. As you know, we consider the anniversary of our leader’s assassination as a special occasion and organize various gatherings. We explain to broad sections of the masses the thoughts of Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya, what communism represents, and the ideological-political, organizational-practical, and military forms in which these ideas are embodied in concrete class struggle and in the overall communist life of our leader. For our Party, celebrating Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya means assuming the communist line, taking a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist position internationally against revisionism, reformism, and parliamentarism, but also reshaping and unifying our own Party and its components time and time again.

We consider the celebration of him as a deeper understanding of our Party built by him, his revolutionary path, and his communist conception. This year, being the 50th anniversary of the assassination of our comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya by the fascist Turkish state, we will dedicate ourselves to this process with particular attention. After the foundation of the International Communist League, our Party decided that it would be more reasonable and important to carry out (...) with the Parties and Organizations that compose the ICL.”

In another one of its documents, the TKP/ML shows its firm commitment and determination to continue the path paved by the blood of comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya and four other party general secretaries, along with countless number of leaders, cadres, militants, fighters, and masses. It states:

“In the 50th year since the assassination of comrade İbrahim, one aspect of the fact that his line is preserved and lives on with all its strength is its scientific nature, and another aspect is our immortal comrades who follow in his footsteps and carry his line to the people with their blood. The will to walk with determination on the path he has laid out for exactly 50 years, despite defeats and setbacks, is undoubtedly also the will of our party, which defends and organizes this line.

[...] Comrade Kaypakkaya’s red line was sealed on the battlefields, in all fields of class struggle, on this path and with this determination. Our party carries the pride, responsibility, and awareness of such determination accumulated over 51 years, the relentless continuation of the cause based on a scientific worldview.

[...] Our party is aware of its historical responsibility to clarify the ranks in the struggle between revolutionaries and non-revolutionaries in accordance with the law of dialectics, to clarify the distinctions, and to make the revolutionary-communist effective through the systematization of the struggle, as comrade İbrahim did. Fulfilling this duty properly is only possible with the determination to adapt the power of revolutionary theory, the superior capacity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to produce solutions to contradictions and persuade, and the victory of the

People's War, which will ensure the power of the people, to concrete conditions, as comrade Kaypakkaya achieved. This responsibility should be seen as an instruction given to us by hundreds of our immortal comrades who followed in their footsteps with determination, starting with comrade İbrahim. Accepting this instruction and fulfilling this duty with all our strength is possible by throwing ourselves with our whole being into the sea of class struggle. On the 50th anniversary of the assassination of our leader, the awareness of being worthy of him must be equipped in this way."

İbrahim Kaypakkaya was a great communist leader who embraced Maoism, at the time still known as Mao Zedong Thought, against revisionism, reformism, and parliamentarism. Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya defined TKP/ML as a product of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). This also means that the communist line of comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya has been marked as a product of the GPCR. He applied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, as our ideology was called at that time, to the concrete conditions of the revolution in Turkey and founded the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Turkey. He proposed the basic theses of its program and the basis of party unity, provided the party with a just and correct position on the national question in Turkey, understood the necessity of the Communist Party, defined the character of society and the state, the character of the revolution with its first stage of new democracy, the need for the worker-peasant alliance. The peasantry as the main force and the proletariat led by his party as the leading force, the people's war and the path of encircling the cities from the countryside. Comrade Kaypakkaya, a theoretical and practical man, a true Marxist, following the path of the people's war, led the beginning of armed struggle, defending communism and revolution by paying the cost with the sacrifice of his own life, which has been imprinted in the history of the revolution in his country and the history of the world proletarian revolution as an imperishable milestone.

The foundation of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist marked the presence of the proletariat, obviously, but what is essential, its maturity, having and generating its Party, the only authentic defender of its interests, opposed and antagonistic to those of the bourgeois and different from all class interests of the others, no matter how much they represent the people. The Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist signified, with the

heroic creation of comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya in Turkey, the end of the old bourgeois revolution and the beginning of the democratic revolution to sweep away imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and semi-feudalism. The democratic revolution, led by the proletariat, aims for the new democracy, which is a constitutive, fundamental, and decisive part of the proletarian revolution worldwide. Thus, history changed in Turkey.

In the process of its development, every revolution, through the struggle of the proletariat as the leading class, and above all, the communist party that upholds its irrevocable class interests, generates a group of leaders, and primarily one who represents and directs it, a recognized authority figure with influence. In the reality of Turkey, this has been concretized, by historical necessity and chance, in Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya, the leader of the party and the revolution. Fulfilling the law that every revolution needs a head.

Creatively applying the scientific ideology of the class to the concrete reality of the revolution in Turkey, it provided TKP/ML with its indispensable guiding thought to achieve victory and seize power, and even more so, to continue the revolution and always stay on course towards the magnificent goal, communism. Specifying the political and military line of the revolution as its centerpiece, aiming at the fundamental issue within it, the problem of power. Power in Turkey, because it is the revolution in Turkey, although being a thought that unfolds within Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, it necessarily has to be inextricably linked to the conquest of power by the proletariat worldwide. Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya and his thought were forged amidst the storms of the struggle between two lines and the class struggle, in a life-and-death fight for the defense of Marxism against revisionism in Turkey and internationally.

## Historical Context

On the historical context in which comrade Kaypakkaya and the TKP/ML were forged, the TKP/ML states:

“The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had now given a new impetus, a new perspective and a new ground for struggle to the red wind that enveloped the masses worldwide despite Soviet revisionism. Communist Leader İbrahim KAYPAKKAYA was

shaped as a part of this red wind that also affected the country, created consciousness and managed to continue his brisk run in the class struggle by constantly organizing it in a way that would ensure full liberation.

[...] For Comrade KAYPAKKAYA, the class struggle and the lessons and conclusions drawn from it further revealed the need for a revolutionary party. This need created an orientation to take a step forward in theory and in the search for organization and to reveal the social and political reality. Comrade İbrahim prioritized the establishment of an advanced theoretical foundation that reveals the historical and social reality based on the class interests of the proletariat, based on its scientific worldview. It was shaped by the awareness that there can be no revolutionary practice without revolutionary theory, and that revolution cannot be realized without a party that has constant and real connections with the masses and can lead these masses.”<sup>1</sup>

Regarding that historical context, the experience of the PCP and TKP/ML is similar. Chairman Gonzalo, regarding this matter, says:

## **1 “The powerful national liberation movement and within it the process and triumph of the Chinese revolution.”**

Even before the beginning of the Second World War and especially after it, the struggle for national liberation intensified: oppressed nations resisted the return of imperialists as oppressors and exploiters. It is obvious that the Chinese revolution, led by Chairman Mao, marked a significant milestone with its victory in 1949, altering the balance of power in the world. It should be reiterated that in the final stage of the Chinese revolution, particularly during the last three years, it was a war of national liberation carried out by the People’s Liberation Army under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of China, under the command of Chairman Mao Zedong.

The national liberation movement continued to unfold. An important milestone is the Vietnamese revolution, which had also begun in the early

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<sup>1</sup><https://redherald.org/2023/05/19/further-actions-and-statement-for-ibrahim-kaypakkaya/>

1930s. In 1945, after the Japanese surrender, the August uprising occurred, and the North, North Vietnam, was emancipated. However, the South remained under imperialist domination, first French and then American. A great lesson: not to divide or allow the country to be divided because emancipating the remaining part of the country requires much more bloodshed and effort. The South of Vietnam, a small country with 14 million inhabitants at the time, defeated, because they dared to take up arms, defeated the world reaction's gendarme, the US, Yankee imperialism. It was their second major defeat because the first one was inflicted on them in Korea in 1953 with direct Chinese participation. We must also remember MacArthur, the great MacArthur, a brilliant strategist who made a "wonderful plan" to encircle the Chinese but ended up being encircled by them in Inchon, a Korean port. It was the humiliating defeat of MacArthur and the U.S. They had to escape by withdrawing their troops by sea, fleeing like rats, so it's not a stroke of genius, not at all; it cannot be compared to Rommel's retreat, which is indeed a significant event in the handling of war in terms of retreat. Inchon is not the same; it is the Yankees who want to elevate MacArthur, creating a figure and supposed triumphs for him. In 1973, the U.S. had to accept its defeat. As the Yankees said at the time, Nixon said, "Let us save face." That was their only problem, an honorable retreat, "not to be humiliated." That's all they asked for, the almighty Yankee imperialists. The Chairman is right: "Not everything big is powerful, nor should we fear it" because Marxism is great, and that is truly all-powerful, and all reactionaries must tremble before it because they will be swept away.

## **2 The great struggle between Marxism and revisionism**

"Since 1956, the International Communist Movement, without being organized as it was in the International, existed and had relationships. However, at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, the clown Khrushchev, as he was called by the Russian people themselves, held his famous 'secret session' of the Central Committee, where he vociferated and spewed all the opportunist revisionist venom against STALIN, calling him a 'murderer,' a 'tyrant,' 'Ivan the Terrible,' and so on; the next day, all the news-



papers in the world announced the content of the secret session, an infamous fabrication by that swine, an ignorant swine, because that's what he was, and foolish, a man of bluster. The bluster is quite evident: the missiles in Cuba, an adventurous action, and their withdrawal through talks in New York behind Cuba's back, a shameful withdrawal in secret. That's how adventurers are, that's how revisionists are. But what was at the core? The attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the CPC rightly stated. In their documents on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and once again on the dictatorship of the proletariat, revealing the essence of the problem; that's when the talk of the cult of personality begins, so know the origin.

The years 1957 and 1960, the International Communist Movement meets in Moscow, communist parties and workers because not all are called communist parties, the one in Vietnam is the Labor Party, just like the one in Albania that was initially the Communist Party; Hoxha never explained to us why he changed the name, what reasons were there, the supposedly Marxist did not adhere to what LENIN said, to the mandate and agreement of the Communist International, what happened then? In these two meetings, it must be considered that they were the first that the communists had after many years because the Communist International was dissolved in 1943, there was a sharp struggle between Marxists and revisionists; the Marxists led by the Chairman, who was present at the meeting, forced the revisionists to withdraw their proposal for the agreement of the event; there was a circumstance - coincidences also matter, they do not define everything but they have an impact - Khrushchev was absent and when he returned he shouted, cried, laughed, groaned, screamed, rolled around, hit with his shoe as he used to do, he threatened and in the end he says: 'Let me save face, how does the CPSU stand, how does the movement stand, how do we stand, how does the 20th Congress stand?' he had to beg, he had to plead. But I think there was one thing that happened: 1957 was the first meeting after many years.

It could not be divided, it would have been a victory for imperialism; one must understand well the circumstances in which it was

held, both in 1957 and 1960. That is why the documents have ambiguities, but it is there that the Marxist-Leninist principles are defended and the Chinese comrades themselves, as evidenced in documents from the collection of the great international debate, raised their observations in repeated internal documents and in 1960 they stated that they would sign a document for the last time where the principles of Marxism were not clearly stated, and they would not do it again; that was in 1960, only four years of struggle, a struggle that had to be carried out internally.

Something that must always be carefully guarded is the development of internal struggle; knowledge of internal struggle should not reach the reactionaries because they always twist it and use it to sow discord. Lessons must be learned and the struggle must be handled properly. The struggle has different levels of development; written self-criticism could lead to measures, it could be emphasized. Our Chinese comrades have taught us how to conduct internal struggle, how to conduct it in stages, and when it should involve the masses, following what Lenin himself established. Internal struggle is not gossip in political circles or coffee shop talks. Internal struggle is the clash of two lines within the party organisms, at the appropriate levels, that's what it means.

That is why the documents of 1957 and 1960 were formulated that way. Why do we say this? Because there are those who claim that it was not defended firmly enough, that it should have gone further. No, the struggle must be developed, and it cannot be resolved with just a couple of blows. Internal struggle is a battle of ideas; we must observe the persistence or lack thereof in the expressed ideas, the real correction or lack thereof in attitudes, ideas, criteria, positions, and so on. Only in this way can we judge it.

The struggle between Marxism and revisionism will be waged by utilizing parties of lesser importance. This is what Soviet revisionism did, using the French and Italian parties - that's how they called themselves, although they later changed their names there. So the CPC had to respond to them.

The Soviets aimed to break Albania, including its own location.

Albania's dependence on food supplies from the USSR posed difficulties for Albania. However, that does not mean that Albania was the center of the struggle or that Hoxha was the leader of the fight against revisionism. We refer to the speeches given at the congresses because they exist. Read Hoxha's speech and read the position of the CPC expressed there in the congress. It was not by the Chairman because he was not there for that - the Chairman was not inclined to leave China, very rarely, he only went to the USSR when it was necessary and for the shortest possible time. Compare the documents, the positions, and see the content: the content of the CPC documents, their position is clear, forceful, and accurate. We cannot say the same about Mr. Hoxha's speech, but we cannot deny that he fought, of course, he fought and historically had a tough, personal, and direct confrontation with the loudmouth Khrushchev, a wretch who, when asked about the tons of wheat that Russia or the USSR should deliver to Albania, played dumb and asked, 'How many tons?' They answered with a certain number of tons, and he replied, 'Ah, those tons have already been eaten by rats.' That was Khrushchev, that was his way of conducting the struggle of two lines, arrogant, wielding his authority like a stick. That was Khrushchev. The wretch who, during the struggles of the 1930s, said, 'Woe to him who raises a hand against dear Father STALIN, we will cut it off!' Wasn't that how he said it? Dear Father STALIN up, dear Father STALIN down, wasn't that Khrushchev? That was Khrushchev, an inconsistent man. In his actions in Ukraine, his own homeland where he was sent for reorganization after the fascist defeat, he behaved with spite. Comrade STALIN himself had to call him to order; that's Khrushchev, that pink pig from the pigsty, the one who later called STALIN 'Ivan the Terrible.'

The year 1963 marks a milestone of great significance. On June 14th, the CPC sent a letter to the CPSU, the famous Chinese letter, proposing 25 points regarding the general political line of the International Communist Movement. They requested a debate on these 25 points and asked for their publication in the USSR, with China committing to publish Soviet documents for them to be known and discussed, to develop the struggle. How did

they respond? With the famous letter from the CPSU written by Suslov, the Soviet ‘theorist,’ the gray eminence. Comrades, read the letter. If he is a theorist, then we are Martians. It is clear that revisionism will always be devoid of ideas, devoid of reasons, because it can never go against the principles of Marxism. Rats cannot gnaw at steel columns. That letter has great significance worldwide. We have reiterated many times what it implies for our party.”

This great international controversy between Marxism and revisionism was another event that shook the world. It should be noted that in this party, even when we were members of the old party, because the split only occurred in 1964 when revisionism was expelled, in 1956 many communists rejected Khrushchev’s position. Comrades, we must remember, at that time, what were we all studying? “Questions of Leninism,” the works and writings of Comrade Stalin, which had more dissemination than Lenin’s own works - everyone knows, I believe, about questions of Leninism. Of course, we were molded in that, in respect for Stalin, in recognizing him as the leader of the world revolution, with Moscow as the center. We all knew that poem by Neruda: “while Moscow and the world sleep, Stalin keeps watch.” We all knew that. This great controversy between Marxism and revisionism has also had an impact in our country, serving to bring clarity, sharpness, and a clear direction to fight against revisionism in Peru. A similar situation has occurred in Turkey.

### **3 The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution**

Regarding this, Chairman Gonzalo tells us: “that studying it today in texts and remembering it is one thing, but seeing it in China itself and experiencing its glorious moments is another thing; they are two different things and that deeply marks you. But the key is to see how in that grand global class struggle, Gonzalo Thought considers that a third stage of the proletariat’s ideology emerges: first as Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought; then, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; and subsequently defining it as Maoism, understanding its universal validity; and in this way, reaching Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism as the current expression of Marxism.” This is the question that must be understood in an international historical context. Where could it ultimately be?

I insist, seeing how Gonzalo Thought considers, that is the question. What does it consider? That a third stage emerges, that is, he says, the key, from there we must start; how this understanding has been, on the one hand, to adhere, understand, and assimilate, because the first is not enough, simply adhering is not enough, it is necessary to understand and assimilate what we say embodies what the CPC taught us all in the world and wonder why some took those teachings firmly and others did not, that is what we should ask ourselves, because the light illuminated everyone but due to class blindness, it was not seen and some still do not see it. The essence of this, what would it be? Of this key question, defining it, attention! Defining it as Maoism, that is the main thing, defining it as Maoism because that is not what the CPC says; we all know the vicissitudes that the great proletarian cultural revolution has had and the counter-revolutionary blow. By the way, we never doubted! And given the blow, we understood that it was a counter-revolutionary blow, furthermore: that behind Hua, the supposed insignificant president, was the pus-filled leech called Deng; it wasn't us, and some must remember, who hesitated and said that there was no such blow, that Hua was the true president, and that Comrade Jiang Qing was mistaken? because that has been expressed (...) and why were we able to understand that counter-revolutionary blow? Because provisionally, we had thoroughly studied the great proletarian cultural revolution, from there the three popular voice numbers dedicated to the cultural revolution emerge. One could say, but Patria has also raised Maoism, yes, it has also licked Deng and continues to do so; avant-gardism of traffickers are nothing but labels to pretend to be what they are not, they are scenic representations of actors who change characters according to who is in charge. Not us, we have maintained and recognized that there was already Maoism, we have raised it, defended it, and applied it. This is the key, and in that key, there is something essential, and the main thing is Maoism, that's it.

*Long live the International Communist League!*

*Long live the immortal comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya!*

*Long live TKP/ML, TIKKO, and TMLGB!*

## Part II

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

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

*What is Maoism?*

“Maoism is the elevation of Marxism-Leninism to a new, third, and superior stage in the struggle for proletarian leadership of the democratic revolution, the development of the construction of socialism and the continuation of the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship as a proletarian cultural revolution; when imperialism deepens its decomposition and revolution has become the main tendency of history, amidst the most complex and largest wars seen to date and the implacable struggle against contemporary revisionism.”<sup>3</sup>

## The International Conference on the 50th Anniversary of the Assassination of İbrahim Kaypakkaya

On this occasion, we once again send our greetings to the International Communist League (ICL) and the TKP/ML campaign celebrating the 50th an-

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<sup>2</sup>I Congress of the PCP. [https://web.archive.org/web/20110922212048/http://www.blythe.org/peru-pcp/docs\\_en/fund.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20110922212048/http://www.blythe.org/peru-pcp/docs_en/fund.htm).

<sup>3</sup>I Congress of the PCP. [https://web.archive.org/web/20110922212048/http://www.blythe.org/peru-pcp/docs\\_en/fund.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20110922212048/http://www.blythe.org/peru-pcp/docs_en/fund.htm).

niversary of the heroic sacrifice of the great leader of the revolution in Turkey and the world revolution, Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya.

We take a firm stand in delivering the message to the international conference of the ICL about this celebration, the current situation, and our tasks. We greet the delegations present from other countries that are currently engaged in people's war, such as India and the Philippines. We especially salute the intervention of the Revolutionary Front for the Defense of the People's Rights of Brazil, as well as that of TKP/ML and all the other delegations.

This celebration holds great significance, not only for our comrades in TKP/ML but also for all communists around the world. We understand what their lives meant and the example they have left us. We embrace that life, the example of Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya, their blood, and incorporate it into our own being, igniting our minds and strengthening our will, so that the path they paved through their efforts becomes the path we continue together with our comrades in Turkey, as part of and in service to the world revolution, until we fulfill the task that he devoted himself to. The greatest tribute we can pay and are paying to him is to persist on that path, on that course, and that is the theoretical and practical commitment we have undertaken, even at the cost of shedding our precious blood for the leaders, members, fighters, and masses of the Party and the guerrilla army TIKKO, which Comrade Kaypakkaya founded. Comrades, together we will not stop until we achieve communism!

İbrahim Kaypakkaya was a great communist leader who embraced Maoism, at the time still known as Mao Zedong Thought, against revisionism, reformism, and parliamentarism. Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya defined TKP/ML as a product of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). This also means that the communist line of Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya has been marked as a product of the GPCR. He applied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, as our ideology was called at that time, to the concrete conditions of the revolution in Turkey and founded the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Turkey. The foundation of the Party is the highest synthesis of the theoretical and practical work of Comrade Kaypakkaya.

The foundation of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist, with the heroic creation of Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya, meant that the old bourgeois revolution ended in Turkey and the democratic revolution began to sweep away imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and semi-feudalism. It is a democratic revolution led by the proletariat, towards the new democracy,

which is a constitutive, fundamental, and decisive part of the proletarian revolution worldwide. Thus, the history in Turkey changed.

Based on the information provided, let's proceed to convey the position of Chairman Gonzalo and the PCP regarding the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China (GPCR) and how it experienced the most intense storm of class struggle for 10 years, leading to a deeper understanding of the theoretical and practical body of work throughout the life of Chairman Mao Zedong. This reached its highest peak with the definition of Maoism as the new, third, and superior stage of the scientific ideology of the international proletariat and the culmination of the reconstitution of the PCP and the beginning of the people's war.

The GPCR, in historical perspective, is the most significant development of Marxism-Leninism by Chairman Mao. It is viewed in historical perspective because the cultural revolution is not currently on the agenda. In the majority of countries in the world, which are the oppressed countries, the first step is to carry out the democratic revolution and then proceed uninterruptedly to socialism. In imperialist countries, the first step is to carry out the socialist revolution. The (cultural) revolution is not currently on the agenda; the focus is on advancing the understanding and embodiment of our ideology, applying it, and transforming the world. Understanding the definition of Maoism without hesitation or questioning is on the agenda. The democratic revolution is on the agenda, as well as the socialist revolution, and primarily the democratic revolution due to the weight of the masses in history. That is why we say that in historical perspective, it is the most significant. Today, we already have the knowledge of what we need to do when its opportunity arrives.

Two questions:

1. The cultural revolution, the GPCR, implies a milestone.
2. The restoration of capitalism in China does not negate the GPCR. The GPCR remains as a grain that all communists will have to wave when appropriate. The Chairman spoke of successive cultural revolutions.

The proletarian cultural revolution is the solution to the great pending problem of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Yes, the pending problem has already been resolved because if it hadn't been resolved, we would have been defenseless against peaceful restoration. The Chairman, years ago, already told us: "We know how to seize Power with



weapons, no one can take it away from us with weapons, but we don't know how to ward off restoration, we don't know how to prevent capitalism from dominating again, usurping the leadership of the Party, we don't know that"; well, now we know, it has already been resolved. This doesn't mean that we won't have to deal with restorations and counter-restorations; hopefully, the historical perspective will ultimately allow us to ward it off, and it is feasible because if we start from the 70s of the last century, 71, we already have more than 160 years, so the Power of the class has to become firmly established, and it will become firmly established, in the coming decades, and that is part of our work. But the question of continuation is already resolved, the continuation is there, and that is a new problem and of transcendental perspective.

Chairman Mao says, "a new, deeper and broader stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country." The decision of the CPC clearly expresses what the cultural revolution sought; it is specific, and they knew very well what it was about.

The GPCR signifies a milestone in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat towards the consolidation of the proletariat in power. What has been its realization? Revolutionary Committees. The Commune was not mature, and the key problem that was not mature was how the Party led.

Next, with partisan documents in hand, we bear witness to how Chairman Gonzalo and the PCP experienced those events and the decisive influence that Chairman Gonzalo's presence in China during the GPCR had, and how it was followed by the Party. We have documented testimony of how those years were experienced, which was published in a series of issues of "Voz Popular" (VP), the party's theoretical organ, dedicated to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China.

In issue number 6 of VP, the fundamental orientations of Chairman Mao Zedong were included, which guided the Chinese proletariat and people during the GPCR, as well as the basic documents of the CPC, elaborated under Chairman Mao's leadership, which initiated the struggle against the bourgeois. Issue number 7 was dedicated to highlighting the most important milestones of the GPCR process. In issue number 8, the content and significance of the GPCR were analyzed, as well as the events that took place in China at that time, resulting from the rightist coup, as it was characterized at that time.

We are not prophets of the past, said the Chairman. Chairman Gonzalo and the Party, therefore, closely followed the development of the greatest

storm of class struggle in human history, a significant milestone on the path of the world proletarian revolution to establish itself in power. That is why when the revisionist coup led by Hua Guofeng, an upstart, supported by the revisionist “pus-sucker” Deng Xiaoping, repressed the left led by Comrade Jiang Qing, the PCP was the first to denounce it while others hesitated.

It is our turn, on this solemn occasion of paying tribute to the 50th anniversary of the great victory of İbrahim Kaypakkaya, to present this documentation. We will present only the most necessary information, as we will timely make a complete digital edition of them available to the proletariat and the peoples of the world.

Thus, in the first issue of VP, there is a living testimony of the Peruvian communists during the 10 years of the GPCR. On this special occasion, we pay tribute to the 50th anniversary of the heroic sacrifice of Comrade İbrahim Kaypakkaya, who achieved a political, moral, and military victory for Maoism and People’s War in Turkey and around the world, we present it to you:

## **“LET US LAUNCH THE GREAT PRO- LETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION!”**

‘It is impossible to be indifferent to the destiny of a nation that occupies such a prominent place in time and space. China weighs too heavily in human history for us not to be attracted to its events and its people.’ - Mariátegui

‘Today, being a Marxist-Leninist means adhering to Mao Zedong Thought’ - Central Committee of the P.C.P.

In the 1960s, the world witnessed with astonishment the outbreak of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. The People’s Republic of China, committed to the construction of the new socialist society, once again trembled under the storm of class struggle. Enormous masses moved like human rivers throughout China, inciting rebellion. The global press hurried to denigrate China and its leaders, especially Chairman Mao Zedong. The reactionary forces worldwide gleefully predicted the destruction and downfall of the Chinese revolution. Yankee imperialism pro-

claimed that China was bleeding in the midst of a civil war, while the Soviet social imperialism shouted that the Great Proletarian Revolution was a ‘tragic crusade against world culture.’

But what really happened in that great Asian nation?

Contrary to the hopeful expectations of the reaction to see China immersed in chaos and fatally wounded by the socialist revolution, it turned out that it was the Revolution itself, brimming with energy and **under the wise leadership of the Communist Party of China and its leader Chairman Mao Zedong, that embarked on an epic offensive against the bourgeois to thwart their aspirations to restore capitalism in China.**

The world was tumultuous and restless. The vigorous revolutionary struggle of the people unfolded tirelessly, and the movements of liberation flourished magnificently among the contending forces worldwide. **Marxism-Leninism had clearly demarcated its territory in resolute battle against contemporary revisionism. The People’s Republic of China** was increasingly emerging as a **thriving base for world revolution**, while the hatred of its enemies grew immeasurably against it.

**Within China itself, the bourgeois, stripped of power, had managed to infiltrate its agents within the Communist Party. They had even usurped important state positions, utilizing the superstructure - particularly various cultural domains - as the focal point for their malicious counter-revolutionary actions, preparing to seize total political power.** José Carlos Mariátegui, the great teacher of the Peruvian proletariat and of our entire people, has issued a warning in this regard: ‘Capital can be violently expropriated; culture cannot. And in the hands of the bourgeois, culture is an inherently political weapon, a reactionary weapon, a counter-revolutionary weapon.’

**Liu Shaoqi**, the ultimate representative of the bourgeois and a sinister seller-out of the workers, infiltrating the Communist Party, attempted to impose his revisionist political line in intimate collusion **with the infamous arch-revisionist Khrushchev. His plan consisted of carrying out a counter-revolutionary**

restoration, transforming the Communist Party into a revisionist and fascist party, and subjecting China to Soviet social-imperialism. Faced with such a situation, Chairman Mao Zedong's Red Line launched a counterattack against the bourgeois by initiating the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The bourgeois trembled in terror. The uncontrollable fury of the revolutionary masses, mobilized by the millions throughout China, shattered the bourgeois strongholds. **The fighting proletariat ripped off the 'revolutionary' mask that the bourgeois wore and exposed their repugnant features to the outraged popular masses.** One by one, the vile elements entrenched in the Communist Party of China and the state, who were plotting capitalist restoration, were discovered and duly punished by the people. **Liu Shaoqi, the 'Chinese Khrushchev,' Peng Zhen, Deng Xiaoping, and their other accomplices were ignominiously condemned by the masses and thrown into the garbage heap of history, the common destiny of all reactionaries in the world.**

**But the bourgeois did not lay down their arms.** They had enough cunning to slip away, lie low for a certain time, and await the opportune moment to regroup and launch a new treacherous attack on the Revolution. The red line of the Communist Party of China, embodied in Chairman Mao Zedong, relying on the popular masses, had to engage in new struggles against the bourgeois monsters who dared to confront the proletariat. **Lin Biao and, more recently, Deng Xiaoping were the evil revisionist characters who plotted and carried out numerous crimes** once again in order to destroy the socialist revolution and pave the way for the resurgence of capital in China. **Deng Xiaoping, who pretended to be 'repentant'** of his crimes and falsely promised to serve the revolution, as soon as he believed he was out of the watchful eyes of Chairman Mao's red line and the masses, **unleashed a rightist wind aimed at overturning the just conclusions of the GPCR.** Brandishing his revisionist wares of the 'extinction of class struggle' and the 'theory of productive forces,' he vehemently opposed the proletariat exercising all-encompassing dictatorship in all aspects of

the superstructure and desperately sought the capitalist restoration **under the label of ‘industrial development.’** Deng Xiaoping’s line is nothing but the continuation of the revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao. **The Chinese people, under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s red line, engaged in a life-and-death struggle against these unrepentant vermin who embraced the capitalist path, defeating them and subjecting their black revisionist counter-revolutionary line to relentless criticism.** With these magnificent victories, the revolutionary combativeness of the masses grew, **the red line was strengthened, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution shone even brighter, elevating the global revolution to greater heights.**

A great tragedy befell China and all the peoples of the world: **on September 9th, 1976, Chairman Mao Zedong passed away in Beijing at the age of 82.** This irreparable loss was destined to bring serious difficulties to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. Taking advantage of the immeasurable void left by the inevitable departure of Chairman Mao, the Chinese bourgeois has once again and with greater animosity launched its greedy attempt to snatch power from the working class. **Today, the right has carried out a reactionary coup in China.** The bourgeois has begun a new offensive against Chairman Mao Zedong’s red line and a fierce persecution of the finest leaders of the proletariat who have excelled in the advancement of the GPCR under the leadership of Chairman Mao. **The reactionaries feverishly seek to transform the red Communist Party of China into a revisionist and fascist party in the style of the Soviet Union in order to suffocate the revolution.** In China, the handful of bourgeois reactionaries who have usurped power are raising the red flag to oppose it; they speak of revolution and Marxism, but what they practice is counter-revolution and revisionism; they quote Chairman Mao, distorting and turning him into a ‘bourgeois conformist’; they vainly seek to flatter the masses, while deep down their hearts harbor long-accumulated hatred towards them. **The bourgeois’ spearhead is directly aimed at the brilliant achievements of the**

**GPCR, against Chairman Mao's red line, against the revolutionary masses, and against Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.**

**However, the red line of Chairman Mao has not been defeated, much less. The struggle is long and has only just begun.** The Left, tempered in the fiery battles of the Chinese Revolution and personally educated by Chairman Mao, wages a heroic resistance struggle against the Right. In the face of the momentary onslaught of the bourgeois, the courageous Chinese people are demonstrating that they have not forgotten Chairman Mao's guidance: 'In the final analysis, all truths of Marxism can be summed up in one phrase: 'Rebellion is justified'.' We must have infinite confidence that Chairman Mao's red line will overcome this setback, crush the reactionary attempts of the bourgeois to subjugate China, and continue to achieve greater and greater victories. **Chairman Mao has said: 'I am certain that if the Right carries out an anti-communist coup in China, it will not know peace either, and most likely its domination will be short-lived, and this will not be tolerated by any of the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people, who constitute over 90 percent of the population.'** Let us be absolutely convinced that this scientific foresight of Chairman Mao will inevitably come to pass.

**China is the base of the world revolution.** Therefore, it is urgent for **the proletariat and the peoples of the world to understand the current situation in China; it is vital for them to distinguish the red line from the black line.** The concern of the working class and revolutionary peoples arises from their intuition that the fate of the proletarian revolution is being played out in China, from the simple understanding that a blow dealt to China by the bourgeois is a blow received by the world revolution, and that a step forward by China in favor of the revolution is a step forward in the world revolution.

For the current Chinese situation, it is not possible to understand it solely by focusing on the detailed events of the moment. **It is necessary to delve into the analysis of the two lines that have confronted each other during the course of the**

**Chinese revolution, particularly during the GPCR.** We must understand the propositions and actions of the red line and the black line, the struggles that have taken place between them, and who their main representatives have been and how they have acted. Only with this comprehensive analysis will we have a general understanding of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeois for seizing and counter-seizing power. It is essential to study the lessons of the GPCR, analyze its process and content; we must come to understand that the political line guiding those who currently usurp the leadership of the state in China is the same that was upheld by Liu Shaoqi, Lin Biao, and Deng Xiaoping. **In summary, we must take the class struggle as the key to understanding the current Chinese situation.**

**In this way, it becomes clear why we are concerned with the GPCR.** Voz Popular, an informatics organ at the service of the Peruvian working class and people, seeks to contribute to the understanding of the two lines and to clarify the understanding of the CPC's red line that carries the flag of Chairman Mao and illuminates the Chinese people and all the peoples of the Earth with inexhaustible light. In three successive issues, we will present the central issues of the GPCR. This edition contains the fundamental guidelines established by Chairman Mao Zedong that pointed out the direction of the GPCR and the basic documents of the CPC that opened fire against the bourgeois. Issue 7 of Voz Popular will include the process of the GPCR, highlighting the most important milestones in the struggle between the two lines. Finally, issue 8 of Voz Popular will be dedicated to elucidating the content and meaning of the GPCR. Through the dissemination of these publications, Voz Popular seeks to contribute to the analysis of the burning and crucial situation in China, the international communist movement, and the world revolution.

The working class has no homeland or borders: workers from all countries are united by the strong bond of proletarian internationalism and by the ultimate goal of realizing communism on Earth. The global working class, oppressed nations, and peoples of the world see China as the solid support base for their struggles for emancipation and revolution. For these reasons, revolutionaries

from all continents have the sacred duty to support the red line of the Communist Party of China, especially in this decisive hour when the bourgeois once again seeks to crush the Chinese working class and people, undermine the lofty morale of the proletariat, dominate China, and set back the world revolution.

**LET US LAUNCH THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION!”**

In addition to the above, the following GPCR documents are available from the same issue:

## **“CHAIRMAN MAO’S MAY 7 DIRECTIVE**

On May 7th, 1966, Chairman Mao issued an important directive which states:

‘The People’s Liberation Army should be a great school. In this school, our army should study politics and military affairs, raise its educational level, and also engage in agriculture and side-occupations and run small or medium-sized factories to make products for its own needs or for exchange with the state against equal values. Our army should also do mass work and participate in the socialist education movement in the factories and the villages. When the socialist education movement is over, it will always find mass work to do so as to be always at one with the masses. Also our army should always be ready to participate in the struggles to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois in the cultural revolution.

While mainly engaging in industrial activity, workers should also study military affairs and politics and raise their educational level. They, too, should carry out the socialist education movement and criticize and repudiate the bourgeois. Where conditions permit, they should also engage in agriculture and side-occupations, just as people do in the Daqing Oilfield.



While mainly engaging in agricultural production (including forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fisheries), the peasants in the communes should at the same time study military affairs and politics and raise their educational level. When conditions permit, they should collectively run some small factories. They also should criticize and repudiate the bourgeois.

The same holds good for the students too. While their main task is to study, they should also learn other things, that is to say, they should not only learn book knowledge, they should also learn industrial production, agricultural production and military affairs. They also should criticize and repudiate the bourgeois. The length of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools and colleges by bourgeois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer.<sup>4</sup>

#### *BOMBARD THE HEADQUARTERS*

*My First Dazibao. August 5th, 1966.*

‘China’s first Marxist-Leninist dazibao poster and commentator’s article on it in People’s Daily are indeed superbly written! Comrades, please read them again. But in the last fifty days or so some leading comrades from the central down to the local levels have acted in a diametrically opposite way. Adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeois, they have enforced a bourgeois dictatorship and struck down the surging movement of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of the proletariat. They have stood facts on their head and juggled black and white, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own, imposed a white terror, and felt very pleased with themselves. They have puffed up the arrogance of the bourgeois and deflated the morale of the proletariat. How poisonous! Viewed in connection with the Right deviation in 1962 and the wrong tendency of 1964 which was ‘Left’ in form but Right in essence, shouldn’t this make one wide awake?’<sup>5</sup>

From the Chairman’s quotes on the GPCR, we will only cite the following:

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<sup>4</sup>Published in Peking Review No. 20, on May 19th, 1976.

<sup>5</sup>Published in Peking Review No. 33, on August 16th, 1976.

‘1. Basis of the G.P.C.R.

The next 50 to 100 years, starting from today, will be a great era of radical change in the social system worldwide, an era that will shake the earth, unparalleled by any previous historical era. Living in such an era, we must be ready to wage a great struggle that will have many different characteristics from those of past eras.’<sup>6</sup>

‘During the entire transition period, class contradictions exist, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeois, and the struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths. We will deviate if we forget this basic theory and fundamental practice that our Party has observed for over ten years.’<sup>7</sup>

‘The socialist society covers a rather long historical stage. During the historical stage of socialism, classes, class contradictions, and class struggle still exist; there is a struggle between the socialist path and the capitalist path, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. It is necessary to understand how long and complicated this struggle is. It is imperative to increase our vigilance. Socialist education is necessary. It is necessary to correctly understand and handle the problem of class contradictions and class struggle and accurately distinguish the contradictions between us and the enemy from those existing within the people, and handle them correctly. Otherwise, a socialist country like ours will become its opposite, degenerate, and restoration will occur. From now on, we must discuss this every year, every month, and every day, so that we have a relatively clear understanding of this problem and follow a Marxist-Leninist line.’<sup>8</sup>

‘To overthrow political power, it is always necessary, first and foremost, to create public opinion and work in the ideological field. This is how revolutionary classes proceed, and it is also how counter-revolutionary classes operate.’<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>1962. Peking Review. No. 11, 1968.

<sup>7</sup>1965. Peking Review . No. 1, 1976.

<sup>8</sup>1962. Peking Review. No. 14, 1976.

<sup>9</sup>Intervention in the Tenth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. September 1962.

‘A very long period is required to resolve the struggle of ‘who will overcome whom’: socialism or capitalism, in the political and ideological fronts. It will take not just a few decades, but rather hundreds of years to achieve success. As for time, it is better to prepare for a long period rather than a short one; and when it comes to work, it is better to consider the task as difficult rather than easy. Thinking and acting in this way is more beneficial and less harmful.’<sup>10</sup>

‘...The main target of the current movement are those elements with power who follow the capitalist path within the Party. (...) Among the elements with power who follow the capitalist path, some act on the stage while others operate behind the scenes.

[Supporting these elements] there are some individuals at higher levels - in communes, territories, districts, prefectures, and even at the provincial and central department levels - who oppose the construction of socialism.’<sup>11</sup>

‘We must be vigilant against the emergence of revisionism, especially against the emergence of revisionism within the Central Committee of our Party.’<sup>12</sup>

‘What will you do if revisionism arises in the Central Committee? This is very likely. This is the greatest danger.’<sup>13</sup>

‘The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is completely necessary and very timely to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent the restoration of capitalism, and build socialism.’<sup>14</sup>

‘The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is, essentially, a great political revolution undertaken, under the conditions of socialism, by the proletariat against the bourgeois and all other exploiting classes. It is the continuation of the prolonged struggle between the Communist Party of China and the broad revolutionary

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<sup>10</sup>July 1964. Peking Review. No. 26, 1967.

<sup>11</sup>*Document of 23 points*. January 1965.

<sup>12</sup>Peking Review. No. 22, 1967.

<sup>13</sup>Peking Review. No. 33, 1967.

<sup>14</sup>Cited in the 12th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. October 1968.

masses under its leadership, on the one hand, and the reactionaries of the Kuomintang, on the other. It is the continuation of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeois.’<sup>15</sup>

‘This great proletarian cultural revolution boldly mobilizes the masses from the bottom up through broad democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and, at the same time, forges the grand alliance of proletarian revolutionaries and the triple revolutionary integration of revolutionary masses, the People’s Liberation Army, and revolutionary cadres.’<sup>16</sup>

‘The basic program of the great proletarian cultural revolution in the ideological field consists of ‘combating the concept of private ownership, and criticizing and repudiating revisionism (...) Therefore, **the great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution that reaches the very soul of the people and is destined to solve the problem of their worldview.**’<sup>17</sup>

‘The proletariat must exercise complete dictatorship over the bourgeois in the superstructure, including various realms of culture.’<sup>18</sup>

In VP No. 6, the BASIC DOCUMENTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA ON THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION are included, which will be available in the complete publication. To conclude the presentation of this issue, we transcribe the following document from the PCP signed as the Coordinating Committee of the Mariátegui Affiliated Organizations:

*“Eternal Glory to Chairman Mao Zedong!”*

In thousands of years of relentless struggle to move from the realm of necessity to that of freedom, humanity gave birth to the working class, and this class, with its inexhaustible and growing strength, produced Marxism-Leninism synthesized in Marx and Engels, in Lenin and Stalin. Thus, since the emergence of Marxism, the working class, the oppressed peoples, and all of humanity

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<sup>15</sup>May 1968. Peking Review. No. 19, 1968.

<sup>16</sup>Peking Review. No. 46, 1967.

<sup>17</sup>November 1967. Peking Review. No. 46, 1967.

<sup>18</sup>Peking Review. No. 46, 1967.

have a goal and a hope: to build the new society, the communist society towards which they march 'with fervent and active faith.'

In the era of imperialism or monopolistic, parasitic, and dying capitalism, a time when the working class, through the strength of their armed hands, conquers power and when the growing and furious waves of national liberation sweep away imperialist oppression, the Chinese revolution unfolds, teaching and astonishing the world. In this historical crucible, the international working class materializes in Chairman Mao Zedong, who founded the Communist Party of China in 1921, the organized vanguard that led the victorious revolution of new democracy, culminating in the establishment of the People's Republic of China. This Party, through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, is currently carrying out the Socialist Revolution and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is how Mao Zedong Thought emerged. This is how Marxism-Leninism found the way to guide and incorporate oppressed peoples into the unstoppable torrent of world revolution. This is how Marxism-Leninism found the path to uninterruptedly develop the Socialist Revolution and march towards its inexorable future goal, the communist society.

In this grand framework of class struggle in your great homeland and in the world, the fight against the revisionism that exists, unmasked as Soviet social-imperialism, is the main source of war today. And it has been developed in all its fields, elevating it to its current state of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Thus, Marxism, in the flames of class struggle and the actions of the great teachers of the proletariat, has become Marxism-Leninism, and this, in turn, has become Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Consequently, today, to be a Marxist is to adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

Chairman Mao Zedong has died! His great heart has stopped beating, his pulse has ceased, and his life has faded away. A deep, dense, and heavy sorrow falls upon the working class and the oppressed peoples of the Earth, and the red flags fly at half-mast in universal mourning. The great master of the international

proletariat has ceased to exist, and his unfathomable absence is felt throughout the world. It is the great absence left by Marx, the great absence left by Lenin. But today, just as yesterday, the working class and the popular masses, transforming their pain into strength and forging ahead through the storm, will continue towards their luminous goal, always raising the unconquerable flags of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Zedong.

The Organizations Adhered to Mariátegui in this hour of sorrow express their deepest condolences to the Chinese people, the Chinese working class, and the great, glorious, and correct Communist Party of China for the passing of Chairman Mao Zedong, a great teacher of the international working class, the oppressed peoples of the world, and the world revolution, whose thoughts enlighten the world and will always illuminate it.

*Eternal Glory to Chairman Mao Zedong!*

*Committee Cordinator.*

*Lima, September 18th, 1976.*

*Organizations Adhered to Mariátegui.”*

In number 7 of VP, the GPCR process is analyzed concisely as a product of class struggle in socialism, the struggle between the two paths, socialist and capitalist, and the struggle between the two lines within the PCP. In the section titled *IV AS REACTION STRIVES HARDER AGAINST THE CURRENT OF HISTORY, THE DEEPER THE GRAVE IT DIGS FOR ITSELF IN PREPARATION FOR THE REVOLUTION*, there is a very precise and highly relevant quote to be used as a weapon in the fight against the accursed revisionist and capitulationist ROL that proclaims the repeated tale of the “end of history” as well as the “end of people’s war,” and to reject, crush, and sweep away these accursed rats, revisionists, and capitulationists who are enemies of Maoism and its creative application, Gonzalo Thought, and to reaffirm our determination to persist in people’s war until communism. We take a stance in favor of Mariátegui’s quote and the firm commitment of the PCP to “Not lay down the arms until communism!” Here is the quote:

“The political rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping is being carefully cooked up by Hua Guofeng and company. If you read the latest issues of ‘Peking Review,’ you will see that criticism of this

unrepentant advocate of the capitalist path has been archived, and important historical facts about class struggle within China are being hidden, such as the counter-revolutionary incident at Tiananmen Square.

The anti-communist coup perpetrated in China by Hua Guofeng and his gang has thus produced a temporary setback for the world revolution. **José Carlos Mariátegui**, the great teacher of the Peruvian proletariat and of our entire people, **has taught us:** ‘A revolution is not a coup, it is not an insurrection, it is not one of those things that we arbitrarily call a revolution here. A revolution takes place over many years. And often it has alternating periods of predominance of revolutionary forces and predominance of counter-revolutionary forces. **Just as the process of a war is a process of offensives and counteroffensives, of victories and defeats, as long as one of the warring factions does not definitively capitulate, as long as it does not give up the fight, it is not defeated. Its defeat is temporary, but not total.’ ”**

Number 8 [of VP] analyzed the content and meaning of the GPCR. as well as the events that were experienced in those moments in China, stemming from the recent rightist coup d’état.

Here we quote from *CONTENT AND MEANING OF THE G.P.C.R.*, the part that is explained:

#### **“1. THE TWO LINES IN THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION**

During the course of the GPCR, the red line of Chairman Mao and the black, revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi and his lieutenant Deng Xiaoping clashed to the death in all fields. Deng Xiaoping is now once again ‘rehabilitated’ by the right-wing that usurps power in China, despite having been condemned and removed from office on two previous occasions. The section ‘The Struggle of Two Lines in the GPCR’ in this edition helps us understand the positions of both lines in the most important fields.

**1) The problem of Power is the main problem that revolutionary classes have to solve; this is demonstrated by the**

entire history of the worldwide class struggle. Such a situation remains valid even after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the face of this problem, there has been a fierce struggle between the two lines. During the period of the democratic revolution in China, Chairman Mao proposed that the path China should follow was that of the revolution of new democracy, in order to sweep away imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, and to establish the joint dictatorship of the four revolutionary classes of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. On the other hand, Liu Shaoqi advocated following the capitalist path, aligning with the Kuomintang and serving imperialism. With the founding of the People's Republic of China, the dictatorship of the proletariat was initiated, the correct path advocated long ago by Chairman Mao. However, Liu Shaoqi became desperate to establish the dictatorship of the bourgeois under the pretext of 'consolidating' the revolution of new democracy. After the fundamental socialist transformation of the means of production, Chairman Mao stated that the class struggle still existed, that the bourgeois was taking refuge within the CPC, and that there was a need to conduct a GPCR against it. On the contrary, Liu Shaoqi claimed that the class struggle had ceased, with the malicious intent of weakening the vigilance of the proletariat and facilitating the seizure of power by the bourgeois. In summary, Chairman Mao's red line teaches us to 'NEVER FORGET THE CLASS STRUGGLE,' aiming for the seizure of Power when it is not yet held, its consolidation, and with the goal of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism and communism. In contrast, Liu Shaoqi's revisionist line, along with his follower Deng Xiaoping, aims to establish the dictatorship of the bourgeois and restore capitalism.

**2) 'To make revolution, a revolutionary party is needed.'**

It was also around this orientation of Chairman Mao that the struggle of two lines unfolded within the GPCR. Chairman Mao's red line strives to build a party based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, starting from the materialist dialectical conception of the world, which never neglects the class struggle, practices criticism and self-criticism, closely integrates with the



masses, and directs its own construction according to its political line in each stage of the revolution. Only such a party is worthy of being called a Communist Party and capable of leading the masses towards communism. Liu Shaoqi and his associates conceived of a party detached from the class struggle and the masses, like a ‘club’ of friends even including bourgeois members, composed of compliant individuals with aspirations of becoming officials and driven by private interests. They envisioned a party that would develop in a state of tranquility, which, according to them, should prevail within it, meaning the idea of a complacent body, detached from the masses, not led by the proletariat but by the bourgeois, not for carrying out the revolution but for practicing counter-revolution.

**3) The struggle of two lines had as one of its fundamental focuses the military problem.** Essentially, the problem lay in how to understand military affairs: as a political problem or merely as a military problem. The Chairman Mao’s Red Line proposes placing politics in command at all times, which implies putting Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in command. It conceives that the Red Army, in addition to fighting against the class enemy, should dedicate itself to political work, propaganda, mobilization, politicization, and organization among the masses, and also participate in the productive process. It upholds the grand strategic concept of people’s war, which implies a development of Marxism. An important fruit of Chairman Mao’s Red Line is the general arming of the people through the people’s militia. Luo Ruiching, overthrown in the early days of the GPCR, and today, like Deng Xiaoping, ‘rehabilitated’ by the current Chinese leadership, acted as the representative and protege of Liu Shaoqi in the military front. His revisionist counter-revolutionary line placed military techniques and the power of weapons at the center, disregarding politics and the role played by men. He vehemently opposed the concept of people’s war and the construction of the militia, and worshiped the Kuomintang, advocating ‘passive defense’ and bowing down before the enemy.

**4) Trust in the masses or trust in individuals?** Should we engage in mass work to serve the revolution, the armed seizure

of power, and its subsequent consolidation? Or should we do it to serve the reactionary forces, oppose the seizure of power, and later undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat? Chairman Mao's red line, based on the Marxist conception that the masses make history, conceives of mass work in relation to power. On the contrary, the revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, based on their bourgeois contempt for the masses, advocates counter-revolutionary economism. Before the seizure of power, they focused on economic struggles that were purely trade unionist, without going beyond the legal framework imposed by the reactionary forces. During the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they focused on the 'production movement' in order to oppose the continuation of the revolution. Liu and Deng vehemently denied the Party's leadership over the unions. They conceived of them as 'unions of the entire people' and advocated spontaneity in the workers' movement in order to prevent the fusion of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the masses. In the countryside, Liu and Deng's black line fanatically advocated for the economy of the rich peasant and cunningly sabotaged socialist collectivization in agriculture, fiercely opposing it with their fallacious theory of 'mechanization before cooperativization.' They then raised the sinister banner of 'increasing land for private use, free markets, and responsible family-based enterprises,' trying to create ample room for the development of capitalism. They also stubbornly rejected the socialist education movement in rural areas promoted by Chairman Mao's red line.

**5) The theory also became a battleground during the GPCR.** It was fiercely contested in the field of epistemology, regarding contradiction, the interrelation between the productive forces and the relations of production, research, study, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and so on. One of the most backward and poisonous theories advocated by Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and company was the old and revisionist 'theory of the productive forces.' According to this theory, it was claimed that it was not possible for the people to struggle to overthrow the domination of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, nor for the proletariat to transform the new democratic revolution into

a socialist revolution unless the productive forces of society had reached an advanced stage of capitalist development. Liu and Deng also used this reactionary theory to combat the advance of socialism, falsely arguing for the ‘extinction’ of class struggle and the ‘necessity’ of focusing on production and the development of productive forces. Chairman Mao’s red line states that the possibility of seizing power lies in the existence of a revolutionary situation and the proletariat having a Communist Party capable of leading the broad masses with weapons in hand to overthrow the reactionary power. Once in power, the goal is to ‘engage in revolution and promote production,’ ensuring that political work guides economic work.

**6) Having chosen culture as the battleground to secure a favorable public opinion in their feverish attempts to overthrow the proletariat, the bourgeois intensified the struggle between the two lines in this field.** In the field of education, Lu Ting-yi and Chiang Nan-sisug, faithful lackeys of Liu Shaoqi, denied the class character of education, tried to separate it from politics (proletarian politics), introduced revisionist theories on teaching, and worked tirelessly to turn educational institutions and universities into factories that produced revisionist individuals trained to serve the bourgeois obediently and combat the proletariat. Instead of being means of propagating the proletariat, they became mouthpieces for the bourgeois, refusing to spread Mao Zedong thought and the Party’s policies. Regarding art and literature, Liu Shaoqi assembled a gang of bourgeois parasites, including Deng Tuo, Liao Mo-sha, Wu Jan, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-jan, Chi Ye-ming, Sia Yen, Tien Jan, and Shao Chüan-lin. Through various works, some of them attempted to steer literature and art towards praising the bourgeois and promoting the spirit of surrender, laying the groundwork for the bourgeois’s usurpation of power and the restoration of capitalism, thus denying Chairman Mao’s directive that the fundamental orientation of proletarian literature and art is to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Echoing their revisionist teachers in the USSR, they clamored for a ‘literature and art for the entire people,’ obstructed, adulterated, and fought against Chairman Mao’s

instructions on criticizing and repudiating reactionary literature and art, attacked Jiang Qing, who was diligently implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian line on art and literature, ecstatically praised literary and artistic works of the Western bourgeois, and persecuted and suppressed revolutionary literary and artistic workers.

These are, in broad strokes, the main points in which the Red Line of Chairman Mao and the Black Line, the revisionists of Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and Company fiercely fought during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In this great class struggle, the immense masses of China, with the proletariat as the axis, under the guidance of the instrument of the People's Liberation Army, encircled, unmasked, and defeated the representatives of the bourgeoisie hidden within the Socialist State and within the Communist Party of China itself. Once again, dawn began to shine for the Chinese people, the international proletariat, and all the revolutionary peoples of the world."

And finally, we affirm what the PCP has established with great firmness, optimism, and communist spirit:

"The GPCR shines in the firmament, its eternal radiance can never be extinguished. The handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists who today seek to ride upon the heroic Chinese people will not prevail; they are a tiny whirlpool attempting to oppose the overwhelming advance of a raging river."

*THE GPCR, IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, IS THE MOST TRANSCENDENTAL THING IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM-LENINISM BY CHAIRMAN MAO!*

*LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!*

*LONG LIVE THE IMMORTAL COMRADE İBRAHİM KAYPAKKAYA!*

*LONG LIVE TKP/ML, TİKKO, AND TMLGB!*