

Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

Manifesto to the Chilean People

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EROL Note:

In a call issued following the 1973 coup in Chile, the RCPC argues the best homage to the martyrs of the dictatorship and repression is carrying on the revolution. This reproduction includes the original introduction from the "PJ", British editor of MLQ, theoretical journal of the Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-Leninist).

MANIFESTO OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

AN INTRODUCTION

In this issue of MLQ we are publishing a document entitled "A Manifesto to the Chilean People" from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile. This is a recent publication of the Party and it outlines the lessons of the 1973 coup and calls for a united patriotic front to defeat the junta and their U.S. imperialist allies. The analysis of the coup, and the events which preceded it is based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of Chile. On this basis the present struggles in Chile are seen within the framework of attempts to unite the majority of the Chilean people on the basis of a democratic programme for national liberation. In this introduction we wish to present the analysis of the RCP to British comrades as a basis for study of the manifesto and also to point to aspects of the Chilean situation which should serve as useful lessons to revolutionaries in this country. In doing this, we wish to stress that the analysis presented is that of the RCP and not the position of the Communist Federation of Britain.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY

The RCP was formed in the early 1960s, during the rule of the reactionary Frei regime, and was, from its inception a clandestine organisation. In the beginning the organisation was small, and concentrated on the countryside. Through accumulation of experience, and struggles within the organisation the Party developed, and extended its work into the major industrial bases.

With the development of popular support for the Popular Unity government headed by Allende, the RCP faced the need to analyse this political organisation. The party stressed that the Popular Unity coalition (including social democrats, the revisionist Communist Party of Chile, and other left organisations such as MAPU) essentially represented a split within the bourgeoisie in Chile. This split divided the 'bureaucratic bourgeoisie', based on a state sector of the economy which had been developing since 1938, from the more reactionary sector, tied closely to US interests, and the large landowners - the latifundista who maintained a semi-feudal hold over the agricultural proletariat and small peasants. The former section of the bourgeoisie, to the extent that they opposed US economic domination of Chilean industry, were patriotic, and progressive and also advocated land reform, a platform which enabled them to gain support among the workers and peasantry.

The RCP called for a boycott of the elections in opposing the overall platform of the Popular Unity as a form of 'peaceful transition' towards socialism, but supported measures taken in the interests of the people. For example nationalisation of the copper industry and land were

supported, but the reservations of the RCP over the form which these measures took was soon confirmed in practice.

The nationalisation of copper mines involving full compensation to US investors, also involved shouldering responsibility for the debt repayment on capital investment in the mines. Consequently the ability of the nationalised mines to accumulate funds for their own use was severely curtailed. The nationalisation of land too illustrated the total absence of any real understanding of land reform on the part of the Allende regime. Land was nationalised, re-parcelled, and distributed to the peasantry, without due provision of machinery, foodstuffs, livestock etc. Thus the peasantry found themselves in possession of useless land, which could only be turned into cash by reselling the land to the old landowners.

The Popular Unity regime was of course hampered by the lack of a majority in Congress, which meant that the Christian Democratic Party could block attempts at reform attempted by Allende. Thus the people were constantly exhorted to demonstrate support for the Allende government whilst being discouraged from taking other than 'purely constitutional' action in support.

The strategy of the RCP was based on their class analysis of the Chilean situation. Based on the history of capitalist development in Chile, there is a large intermediate strata of small producers ('artisanos') or small employers, craft workers with their own workshops, lorry owners etc for whom the Popular Unity had no coherent approach. The RCP however stressed the need to incorporate the needs of this sector into any strategy for real change in Chile. They stress that this sector had no interest in continued US domination, and that they could be won over in support of a democratic programme. Allende's policies however contributed to their increasing alienation from the so-called 'socialist' road of the Popular Unity.

THE COUP AND THE PRESENT SITUATION

As the situation developed in 1972-73 sections of the workers and peasantry began to take matters into their own hands. Factories were taken over by the workers, in part in retaliation against constitutional blocking by the right, whilst the mapuches (indian natives) began to take over land from the landowners. These developments were supported by the RCP, who stressed the need to form militias for the defense of the people's gains. It was in this situation, with increasing fascist mobilisation, that the demobilising nature of Popular Unity strategy was revealed. Again, arguing for constitutional actions, many sections of the Popular Unity alliance, including the revisionists, attempted to block these developments, and this continued even at the time when the armed forces were attempting to extract concessions from Allende, and were negotiating places for them-

selves in his cabinet, as a means of 'defending the constitution'. Indeed Corvalan, the revisionist leader, made a speech shortly before the coup in which he argued that 'the enemies of the armed forces are to be found in the camp of reaction' (published in Marxism Today, September 1973).

This then was the background to the coup - as a result of PU strategy the people were disarmed and unprepared for the defence of their gains against the overwhelming forces of the state.

In their manifesto the RCP stress the centrality of drawing lessons from the events in Chile:-

"It is not enough to reply that there was a fascist coup and that this is why the PU government fell. It is necessary to go beyond this and to analyse how the conditions which made possible the accelerated weakness of the PU strategy and the progressive strengthening of the reaction were maturing. As proletarian revolutionaries we have a very great primary responsibility: to EXTRACT THE POLITICAL LESSONS FROM THIS PERIOD, to elucidate this dialectical and complex political process TO EXTRACT THE EXPERIENCES which will help us to construct a solid revolutionary movement in the immediate future. This is the demand made on us by the murder of thousands of patriots at the hands of the dictatorship."

The present task, as outlined by the Manifesto, is to draw these lessons and to unify the majority of the Chilean people against the junta and US interests, again dominant in Chile. Again, the RCP argues that this will best be done on the basis of a democratic programme for national liberation, which is an essential pre-requisite for socialist advance. (In this respect, the RCP comrades argue that the situation in Chile is analogous to that in South Vietnam and to the stage of New Democracy in China in 1948.) This can only be done by comrades working in Chile, although with the aid of concrete solidarity from Europe.

THE LESSONS FOR US

Most left groups in Britain have presented analyses of the Chilean situation, with the aim of drawing the lessons. This has often taken the form of more or less simplistic transfer of general principles from one situation to another. For example the IMG, with their slogan 'Armed Road the Only Road' believes that the issue is a simple one of military strategy versus the peaceful road. They tend to forget however that 'war is a continuation of politics by other means', and that a military strategy only works in the context of a correct class analysis of the concrete situation. At the opposite pole, the revisionists in Britain as in Europe as

a whole have embarked on a tear-jerking exercise of so-called solidarity, in which the real politics of the situation are repressed completely. We have to recognise that the situation in Chile is a complex and specific one, a result of the development of capitalism in that area.

There are however a number of general lessons that can be drawn mainly bearing on the nature of reformism, and revisionism. It is clear from the events preceding the coup that a strict adherence to the means of the bourgeois state can only lead to demobilisation of the masses. In Chile, it was precisely at the point when workers began to take their own extra-parliamentary steps to safeguard the gains made under PU that the revisionists found themselves moving against the factory occupations etc on the basis that they were 'unconstitutional'. It was at this point also that they found themselves divorced from the people, since their reliance on electoral politics had cut them off from the struggles of workers at the point of production and from the peasantry on the land. The Chilean situation provides an excellent lesson on the weaknesses of the 'peaceful road'.

Popular Unity however was not a simple reflection of revisionist policies. As a whole, its actions were characterised by the absence of a clear identification of the contradictions within Chilean society, coupled with bourgeois notions of 'nationalisation' and socialism which could not ultimately come to grips with the real problems facing the people. As the RCP manifesto illustrates, no real progress will be made in the absence of a thorough understanding of the way forward, based on policies which can unite progressive classes, including the intermediate strata. A government of the PU type which share many characteristics of European social democracy can only lead to the disarming, and temporary defeat of progressive forces at the hands of the bourgeoisie.

PJ

Editors Note

The editorial committee would welcome correspondence from Chilean comrades, including those from other political tendencies, on the Manifesto from the Revolutionary Communist Party comrades.

THE BEST HOMAGE TO THE MARTYRS OF THE DICTATORSHIP AND THE REPRESSION IS CARRYING ON THE REVOLUTION

MANIFESTO TO THE CHILEAN PEOPLE

CHAPTER I - THE LIVES OF CHILEANS ARE IN DANGER

A profound political change has taken place in Chile. There are new and great revolutionary tasks ahead for the democratic sectors in general and, in the first instance, for the proletariat.

In effect, the 'curtain' which covered bourgeois democracy fell away on the 11th September 1973. Its armed protectors, the "chief support of the reactionary state", the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Carabineros (National Police) carried out the fascist coup d'etat, THE MOST BRUTAL EVER KNOWN IN THE HISTORY OF CHILE. They overthrew and murdered Salvador Allende, President of the Republic. They launched the most violent, repressive and bloody offensive and up until today have murdered thousands and thousands of patriots; they have captured, imprisoned or sent to concentration camps more than twenty thousand people including women and children.

Today the whole country is a prison and all Chileans are liable to become victims of the fascist murderers. This is why a State of Internal War has been decreed. Since that date the country has been in a state of siege and curfew has been imposed. In practice it is only the law of the bayonet and the bullets of the anti-patriotic military that rule in the Republic.

Within this short lapse of time, the iniquities and crimes committed by the repressive forces of the fascist dictatorship are truly impossible to count. The industrial proletariat of the large state-controlled companies is the sector which has contributed and goes on contributing the highest quota; next to them are the peasants, the heroic young people and the revolutionary intellectuals. Right up to today each person is living a tragedy. Break-ins, violations of domicile, thefts, bestial tortures, bullets and mass murders ARE THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTIC OF THE FASCIST MILITARY JUNTA.

Murders of prisoners are a daily occurrence and they are covered up by vile slanders and subterfuges. Here are two examples: on Saturday 22nd of September the patriots Fidel Bravo and Raul Bacciarini were murdered in the port of San Antonio together with four regional leaders of the stevedores: Hector Rojo Alfaro (a militant of the PDC), Samuel Nunez Nunez, Armando Jimenez Machuca and Guillermo Alvarez Gana, who had all been taken prisoner that very day for carrying out trade union activities. On Monday 24th, the gorillas announced that these patriots "died while attempting to

escape as they were being transferred in a military vehicle." (Daily newspaper La Tercera 24.9.73)

On Sunday 23rd December the Chief Command of the State of Siege in Santiago announced that "a group of individuals had been caught behaving suspiciously doing something in a position in a high-tension electricity tower"... "on being apprehended by the chief of the patrol for identification and questioning the individuals opened fire on the soldiers, causing a subsequent rapid interchange of shots"... "the result of this exchange was the death of five extremists, apparently the whole of the sabotage group" (El Mercurio, 23.12.73). These five workers were already prisoners; they had been tortured, mutilated and murdered several days before anything was heard about the imaginary 'sabotage'. Amongst them were workers from Sumar and pobladores* from La Legua. One of them was active in the Catholic workers' youth organisation.

The fascist coup opened up a new stage in our national history, unlike any ever known before in its cruelty, its abuses and the scale on which they were carried out. Never before had any reactionary government in our country so savagely repressed such vast sectors, the absolute majority of the population. Never before had the Chilean people been subjected to so many abuses nor so rapidly despoiled of its most elementary rights, fought for for more than a century with its own blood, sweat and tears.

NEVER BEFORE HAD THE LIFE OF THE IMMENSE MAJORITY OF OUR COMPATRIOTS BEEN SO THREATENED

In Chile, since the coup, there has been killing, repression and the breaking into and destruction of homes; torturing and imprisonment go on without trial or defence; people are banished to grim concentration camps; all this with the single aim of securing and confirming the superexploitation of the people at the hands of the monopolies, and the repression is justified by citing the State of War and the State of Siege.

The right of asylum is violated here with impunity, the bourgeois Parliament is closed down, freedom of expression and freedom of the press are abolished with a stroke of the pen for all the democratic and popular sectors. Freedom to hold meetings is done away with, political parties are banned. The United Workers' Headquarters (CUT) is outlawed and the whole trade union movement is persecuted.

The pobladores are persecuted; there is military intervention in the universities, secondary schools, elementary schools and libraries; thousands of students, teachers, professional people and intellectuals are expelled; hundreds of thousands of workers, public employees, doctors,

* pobladores - literally 'slum dwellers'

engineers, and government officials are dismissed from their jobs after many years of work and sacrifice, their only crime being to defend their rights and not accept the sinister gorilla jackboot.

In this bloody and bitter hour for Chilean patriots and the democratic sectors who make up the absolute majority of the country, when the fatherland is sprinkled with the blood of its children, vilely murdered, we say to these gorilla executioners, disciples of Hitler, that they should not forget that that man began his campaign to enslave Europe in the same carefree way. But he was brought down by the forces of democracy and many of his accomplices ended up hanged in Nurenberg for their war crimes. **THE PEOPLE TELL THESE MURDERERS: DEBTS OF BLOOD ARE PAID WITH BLOOD.**

THE CLASS NATURE OF THE POLITICS OF THE FASCIST GOVERNMENT JUNTA

It is necessary for us to ask, faced with these events and with the ridiculous 'nationalist' and 'portalian'* demagoguery proclaimed by the gorillas: what is the class nature of this government? what interests does it represent? who benefits from its politics? These are fundamental questions which we must examine, from Marxist-Leninist positions, in order to work out the proletarian political line accurately.

It is indisputable that the fascist dictatorship of the generals represents the **ULTRAREACTIONARY FORCES OF THE COUNTRY AND THE INTERESTS OF THE U.S. MONOPOLIES.**

Its world outlook, its ideology, although presented through rabid patriotism wrapped in cheap sentimentality and chauvinism, are none other than **REACTIONARY BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM**, the declared enemy of democratic liberties, which is openly opposed to all progress for the people and which seeks to maintain the country in obscurantism and more and more submissive to U.S. imperialism. Thus for example its cultural policy is characterised by the reactionary persecution of the progressive social, economic and political sciences and the related professions; they are supplanted by deceits and outdated bourgeois and American theories like Keynesian liberalism, and the fascism, nazism and corporatism of Mussolini, Hitler and Franco.

In the political sphere they are attempting to reinforce the bourgeois dictatorship with a fascist state and are militarising all the activities of the country. They have liquidated all the democratic liberties in order to introduce the most cruel oppression against 90% of Chileans. However much they try to dress themselves up in 'legal' clothing, with a semblance of 'constitution', with civilian ministers, etc. **THIS DICTATORSHIP IS THE MOST BRUTAL AND FRANK EXPRESSION OF THE OLIGARCHY**, which tries to prolong indefinitely the

* Diego Portales: Ultra reactionary President of Chile in the 19th Century.

exploitation of the people.

In the economic sphere, the concentrated expression of the dictatorship is its movement towards the accelerated concentration of capital. This is based on the cruellest and most ruthless exploitation of the masses. The basic line which guides the politics of the Junta is making the big exploiters richer and the exploited poorer.

The slogan of exploitative capitalism is MAXIMUM PROFIT FOR ITSELF AND ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE IMPOVERISHMENT FOR THE WORKER AND THE LABOURING PEOPLE, even though this has to be imposed by means of bayonets, bullets, prison and death.

The real guiding forces of the economic policies of the Junta are the typical pawns of big NATIONAL CAPITAL AND U.S. IMPERIALISM. The basic aspects of their policies are:

a) Accelerated penetration of U.S. monopoly capital into huge companies, mainly exporting companies, with guarantees of superprofits (for example: systematic devaluation of the escudo). Transfer of control of the economy in its most fundamental sectors, into the hands of the U.S. monopolies in association with the fascist-bureaucratic-military caste which controls the state, companies, credit, agriculture, technical aid etc. Commitment to paying off the external debt and the most substantial indemnities to the U.S. consortiums nationalised by the previous government.

b) Liquidation of the Chilean trade union movement, imprisonment and death of her revolutionary trade union leaders. Formation of a trade union movement under control.

c) Freeze of wages, salaries, pensions, and accelerated devaluation of their buying power.

d) Unemployment of almost ONE MILLION CHILEANS, who will struggle, with their families, in the most terrifying poverty.

e) Rises and free prices for company managers and speculators.

f) Bankruptcy of considerable sectors of national industry and their ousting by the indigenous oligarchies and U.S. consortiums. Threat of mass ruin for small and medium-sized businesses in town and country (and even some large ones) faced with the violent rise in prices of raw materials, overheads, taxes, the ceasing and restriction of state credits, faced with the fall in buying power of the public and the competition with the monopolies.

It is untrue, completely untrue, that these policies are going to save the country. On the contrary, the economic crisis will get worse and worse. The expenses of the state will not diminish, on the contrary, this military machine costs millions and millions of escudos in promotions, privileges, medals, trips abroad for a bunch of spongers and

journalists who can be bought. The fighting and repressive apparatus of the state will increase enormously: the purchase of arms and tanks from France for about 50 million dollars, the calling-up of reservists from former contingents etc. The increasing debt, the state of dependence and the U.S. plundering will increase. Production will probably increase in a few areas as a consequence of the military oppression. But the crisis is getting deeper. To go forward, the country needs revolutionary transformation and that will never be carried out by the bourgeois state.

CHAPTER II - THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE

In this new stage the principal goal of the Chilean revolution is the liquidation of the political and economic domination of North American imperialism and the overthrow of the puppet fascist dictatorship which has turned the nation into a prison, bringing terror, fearful poverty and death to people's homes.

It is clear that these bloody enemies are not invincible but they are nonetheless provisionally powerful. This is why, to obtain advances and real victories, the emancipation movement must equip itself with a correct political line, powerful mass organisations, a Broad National Liberation Front in which all patriots participate, a People's Army and a Great Proletarian Party, armed with Marxist-Leninist science. Only in this way will we obtain total and definitive triumph.

It is in consideration of these historical imperatives that we are calling for an examination of the historic experience of the revolutionary movement of our country. And in so doing we start from a principled position with a broad unitary criterion. For us the important thing is to strengthen and not to weaken the authentic Chilean revolutionary forces.

With this in view, we must demonstrate that the experience of the Chilean people in the three years of the Popular Unity government with Salvador Allende as President is the richest, the most profound and most recent experience and logically we must pay it great attention. But this experience is not the only one that we must analyse. Also present in the analysis must be the experience of the Popular Front, the Democratic Alliance and other movements in which the working people, responding to the call of political parties who passed themselves off as workers' parties, elected presidents of the Republic who, once they were installed in O'Higgins' armchair, turned against the people, forgot them and even brutally repressed them, like Gabriel Gonzalez Videla and others.

We are only pointing to this long period of the history of the Chilean revolutionary movement but we do reaffirm that it is necessary to study it very thoroughly. What is more, we believe that in it can be found determinant factors related to the fall of Allende. Fundamentally we believe

that in it can be found clear explanations as to why the revolutionary forces were unable to depend on a correct revolutionary strategy and as to why some sectors of the proletariat accepted to a certain extent the ill-named 'Peaceful Road'; and also as to why the trade union movement suffered such tremendous bourgeois deformations which corroded and weakened it to some extent until it became an easy prey to opportunists, revisionists and exploiters. The fact of not relying on a (correct) strategy and (authentically proletarian) party does not mean - in any way - that a powerful revolutionary proletariat does not exist or is not developing in Chile. Its fundamental problem is that as it did not assimilate Marxism-Leninism to any extent it let itself be used by the bourgeoisie.

In these grievous and bitter days, large sections of the masses are asking themselves why the Allende government was deposed with such ease by the fascist military after three years of existence. They are asking whether the Popular Unity government was powerful or weak, they are reflecting upon why it leaned on the armed forces and not on the people.

It is not enough to reply that there was a fascist coup and that this is why the Popular Unity government fell. It is necessary to go beyond this and to analyse how the conditions which made possible the accelerated weakness of the Popular Unity strategy and the progressive strengthening of the reaction were maturing. As proletarian revolutionaries we have a very great primary responsibility: TO EXTRACT THE POLITICAL LESSONS FROM THIS PERIOD, to elucidate this dialectical and complex political process TO EXTRACT THE EXPERIENCES which will help us to construct a solid revolutionary movement in the immediate future. This is the demand made on us by the murder of thousands of patriots at the hands of the dictatorship.

THE ESSENCE OF THE SO-CALLED 'CHILEAN ROAD TO SOCIALISM'

At the beginning of the 1970s, on the international front, the heroic struggle of the peoples of South East Asia for their national liberation, held down the mighty bulk of the U.S. forces of aggression, caught in a swamp. Its overthrow at the hands of the Vietnamese people weakened North American imperialism politically, economically and militarily. The struggles of the peoples and countries of the Third World to win their self-determination and liberation and defend their sovereignty received a great impetus.

Other imperialist (principally Russian social-imperialist) and capitalist powers took advantage of the gradual and relative weakening of the U.S. to contest with greater force their markets and zones of influence in the world.

These were contributory factors in precipitating the imperialist financial crisis which materialised in successive

devaluations of the collar, growing internal inflation, an increase in unemployment etc.

In Latin America, the reformist U.S. tactics contained in the "Alliance for Progress" programme did not succeed in checking or turning aside the revolutionary movement of the peoples. Their consciousness and anti-imperialist struggle grew in strength. Certain sections of the civilian and military bourgeoisie attached to the state apparatus were strengthened; they used the popular movements to a greater or lesser degree to press for their own bourgeois development, furthering programmes of state ownership and nationalisation of raw materials, companies and services in the hands of U.S. consortiums.

This convulsed international panorama determined tactical changes in the form of imperialist domination over the countries and peoples of the Third World. They were not in a position to defend their interests in any place in the world by means of open and direct aggression. Starting in South East Asia, American imperialism tries to base (and camouflage) its domination and the defence of its interests against the Revolution on the strengthening and propping-up of local reactionary forces, principally the armed forces, even at the cost of negotiating with them on some particular problems, such as the question of the sums fixed for indemnifications after nationalisations, the dispute over the 200 nautical miles limit, etc. This new tactic was consistently applied to confirm U.S. political and economic domination in Latin America, its 'backyard'.

In Chile in 1970 the revolutionary movement experienced a great surge forward. Broad sectors of workers, starting from their level of consciousness, saw in the Popular Unity programme a chance of advancing in their anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchy struggle, of advancing towards Revolution. Moreover, in the presidential election, three candidates stood, dividing the reactionary forces between Tomio and Alessandri.

All these international and national considerations, which we are only outlining, made the election of Allende possible.

In its early stages, many workers supported the new political regime without reservations; the masses gave it their endorsement and above all they pressed for Popular Unity to solve several problems of vital importance. In the first year the President and his cabinet set energetically about the realisation of some points of their reform programme, but later on, as the internal and external reaction began to get organised and start being active, the essence of the bourgeois class content of the political and economic policy called the "Chilean road to socialism" began to become evident.

The main issue which begins to become apparent after the initial victories (nationalisation of copper, iron, saltpeter, state take-over of coal, banks, textiles, expropriation of

latifundios) is WHO SHOULD WE RELY ON IN ORDER TO ADVANCE. Should we rely on the bourgeois state apparatus: parliament, legal loopholes, armed forces, managing directors of state enterprises; or should we rely on the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses as our PRINCIPAL FORCE? Should we rely principally on bourgeois legality and use the masses as an auxiliary force to blackmail the reaction when we are cornered?

During the three years of Popular Unity government we remained coherent with our independent proletarian politics. We emphasised, supported and struggled for positive achievements like the Nationalisation of copper, advances in the positive Agrarian Reform law, the state take-over of some monopolies, all this a consequence of the great mass pressure and struggle which demanded a break with the bourgeois reformist schema and a move to proletarian positions. We maintained that the masses had to go through their own political experience.

Nonetheless we criticised implacably all the negative aspects, above all the damaging bourgeois line called the "Chilean road to socialism", which was no more than the "peaceful road" of the revisionists, approved by Russian social-imperialism at its twentieth congress. Logically we could not accept this bourgeois road which disarms the proletariat ideologically, politically and organically, suggesting the possibility of constructing socialism without making revolution, without destroying the bourgeois state and its principal support: the reactionary armed forces; without constructing a revolutionary mass movement, led by a Marxist-Leninist proletarian party, without arming the masses in every field.

REVISIONISTS AND BOURGEOIS OPPORTUNISTS WEAKENED THE ALLENDE GOVERNMENT

The Popular Unity combination was composed of a big popular base but because it had a bourgeois political leadership it was very weak politically and organisationally. This was how the revisionist clique of Corvalan, Volodia and Millas were able to set about capturing key posts in the P.U. leadership and the government (making sure of their own privileges while they were about it). They ousted, infiltrated and torpedoed the left-wing elements in P.U., who were in the immense majority (although they were beset with ideological confusions and difficulties like how to work out an alternative revolutionary programme and a coherent revolutionary strategy).

With P.U. under their hegemonic control, bourgeois revisionists and opportunists checked the impetus of the reform programme, manoeuvred against the revolutionary movement and entirely devoted themselves to transactions and compromises with the forces of reaction, making sure of the development of their own interests as a section of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

Not only did the revisionists not have confidence in the masses; they also did everything in their power to disarm them politically and ideologically, to enclose them in bourgeois reformism on every level. Their tactics were chiefly aimed at the proletariat and the peasants.

They manoeuvred to make use of the masses' struggle against monopolies and landowners and to harness the trade union and peasant movements to the bourgeois state apparatus and to the "battle for production"; they trampled on their aspirations towards participation, control, leadership and decision-making in the reform process; they tried to put them in the strait-jacket of bourgeois laws. To sum up, they denied the necessity for the masses to develop their initiative and revolutionary experience and to arm themselves ideologically, politically and militarily. On some occasions they even repressed them (Lo Hermida, students in Concepcion (Mapuches* supporters), in Cautin, and miners in El Teniente).

There were opportunist delegates of the P.U. government who authorised the repressive forces to evict workers from factories and land they had captured; who gave their approval to the Arms Control Law, all this while the forces of reaction were arming themselves and murdering the people in broad daylight and receiving military aid; it was these delegates who furiously attacked and persecuted the masses and the proletarian leadership who were planning to accelerate the process, as "adventurists", "ultraleftists" and "madmen", to hide their own bourgeois positions.

It was this bourgeois politics of the opportunist leadership of the P.U. which opened up a wide front for the reactionary initiative and counter-offensive.

In this critical analysis of the experience of the P.U. government, we must not overlook the role of the armed forces during this period. Setting out from a pretended position of independent arbitrators, they gradually obtained economic power, an improved status for their controlling caste (houses, cars, fabulous salaries etc); they increased their fighting power (the USA went on training officers, fulfilling its commitments and sending arms shipments); they increased their participation in the bourgeois state: companies, organisation, planning etc.

Thus the gorillas went on carrying out their policies inside and outside the government until they managed in practice to take over control of the state apparatus and the whole country, especially after their inclusion in the cabinet and after they were able to rely on the Emergency Zone Decrees and the Arms Control Law to brutally repress the revolutionary movement. All the time they went on disguising themselves with their "patriotic" demagogy, "constitutionalism", "respect for the legitimate government" etc.

* Chilean native Indians

In keeping with their tactic of relying on local reactionary forces, North American imperialism, the U.S. consortiums like ITT, Kennecott and the CIA advised, financed, prepared and organised the reactionary putschist plan. They co-ordinated the civilian and military fascists in the conspiracy against the revolutionary struggle of the Chilean people, in order to overthrow the Allende government.

In the final months the initiative passed into the hands of the ultrareactionaries. They began with accusations against ministers and mayors and then went over to open conspiracy, murdering workers, peasants and pobladores.

The U.S. and indigenous speculators and consortiums set about economic boycott, profiteering and black market on a large scale. However the most reactionary and criminal of all their misdeeds was the transportation stoppage, openly supported by the military who gave them every kind of aid, like the placing of bombs in pipelines and high-tension electric connections, on highways, bridges and railway lines, the murder of drivers and traders who went on working, even the murder of Allende's naval aide-de-camp by Naval Intelligence, etc. The forces of reaction disguised all their crimes beneath the "defence of legality", "the constitution", and took advantage of the government's mistakes to drag some deceived sections of the middle classes along with them and use them as cannon fodder in their conspiracy.

In September 1972, during the reactionary October stoppage, in June '73 and on repeated occasions, setting out from our independent politics, we correctly pointed out the two roads open to P.U.: the first was to carry the bourgeois reforms further and hand over the government to the workers, having full confidence in the masses and arming the people in every field. This was the only road that could save the P.U. government.

Although the masses, after standing up to every reactionary assault, raised their mobilisation and their consciousness to an even higher level, the revisionist leadership followed the second road: the road of vacillations and giving away their strength to the forces of reaction. They gave the order NO TO CIVIL WAR when the forces of reaction had already declared it and subsequently carried it out with great bloodshed. This road led them to the collapse and liquidation of the PU government with so little difficulty. Trusting in the armed forces (whom they called the people in uniform) and in the bourgeois state apparatus, they allowed repression and the Arms Control Law to be applied against the people and today we can see the results.

The fascist coup d'état buried for ever the bourgeois reformist road planned by the revisionist leadership. In Latin America over the last few years the "Peaceful Road" and the "Small core of guerillas" have loudly demonstrated their disastrous collapse.

IRON UNITY WITH ALL REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOTS

As we analyse this rich, profound and complex experience we must point out that there were very many men and women of the P.U. who fought and died heroically and there are also thousands who have today drawn the necessary lessons and are in the front ranks of clandestine revolutionary work.

In the P.S., in the PC., in MAPU, in the IC, in MIR, in each one of these parties there is a majority contingent of genuine revolutionaries. We have no doubt that they will progress on to Marxist-Leninist positions and that they will be able to purge their ranks of opportunists, traitors, political dealers and enemy agents. We are sure that they will tighten their links with the masses and contribute to strengthening and broadening the liberation struggle of our people. These are the tasks that they have planned out. The revolution is of the masses and it is the masses that carry it out. There is room in it for all revolutionaries and that is where they should take up their stand.

We call fervently for the UNITY OF REVOLUTIONARY FORCES.
MAY THE BLOOD OF THE FALLEN SEAL AN IRON UNITY OF ALL
PATRIOTS AND REVOLUTIONARIES.

CHAPTER III - THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION (F.L.N)

In the new stage of the revolutionary process which begins in September 73, the fundamental enemies of the Chilean people have not changed. On the contrary, the social contradictions have only deepened in Chile today.

The politics of the fascist Junta is exploitation, oppression and the most brutal repression of 90% of Chileans. They favour exclusively the U.S. and national monopolies and the bureaucratic-military puppet fascist caste. In essence these are ANTI-NATIONAL, ANTI-DEMOCRATIC, ANTI-PATRIOTIC AND ANTI-POPULAR politics.

This new regime, being at the head of the puppet armed forces, can count on military power, on the apparatus and funds of the bourgeois state, on the economic, political, ideological and military support of the U.S. imperialists and the other South American tyrannies. However, although the dictatorship is provisionally powerful, THE PEOPLE, ARMED IDEOLOGICALLY, POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY, ARE INVINCIBLE.

Today the organisation of the broadest and most powerful PATRIOTIC FRONT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION is being set up with more strength than ever: it unites all patriotic forces on the basis of a correct political programme, tactics and strategy and, as an indispensable condition for reaching final victory, it must rely on proletarian leadership.

The basic aspects of the programme and strategy of the Front must be:

1) National Liberation; expulsion of the U.S. imperialists from Chile (without compensation) and from every area of national life. Cessation of payment of the external debt to the Americans.

2) Union and revolutionary mobilisation of the whole people with the main objective of liquidating the political and economic domination of the puppet fascist dictatorship and overthrowing it by means of the struggle of the armed people.

3) ORGANISATION of a democratic, and popular government of union of patriotic and revolutionary sectors, headed by the working class and peasants.

4) Construction of an independent, democratic, popular and prosperous Chile. Where the people could take its destiny into its own hands and construct a Chile of progress and well-being, where the people would be master and manage all the fundamental resources and enterprises collectively, substantially improve its living conditions, basing itself on the efforts of all the patriotic sectors.

The National Liberation struggle is the cause of the people, the cause of millions of Chileans. Its mass character is a question of principles. It is the people who make history. The Chilean Patriotic Forces are immensely powerful. The working class, the peasants, the middle classes; office workers, artisans, self-employed workers, professional people, women, children and old people, the Christian movements and churches, all these add up to millions and make up 90% of the Chilean population. This heroic Chilean people has demonstrated over decades that their energy, their revolutionary potential, their capacity for organisation and combat, their great intuition, their initiative, are immense and, guided by revolutionary leadership, are invincible weapons.

We call upon these revolutionary forces to start acting with all their strength in the organisation and building of a PATRIOTIC FRONT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND TO PARTICIPATE IN ITS LEADERSHIP.

POLITICAL TASKS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

The Patriotic Front will be built up out of the daily struggle of all the sectors oppressed and exploited by the fascist dictatorship. In resistance against its brutal measures, in defence of their lives, their incomes, their families, their work, the education of their children, their health and all their most elementary rights.

The principal problem which faces revolutionaries is the co-ordination of thousands and thousands of efforts, struggles, protests and demonstrations of popular solidarity, so that they can be channelled into a powerful revolutionary torrent.

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In this sense, the immediate most important task is to HELP THE MASSES TO OBTAIN ADEQUATE TACTICS.

In present conditions, the process of building up our forces is prolonged and difficult. It requires great tactical flexibility and at the same time great firmness so that we never lose sight of our principal goal and strike with all our strength against the U.S. imperialists, the oligarchies and the puppet dictatorship.

In each battle, however small, we must build up very broad sectors and aim very accurately at the principal target. The revolutionary movement for National Liberation must learn how to retreat while continuing the combat and reorganise its forces for the coming battles.

Just as we combat rightist deviations, we must increase our vigilance in repelling and combatting in their turn leftist deviations: like "all or nothing" tactics, taking the masses into blind alleys, underestimating the enemy, pretending to struggle in isolated groups and on the edge of the masses. The leftist deviation offers up martyrs to the dictatorship, weakens and sabotages the strategy of the Front.

We must raise SOLIDARITY with the victims of the dictatorship to a higher level than ever. The majority of Chileans have participated in this task of great political importance. A concrete example is the participation of very wide sectors within the Churches in defence of the life, health and safety of political prisoners, the persecuted and the unemployed. We wish to point to the great international solidarity with the Chilean people, and offer our thanks for it at the same time: we hope it goes on growing from day to day. We must give impetus to a great national and international campaign to create a great FUND OF SOLIDARITY with all the persecuted without exception, promoting a current of opinion which thus sympathises with and adheres to the cause of National Liberation.

The struggle for the release of political prisoners must continue and be redoubled, seeking every means of unmasking the demagogy of the gorillas who claim "not to persecute anyone for their ideas" while the country is a prison.

We must further the organisation and the struggle of the unemployed for their reinclusion in the work force and the creation of new sources of work, seeking adequate methods of work in each case.

A NEW TYPE OF MASS MOVEMENT

Hunger, like poverty and the most bestial oppression, lashes the trade union movement and the mass movement in general. Their political, economic and social rights and victories are denied to them and mass unemployment hits all sectors. An example: in the National Health Service (SNS), out of 50 thousand workers, 15 thousand have been dismissed. The official rate of inflation

in November 1973 was 542%. Wages and salaries have been drastically reduced. 75% of the country's work force (2 million 500 thousand workers, peasants, office workers, self-employed workers, artisans and small businessmen) earn an average wage of 12 thousand escudos which in January will go up to 18 thousand. Nutrition experts said in November 73 that a family of five people, just to feed themselves adequately, needed 25 thousand escudos a month. (El Mercurio, 18th November & 11th December 1973.)

Public employees are facing an offensive of repressive measures. The trade union movement, the CUT and the trade unions have been dissolved. At the same time, the Junta has organised an Executive Committee of a so-called "Trade Union Headquarters", headed by an agent of U.S. imperialism, in which they have placed other military agents, informers, etc. They plan to affiliate it to the international imperialist agencies. We must emphasise that in the trade union movement there do exist leaders who plan to stand up to the junta.

The people have not bowed their heads, however. They have healed their wounds, buried their dead, dried their tears, and are starting to reorganise their ranks again. The mass movement is picking out new cadres, new forms of struggle and organisation and is undertaking very well-organised action in the Resistance.

The great task for Revolutionaries is the construction of a new type of mass movement on new bases: (i) led by a revolutionary line; (ii) depository and defender of the best revolutionary traditions of the Chilean people; (iii) it must combat opportunism and revisionism, expelling enemy agents from its ranks; (iv) it must combat and eradicate from its midst all bourgeois and revisionist defects and tendencies: conciliation with the enemy, bourgeois pacifism..., bureaucratism, formalism, divisionism and sectarianism.

Its tactics must be based upon the collective action of the masses, better and better organised, setting out from their most deeply-felt problems, always taking into account their level of consciousness and the need to win over the overwhelming majority. The rebuilding of a Trade Union headquarters which the masses want to equip themselves with must be their own work, starting from the base.

The Trade Union movement as much as the peasant, student and women's movement must organise themselves on this basis always keeping their independent policies on top with regard to the policies and organisations founded by the fascists.

CONSTRUCTION AND STRENGTHENING THE PROLETARIAN PARTY

The historical experience of the Chilean people teaches us that the revolutionary movement needs to rely on the Marxist-Leninist vanguard (the Proletarian Party) as a fundamental

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requirement to carry forward to victory the great tasks it has planned.

All proletarian revolutionaries must make the greatest efforts with the aim of constructing, developing, strengthening the M-L party of the proletariat and in the first instance, to apply Marxist-Leninism to the Chilean reality without concessions.

Out of this coherent application of Marxist-Leninism and out of the revolutionary practice of the masses the particular laws of the Chilean revolution will emerge. A revolutionary proletarian party, armed with Marxist-Leninist science, formed by the best sons and daughters of the working class and peasants, and the best elements of youth and revolutionary intellectuals: a party with a correct strategy and tactics, fused with the masses, organised for clandestine work and for leading the various forms of struggle; a party which practices proletarian internationalism for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and the construction of a popular democratic government.

For the people in general, the political situation is fairly clear. They know their enemies clearly through their deeds. The fascist gorillas will never succeed in piercing deep into the hearts and minds of Chilean patriots with their deceptions. However much demagogy and however many frauds they can think up (like "The Salvation of Chile", "The Chilean Solution", "The Reconstruction" etc.) however many slanders and lies they put forward (like imaginary gunpowder blasts, fabricated escapes from prison to enable them to stab the prisoners in the back, non-existent attacks against members of the Junta and their families); they will never be able to hide their crimes. Even if this Junta were exchanged for another one or if it were decked out with civilian or pseudo-democratic garb (when that suits the U.S. and national consortiums) the people will not themselves be taken in and every day they will quicken their just hatred for this bloody dictatorship. From day to day there will be more and more people who will go on adding in one way and another to the ranks of the resistance. Even those sectors which are the most backward and the most taken-in, even the present collaborators, will begin to abandon and criticise the enemy and go on to resist them. The ranks of the National Liberation Front for Patriotic Resistance will grow.

THE PATRIOTIC RESISTANCE WILL BE VICTORIOUS!!!

U.S. IMPERIALISM AND THE PUPPET DICTATORSHIP WILL BE OVERTHROWN!!!

LONG LIVE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION ! !