

# Chile, China & diplomatic silence

The Republic of Chile was the first South American country to establish diplomatic relations with China, which took place on December 15, 1970.

A joint Communique was carried on diplomatic relations was carried in *Peking Review* #2 January 8th 1971:

## THE WEEK

### **Joint Communique of Government of People's Republic of China And Government of Republic of Chile on Establishment Of Diplomatic Relations Between China and Chile**

The Ambassadors of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Chile to France, Mr. Huang Chen and Mr. Enrique Bernstein Carabantes, duly authorized by their Governments, have agreed upon the following:

In accordance with the principles of mutual respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal or external affairs and equality and reciprocity, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Chile have decided to establish diplomatic relations effective from this date and to exchange ambassadors within the shortest possible period.

The Chinese Government reaffirms that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The Chilean Government takes note of this statement of the Chinese Government.

The Chilean Government recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal Government of China.

The Chinese Government and the Chilean Government have agreed to mutually provide all necessary assistance for the establishment of diplomatic missions in their respective capitals and the performance of their functions, on the basis of respect for equality and reciprocity and in accordance with international practice.

Paris, December 15, 1970

(signed) Huang Chen	(signed) Enrique Bernstein Carabantes
Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to France	Ambassador of the Republic of Chile to France

(Hsinhua News Agency, January 5 dispatch)

As published in *Peking Review*, English language edition:

### Chilean Socialist Party General Secretary Arrives in Peking<sup>1</sup>

The Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the China-Latin America Friendship Association gave a banquet in the Great Hall of the People on the evening of March 7 to welcome Carlos Altamirano, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Chile, and Arnoldo Camu Veloso, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party, on their friendly visit to China. Attending the banquet were Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Vice - Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Kuo Mo-j o and leading members of the departments concerned.

In his speech at the banquet, Wang Kuo-chuan, a leading member of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, said: Though the people of China and Chile

are far away from each other, geographical barriers do not and cannot separate us from each other for we all belong to the third world. We have not only common experience but also a common enemy and are waging a common struggle.

He continued: We resolutely support the Chilean Government and people led by President Salvador Allende in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and oppression and for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty, defending their rights over 200-nautical-mile territorial sea and developing national economy.

General Secretary Carlos Altamirano said in his speech: Today we are fighting together for the independence and sovereignty of various countries and for the right of the people of various countries to self determination. We are fighting in a revolution 'aimed at wiping out, once and for all, all manner of enslavement, colonialism and control. We denounce all the violent and aggressive acts by U.S. imperialism.

He expressed his conviction that Taiwan, part of China's territory, is bound to be returned to the People's Republic of China. He declared: United as one, we support the Vietnamese people in their struggle, and support the Korean people in their cause of peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

On March 14, Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council; Chiao Kuan - hua, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Peng Shao-hui, Deputy Chief of General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Wang Kuo - chuan, a leading member of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries; and Shen Chien, a leading member of the China-Latin America Friendship Association, met and feted Carlos Altamirano, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Chile, and Arnoldo Camu Veloso, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party, and had a cordial and friendly conversation with them.

On March 9, General Secretary Carlos Altamirano was invited to give a report to people from all walks of life in Peking on the excellent situation in the struggle against imperialism by the Chilean people and the other Latin American peoples. His report was warmly applauded."

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A favourable report was made in *Peking Review* on a visit to Chuquicamato the world's largest open copper mines nationalised by the Chilean government. <sup>ii</sup>

"The Copper Now Belongs To Chile" noting "The Chilean people have fought a long unremitting struggle against plunder by U.S. monopoly capital and for the recovery of their national resources."

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### FRIENDSHIP LOG ~ "Esmeralda" in China <sup>iii</sup>

Although China and Chile are separated by the Pacific Ocean, their two peoples are closely linked by the common struggle against imperialism and colonialism, and relations between the two countries have .been growing continuously. This was reflected in the warm welcome the Chilean navy training ship Esmeralda received during her visit to China at the end of April.

When the Esmeralda arrived in Shanghai, thousands of commanders and fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, militiamen, Red Guards and other people lined the Whangpoo River wharf to greet it. The ship's officers and men visited a unit of the East China Sea Fleet and had a get-together with its commanders and fighters. The Chilean guests also saw a display of military skills by Shanghai militiamen, visited the Shanghai Industrial Exhibition, the Shanghai Children's Palace, factories and rural people's communes. They had extensive contacts with workers, peasants and P.L.A. commanders and fighters in the city.

Captain Raul Lopez Silva, captain of the Esmeralda, and a number of the ship's officers and men flew to Peking. Deputy Chief of the P.L.A. General Staff Chang Tsai-chien and Deputy Commander of the Navy Wu Jui-lin met the Chilean friends and gave a banquet in their honour. The Chilean friends toured the Great Wall. They also made a trip to scenic Hangchow in Chekiang Province

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### Chilean Government Economic Delegation Welcomed<sup>iv</sup>

Vice-Premier of the State Council Li Hsien-nien gave a banquet on May 28 to welcome the Chilean Government; Economic Delegation with Gonzalo Mariner, Minister of Planning, as its leader, and Kurt Dreckmann, President of the Promotion Corporation, as its deputy leader.

In his speech at the banquet, Fang Yi, Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries, praised the Chilean people for their remarkable achievements under the leadership of President Salvador Allende in the struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and develop the national economy. He said: "We have great admiration for the Chilean people who dare to struggle and uphold justice in spite of imperialist threats. The united anti-imperialist struggle of the Chilean and other Latin American people is a great encouragement and support to all developing countries of the world."

Referring to the present excellent international situation, Fang Yi said: "Provided we the developing countries hold fast to the principle of independence and self-reliance and rely on our industrious and courageous people in exploiting our rich resources, we can certainly defeat imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and effectively safeguard our state sovereignty and develop our national economy so that our countries will gradually become prosperous and strong. Closer co-operation and mutual assistance among the developing countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit are conducive to building our countries by self-reliance and enhancing the anti-imperialist unity of the people of various countries."

In his speech, Gonzalo Mariner referred to the Chilean people's efforts under the leadership of President Salvador Allende to defend their state sovereignty and develop their national economy.

"We are proud today to talk of Chilean copper. Chilean iron and Chilean telephone, state bank and state distributing enterprises," he said. "We are not content with having control of our underground resources; we stand for the principle of 200-nautical-mile territorial sea rights so as to end foreign exploitation of our marine resources."

Gonzalo Mariner warmly praised Chilean-Chinese friendship, expressing the hope that the friendship between the two peoples would grow with each passing day and that the friendly relations and co-operation between the governments of the two countries would develop constantly.

The Chilean Government Economic Delegation arrived in Peking on May 19. It left Peking on June 2 for a visit to the southern part of China.

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### China and Chile Sign Four Agreements <sup>v</sup>

The Chilean Government Economic Delegation successfully wound up its friendly visit to China and left Peking by air on June 9 to visit the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Governments of China and Chile on June 8 signed agreements on economic and technical co-operation, exchange of commodities, trade and payment, and long-term trade.

Speaking at the farewell banquet he gave on June 8, Gonzalo Martner, head of the delegation and Minister of Planning, expressed satisfaction at the delegation's successful visit to China. He said: In order to develop the friendship between Chile and China, we signed four important agreements, including those on economic and technical co-operation between the Governments of the two countries. This is the first time Chile ever received a long-term, interest free loan without strings. The Chilean people are determined to shake off imperialist control and win complete liberation and rebuild their national economy.

Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese government leaders on the afternoon of June 8 met the delegation and had a cordial and friendly talk with Minister Gonzalo Martner, Kurt Dreckmann, deputy head of the delegation and President of the Promotion Corporation, Armando Uribe Arce, member of the delegation and Chilean Ambassador to China, and others.

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### Chile Marches On <sup>vi</sup>

The struggle of the Government and people of Chile to get back their country's resources and develop the national economy has the sympathy and support of the developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, world opinion and the peoples of all countries. Following is a brief account of the background and achievements of this struggle.

THE signing of a constitutional amendment for nationalizing the U.S.-owned International Telephone and Telegraph Company's assets in the Chilean Telephone Company by President Salvador Allende on May 12 was another firm measure taken by the Chilean Government, in defiance of imperialist pressure, against foreign enterprises which harm the country's dignity and national interests. To safeguard their sovereignty and national independence and to develop the national economy, the Government and people are persevering in struggle as they advance along the road of independence.

## Misery Caused by Foreign Capital

Chile is extremely rich in natural resources. Besides being first in the world in copper with deposits estimated at 250 million tons, it is world renowned for its abundant natural nitrates. Iron and coal deposits are 1,000 million tons and 2,000 million tons respectively. Chile's gold, silver, manganese, titanium and other rare metals are also plentiful. With a temperate climate, moderate rainfall and fertile land, the central part of this long and narrow country known as Chile's "granary" is ideal for agriculture. Dense forests cover 22 per cent of the country and its more than 4,000-kilometre-long coastal waters abound in marine life.

However, like many developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Chile's wealth instead of creating happiness for the people only fattened foreign capitalists because of imperialist aggression and plunder.

In the 1880s Britain controlled Chile's natural nitrates. British capitalist Thomas North, having monopolized nitrate mining in Chile, became one of the world's richest men and was known as the world's saltpetre baron. U.S. imperialism made inroads into Chile at the beginning of the 20th century and gradually seized control of the mining, refining and export of copper. After World War II, U.S. monopoly capital greatly outstripped Britain and dominated the whole country. Besides controlling the mining industry, it has in the last decade made deep inroads in such important economic sectors as metallurgy, textiles, machine-building, foodstuffs, paper-making, the petro-chemical industry, chemical fibres, plastics, forestry and fishing. Over the last 50 years U.S. imperialism has squeezed more than 10,000 million U.S. dollars in profits out of Chile. Its plunder of Chile's copper mines was most ruthless. One Chilean journal noted that the U.S. Anaconda Company in 1921 invested only some 3 million U.S. dollars in Chile, but in the 48 years up to 1988 the company had taken out 1,420 million U.S. dollars in profits and other earnings. The publication also revealed that for every U.S. dollar invested in Chile by foreign capital, it took away three and re-invested one of these three dollars in Chile as "foreign capital." The enormous wealth extracted by foreign capital from Chile brought untold suffering to the Chilean working people. Plunder and control of Chile by foreign monopoly capital have seriously damaged the national economy. Though the country has a long history in developing industry, it never got beyond the stage of exporting raw materials and semi-finished goods while importing manufactured industrial goods. And though it has excellent conditions for developing agriculture and livestock-breeding, annual production of grain and meat was unable to meet the needs of its people. For Real Independence Without economic independence a country cannot be completely independent politically. Many Asian, African and Latin American countries which suffered or are still suffering from imperialist aggression and control have a deep understanding of this. From their own painful experience, the people of Chile are fully aware that unless their country is economically freed from the control of foreign monopoly capital, it cannot be really politically independent or able to develop its national economy. They have, therefore, waged a long and unremitting fight to get back the country's resources and to oppose plunder and exploitation by foreign monopoly capital. After becoming President in November 1970, Salvador Allende took a series of measures to nationalize the U.S. copper companies and other foreign-owned enterprises. In the more than a year since then, the Government of Chile has completely nationalized the copper mines

which had been seized by U.S. monopoly capital as well as the iron and nitrate mining industries which were controlled by U.S. and other foreign capital. The Government has also nationalized over 70 factories and mines which were of a monopolistic nature or which were vital to the country and the life of its people. It has also nationalized 16 banks which were foreign-owned or owned privately by Chilean nationals. As a result of such measures, the structure of Chile's economy underwent a major change and an economic system of three types of ownership — state, joint state-private, and private — has been initially set up. The state now controls over 85 per cent of copper production and completely controls coal, iron and steel, cement and nitrate production. In industrial branches such as petroleum, electricity, textiles and copper processing, the state-owned economy has been strengthened and is gradually taking a dominant position. The state also basically controls credits and loans and foreign trade. The bold action of the Chilean Government has created conditions for developing the national economy independently. Since the beginning of last year, Chile has made much headway in developing its economy by relying on its own efforts. The Government announced that 1971 gross national output value was almost 8.5 per cent over that of 1970 and showed the fastest rate of growth in the last decade. Industrial production broke a 40-year-old record with an increase of 14.6 per cent. In 1971, the five big copper mines which had been nationalized — Chuquicamata, Teniente, Salvador, Exotica and Andina — together produced 571,000 metric tons of copper, 6 per cent higher than output in 1970. The state owned Chile Copper Company reported that in the first quarter of this year these five mines registered a 2.3 per cent increase in production as compared to the same period last year.

Copper is the mainstay of Chile's national economy with one quarter of its national income and 60 percent of the country's foreign earnings coming from it. Since the copper mines were nationalized, mining, re - fining and copper exports are completely in the hands of the Chile Copper Company. This is a major event in Chile's political and economic life. On July 11 last year, the people of Chile celebrated the nationalization of all the copper mines seized by U.S. monopoly capital with demonstrations and rallies throughout the country. They call this event their "second independence" and have made July 11 "The Day of National Dignity."

### Continuing the Fight

The Government's nationalization measures were fiercely resisted by the imperialists. As soon as President Allende brought up the matter of carrying out the plan to nationalize the copper mines, the U.S. Government began exerting political and economic pressure on the Chilean Government. U.S. officials growled that if U.S. monopoly capital's interests were affected, the United States would apply "sanctions." U.S. economic pressure was put on Chile by halting loans, dunning for repayment of debts, restricting the supply of equipment and spare parts and freezing Chile's bank deposits in the United States as well as forcing down the price of copper on the world market. U.S. copper companies had "mobilized all sorts of forces . . . for attacking and injuring Chile and her economy." The International Telephone and Telegraph Company had even plotted to prevent President Allende from taking office. But the Chilean Government did not submit. It has stuck to its policy of independence and withstood pressure from all quarters for more than a year.

The Chilean people did much to support their Government in overcoming the chaos and difficulties caused by the imperialists. After the nationalization of the copper mines, the workers carried out a resolute struggle against the U.S. imperialists who tried to bring production to a stop by wrecking equipment, causing breakdowns and enticing technicians to leave the country. Thanks to the efforts of the copper miners, the big mines that were nationalized not only resumed production but increased their outputs.

The masses and people of all circles in Chile have repeatedly organized demonstrations and rallies to support the Government and oppose foreign interference. Last April, workers, women, youth and people of all social strata numbering a million strong held a mammoth demonstration and rally in the capital Santiago. Carrying the national flag and huge placards inscribed with such slogans as "People, arise and fight!", they voiced their support for the Government while vehemently denouncing the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the International Telephone and Telegraph Company for plotting against the Chilean Government. In a spirited speech at the rally, President Allende said independence meant that the country was to be respected. The people of Chile are now united to safeguard their motherland's independence and right of self-determination, and to oppose interference by foreign countries. At another rally, President Allende expressed the determination to continue the fight and "make no retreat, not even half a millimetre, from the gains already obtained."

Though there are still many obstacles and difficulties ahead for Chile in its advance along the road of independently developing its national economy, the people are determined to safeguard state sovereignty and national independence and to develop their national economy. They will continue to support the various measures of their Government to develop the national economy and oppose all imperialist sabotage and harassment.

### 1973 REACTION TO COUP

Acting according to international conventions, regardless of the deep anti-communist sentiment permeating the Chilean military government, the People's Republic of China did not break diplomatic relations with the Junta, and the public reaction to the coup was kept on a governmental level with a message of condolences to the family<sup>vii</sup>

Resistance by Allende-appointed Ambassador Armado Uribe refusal to leave the embassy building in Beijing was ended a month later due to the intervention of the local authorities. As normal, the capitalist states were not slow to acknowledge the post-coup military regime: France on September 17<sup>th</sup>; Argentina and Portugal by September 19<sup>th</sup>; the United States, Israel, Venezuela, Panama, Jordan, and Ecuador on September 24<sup>th</sup> and South Korea by September 25<sup>th</sup>. So in terms of international

#### **Premier Chou Sends Condolences On Death of President Allende**

Premier Chou En-lai on September 14 sent a message to Mrs. Hortensia Bussi de Allende and other family members of the late Chilean President Allende, expressing profound sympathy for them on the death of the President who laid down his life as a martyr at his post.

The message says:

"Learning from afar with deep sorrow and indignation that President Salvador Allende died a martyr at his post, I wish to express to you my profound condolences and sympathy.

"When he was alive, the great President Allende made positive efforts for the struggle of the Chilean people to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and for the promotion of the friendship between the Chinese and Chilean peoples and the cause of unity of the Third World countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism. His lofty aspirations will live on for ever in people's hearts. I believe the Chilean people will draw a lesson from this tragic event and continue to march ahead."

relations China was not very different from other nation states, but that was precisely the issue for some political activists.

Obtuse political comments were evident in *Peking Review's* 39<sup>th</sup> edition when quoting from an interview given by Allende's widow, but the Communist Party of China did not share its analysis and made no direct public commentary or condemnation such as that which appeared in the Albanian press, *The Tragic Events in Chile: A Lesson for the Revolutionaries of the Whole World*<sup>viii</sup> and elsewhere in the world communist movement on the theme of the Lessons of the Pinochet Coup of 1973.

If the weekly political review was the main public forum which spoke to Maoists and people sympathetic to China across the world,<sup>ix</sup> there were no other specific items on Chile appearing in the magazine until March 1974 - nearly six months later<sup>x</sup> - a bland neutral report that the military government had returned "to their original owners a number of US-owned enterprises which were nationalised during the rule of its predecessor". It did not mention Allende or the fate of his administration.

#### CHILE

### **Mrs. Allende: People Must Have Army at Their Service**

"It is not enough to achieve power through elections. The people should have been armed or have had an army at their service."

This was the opinion of Mrs. Hortensia Bussi de Allende, widow of the late Chilean President, when she spoke to the Mexican paper *Excelsior* on September 20. The interview appeared in the paper the following day.

She said: "I miss the women who have always been firm with the President. Give us arms, they demanded. Now we have seen that the people are really right, because we were unarmed." "We were not prepared for the bombings."

She pointed out that the Chilean army, with its class formation, is an army which has always been at the service of the ruling class.

She continued: "In Chile, a soldier is never a general, a sailor is never an admiral. The officers are all from the upper middle class."

When asked about the international background of the Chilean event, she answered: "Foreign intervention had existed since the inauguration of the government of the Popular Union, since the assassination of Schneider [former Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean army, assassinat-

ed on October 22, 1970. — Ed], which has been proved to have been conducted with foreign aid. So were the paid strikes which broke out subsequently. It would be impossible to stage these strikes if they had not received money from abroad. The nationalization of copper hurt them and that is why the United States boycott began."

*Peking Review* # 39 September 28 1973 (Eng. edition)



The article on the dismantling of Allende's state nationalisation programme was followed up the next issue with a report on mass protests at a funeral in Chile. The only two items carried that year. Two more than in 1975.

## PEKIN INFORMA

北京周报

### Mass Protest Demonstration

Chile's former Vice-President, Minister of the Interior and Minister of National Defence Jose Toha who had been detained by the authorities since last September's military coup died on March 15 in a military hospital.

On March 17, some 2,000 people in Santiago turned his funeral into a protest demonstration. This took place when the mourners, carrying flowers and shouting slogans, joined forces just outside the cemetery and together entered it.

Military and police cars were sent by the authorities to stop the protest action. Mourners trying to speak at the funeral were interrupted by police. Fierce disputes between the crowd and the police broke out. As the funeral came to an end, mourners waved white handkerchiefs in silence over their heads as a token of protest.

It happened on Mao's Watch.

It was in the taillight of Mao's last years that China's strategic rapprochement with the United States was perhaps the most significant move since the Second World War in terms of the global great power balance – ironically in the very decade which would witness a dramatic upswing in the fortunes of revolution the world over.

In terms of Chinese foreign policy, the CCP had changed its opinion<sup>xi</sup> of the US as its chief external antagonist. Mao took seriously the Chinese struggle against revisionism with a characteristically accurate reading of the emerging balance of forces: the US was on the retreat and the turn of the tide would benefit the Soviets. From this he concluded that China was in danger – primarily from the USSR. (The 1969 border clashes reinforced this perception.) The subsequent shift in state policy was reflected in the 1974 UN address, when Deng Xiaoping set out the analysis that the main contradiction was between imperialism and 'social imperialism' (i.e. the USSR), on the one hand, and the world's oppressed peoples, on the other.

Although against superpower hegemony, for China, of the two, the Soviet Union was the main enemy. What hardened throughout the rest of the 1970s was the characterisation of the Soviet Union as 'the more aggressive of the two superpowers' and the 'the most dangerous source of

## Nationalized U.S.-Owned Companies Returned to Original Owners

The military government in Chile has returned to their original owners a number of U.S.-owned enterprises which were nationalized during the rule of its predecessor.

Among these enterprises are the Dow Petrochemical Plant and the Dow Distributor Corporation, both affiliated with the U.S.-owned Dow Chemical Corporation. They were expropriated on October 20, 1972. Seventy per cent of the Dow Petrochemical Plant's shares and all of the Dow Distributor Corporation's shares were held by the Dow Chemical Corporation.

Earlier, the Chilean Corporation for the Development of Production and the representative of the "Carrillos Copper" Metallurgical Company, a joint Chilean-U.S. enterprise expropriated by the former Chilean Government last July, signed an agreement on the official return of that company.

Five nationalized U.S.-owned film companies operating in Chile – Columbia Pictures, Metro-Goldwyn Mayer, United Artists, 20th Century Fox and the International Cinema Corporation – have also been returned to representatives of their original owners.

Speaking at a press conference in Port Montt on February 19, Chilean Minister of Mines Arturo Yovane Zuniga said that the Chilean Government offered absolute guarantees for foreign investment in Chile.

a new world war' codified in the 'Theory of the Three Worlds, using the classic Maoist tactic of identifying and isolating the main enemy, uniting all the forces that can be united and neutralizing the vacillatory middle elements. To defend against the Soviet Union was the key to China's national security strategy.

### Bonds of friendship shredded

Throughout the Seventies there was a wide and varied cast of right-wing conservatives, social democrats and (disturbingly for Marxist-Leninists) revisionist party leaders given a public welcome in Beijing. All evidence cited as China's supposed alliance with 'world reaction' against the Soviet Union, who welcomed its own dubious visitors during its foreign relations in an imperialist dominated world. The USSR sought détente with the USA rather than People's China and the mutual public hostility was clearly on show. This rearrangement of the order of China's *imperialist enemies* was the source of much anguished positioning in the international movement and something that contributed to activists rejecting the Chinese political leadership. The continuity of state relations between China and the Pinochet regime disillusioned many, not just those on the intransigent Left.<sup>xii</sup> Party leader Palacios recollected, "Our relations with the Chinese Party began shortly before the start of the Cultural Revolution and were broken - due to the "inexplicable" attitude of said Party towards the military coup in Chile"<sup>xiii</sup> and in 1977 the PCR released a public letter denouncing the Chinese government for recognizing Pinochet.<sup>xiv</sup>

Changes in China's foreign policies had led to some internal dissension within the organisation fed by and alienated by the seemingly friendly attitude of the Chinese state to the Pinochet dictatorship. A delegation from the PCR, which Rothwell notes did not include long-time friend Venturelli, held a bitter meeting with representatives of the CCP in Beijing at the beginning of 1975, and this was the last contact between the two parties. In 1977 the PCR released a public letter denouncing the Chinese government for recognizing Pinochet.<sup>xv</sup> Party leader Palacios recollected,

"Our relations with the Chinese Party began shortly before the start of the Cultural Revolution and were broken - due to the "inexplicable" attitude of said Party towards the military coup in Chile "<sup>xvi</sup>

The Open Letter to the Communist Party of China noted that:

"condolences sent by former Prime Minister Chou En-lai to the widow of ex-President Allende, in which he expresses his "sorrow and indignation" at his death, without passing any judgement on his murderers and without mentioning the tens of thousands of workers who were massacred, tortured and imprisoned by the fascist military. News items on various aspects of the repression in Chile appeared only during the month of the coup d'etat and were reported without any commentary or opinion."

This response was contrasted with past experiences "during the Proletarian Cultural Revolution — China consistently practiced a revolutionary international policy against the revisionists. This was

*the era in China during which one could attend large mass meetings of support for the anti-imperialist struggles of the world's peoples or numerous artistic performances which reflected these struggles, and during which one found propaganda for these struggles on your radio and in your magazines and periodicals. This was the era when Chinese publications reproduced material from the Marxist-Leninist parties regarding their own countries, in which the marionettes of imperialism, the fascists, the racists and the reactionaries like Ne Win, Mobutu and others, were denounced as such, and the traitors to Marxism such as Tito were exposed."*<sup>xvii</sup>

"Naturally, the masses of the Chilean people, knowing of our former political relations with the CPC, ask us for an explanation of your attitude of friendship and cooperation with its hangmen and torturers, an attitude which we cannot explain from a revolutionary point of view and which we are not inclined to justify, because it is profoundly opposed to our resolutely anti-fascist policy and to the very principles of Marxist-Leninist international policy."<sup>xviii</sup>

The Open Letter's attack focuses on Deng Xiao-ping as architect of China's foreign policy from 1973 onwards, specifically his 1974 speech at the United Nations, *"this line leads to a reactionary policy, beginning from the attitude of official Chinese circles towards the fascist Chilean Junta.... At our first meeting with the CPC following the speech of Deng Xiao-ping, in August 1974, we made a severe criticism of his opportunist international line. Without a reply to our arguments, the only response we were given was to be told, with the greatest cynicism, that "this is the international line of Chairman Mao".*<sup>xix</sup>

The PCR were equally critical of developments in China following the arrest of the Gang of Four that saw the rehabilitation of those overthrown during the cultural revolution:

*"In face of this new revisionist current, our Central Committee has unanimously resolved, expressing the opinion of all our militants, to break the party-to-party relations with the revisionist clique which by means of a coup d'état has usurped power and the leadership of the Communist Party of China after the death of Comrade Mao, and to combat this clique publicly."*<sup>xx</sup>

## Flourishing state relations

In the field of international relations Sino-Chile relation became the model in terms of which China would understand its relationship with other countries in the region, explaining the pioneering character of the relationship in establishing and cementing the idea that the Chilean neutrality model typifies the ideology-free approach determined largely by China's appetite for Chile's natural resources.<sup>xxi</sup>

By 1972, China had become the fourth largest buyer of Chile's copper and China had extended the financial aid made to Allende to Pinochet, notably the representatives of China at the United Nations and in other international bodies left the sessions without voting when the resolutions condemning Pinochet were presented.

In 1978 Sallato became the first Chilean Foreign minister to visit Beijing, affirming materialist pragmatism - rather than ideological affinities - as central to the composition of this, the least politicised relationship. That was to increasingly be evident in China's foreign relations as the

post-Mao regime consolidated its control however elements of this were evident throughout the previous decade.

In 1990, democratic Chile welcomed the visit of China's President Yang Shangkun on his post-Tiananmen tour of Latin America President Jiang Zemin visited in 1993 and 1997, and President Hu Jintao in 2004—the only Latin American country to have been visited on each of the four Chinese presidential tours of Latin America since 1990.

In 1992 President Patricio Aylwin visited Beijing. General Pinochet visited China in 1993 and 1997 as military commander-in-chief. Every Chilean president since 1990 has visited Beijing, evidence of continuity in Chilean policy toward China. Chile's policy toward China is the policy of the Chilean state, not just of one particular administration. In 2004 during his visit to Santiago, President Hu Jintao noted that Chile was the first South American country to establish diplomatic relations with China and to support its bid to take the China seat on the U.N. Security Council away from Taiwan. Chile was the first country to reach a bilateral agreement to support China's entry into the WTO/World Trade Organisation.

Formal integration into the world market began at the end of 2001 when china joined the WTO and agreed to be rule-bound by international monopoly capital. The transition to a capitalism with Chinese characteristics consolidated, and celebrated as China emerged as challenger to the G7 economies in the new century. And in 2005 Chile became the first country in the world to sign a Free Trade Agreement with China, the first Latin American country to recognize China as a "market economy."

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