

## Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

### Facing the reactionary offensive, uniting all the people for the struggle

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The military demonstration on Friday, June 29 is another step in the attack launched by ultra-reactionaries and by some Yankee companies affected by government reforms.

These sectors have been preparing for the coup for some time. They thus seek to brutally oppose the people and their struggles and to resolve their class contradictions with the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

They think they will end this way with bourgeois democratic freedoms, cancel the reforms that harm them, and above all repress the struggles of the masses to put the weight of the serious economic crisis on the country back on them.

The facts which have just occurred confirm what the Revolutionary Communist Party has stated in various documents, declaring that "reformism is the antechamber of fascism."

Reformism (especially when it calls itself "Marxist") sharpens class contradictions through its demagogy, creates illusions among the masses, including when it awakens their struggles, but at the same time by enclosing them

in legalism and bourgeois institutions, it cannot give the people a proletarian revolutionary orientation and disarm it ideologically, politically and militarily.

Meanwhile, in reaction to the reforms and out of fear of the masses, authentic Marxism and socialism, there was a regrouping and extreme aggressiveness of the reactionary sectors.

The masses thus remain (like a patient who has received an inappropriate treatment) exposed to a fierce counter-offensive from their class enemies and the possibility of being brutally repressed and massacred ...

### **1. Yankee imperialism**

In spite of its aggressiveness and its links with the coup plotters, through the intermediary of US companies affected by expropriations, Yankee imperialism remains in a position of prudence vis-à-vis the Chilean government.

He plays different cards, without taking a position openly towards one of them, so as not to appear as intervening directly in Chile.

It plays both the coup d'état and the government's compromise with the Christian Democratic leaders, loyal servants of imperialism.

Basically, it seeks to strengthen control of our economy and take advantage of the serious economic and political crisis existing in Chile, to discredit internationally "socialism" and "Marxism", by passing for such this bourgeois reformist experience.

In fact, the essential means of dependence which interest Yankee imperialism today, are maintained or reinforced.

If some North American companies were nationalized by paying them a good price, we raised our external debt to the astronomical sum of 4 billion 600 million dollars, becoming the second most indebted country in the world.

Not only is significant US capital maintained in the manufacturing industry, but we are also still dependent on technology and on vital issues like fuels, raw materials, machinery, stocks, etc.

But this is not all.

Our links with imperialism have reached such a point that in order to be able to eat, we depend more and more on its credits every day, on pain of facing a catastrophic situation of famine.

In short, Yankee imperialism, given that it does not come up against a radical and anti-imperialist policy on the part of the government seeking to completely eliminate our dependence, prefers not to enhance its prestige as it would happen if intervened openly against him.

He is counting on the effects of the crisis and the success of those who, whether through a coup or the submission of the government to their demands, seek to overthrow him. He does not wish, for the moment, to compromise himself by an open intervention which would allow him to appear as responsible for the failure of an alleged democratic path "towards socialism".

## **2. The ultra-reactionary forces**

The ultra-reactionary forces, regrouped politically in the National Party, Fatherland and Liberty, as in various employers' and professional corporations, are the hardest hit by the reforms and expropriations.

Therefore, they aspire to overthrow the government, repress the people and recover their economic power. There is no denying that these retrograde political forces have strengthened in many ways.

They learned to act underground and illegally; they use their influence to the full in parliament, the courts and other bourgeois institutions; they are developing the black market, capital flight and other means which allow them to worsen the economic crisis.

They armed themselves and created well-trained white guards like "Fatherland and Liberty", "Proteco", "Commando Rolando Matus" and other paramilitary groups who carry out attacks and sabotage and prepare to repress the people.

They have learned to use propaganda very effectively, organize mass actions against the government and have increased the influence of corporations and employers' associations. And, what is more serious, they have strengthened their influence in the command of the armed forces.

On the other hand, in the field of political activity they act with great skill; they present themselves as defenders of legality and institutions, while they are constantly violating them, by organizing the putsch.

They hide the defense of their interests behind slogans "nationalists", "corporatists" and others, caught in the demagogic arsenal of fascism and push cynicism to support workers' conflicts, if that allows them to mobilize forces against the government.

### **3. Christian democracy**

Faced with the serious political and economic situation, the Christian Democrats play their cards in a prudent and skilful manner. It does not want to be confused with the ultra-reactionary sectors, but (especially Frei's supporters) encourages the putschists and above all, joins the corporatist, electoral and parliamentary offensive against the government.

Christian Democracy takes advantage of the seditious offensives of the ultra-reactionaries, to issue an ultimatum to the bourgeois reformist government, with the aim of trying to force it to compromise with them to avoid the coup. She fears that certain sectors of the far right will succeed outside her, a military coup that would not give her the guarantee that she could constitutionally control the government in the future.

For that, it strives not to lose its links with these reactionary circles, and at the same time, to use them to make them the negotiators of a surrender of the government.

At the same time, Christian Democracy is trying to build up the growing discontent of various layers of the masses affected by the crisis, which falls mainly on the people.

It also uses and accumulates the exasperation of the middle strata, badly hit by the crisis and by the government's adventurous measures towards them, to accumulate opposition forces under its leadership.

To achieve these objectives, Christian Democracy operates a cynical demagogy, presenting itself as "defender" of the strata it oppressed when it was in government. In this way, it seeks to hide its complicity with the putschists.

#### **4. The bourgeois state apparatus**

The efforts of the revisionist leaders to develop state capitalism and to use the mechanisms of government to confront the ultra-reactionary offensive resulted in the strengthening of the bourgeois state apparatus.

Most of the economic power was concentrated in one of the pillars of the bourgeois state apparatus: the executive power.

Legions of bureaucrats have entered companies and government intervention in private companies has increased.

This is in the midst of the sharp shocks of the Executive with the Parliament, the courts, and other institutions of the bourgeois state where the right-wing opposition forces are dominant.

At the same time, new repressive laws such as the Arms Control Law appeared with government and opposition votes in Parliament.

Efforts have been made to achieve greater dependence and subordination of the trade unions and mass organizations in general to the government.

The strengthening of executive power within the bourgeois state apparatus has positive and negative aspects, which vary according to the political situation.

Today, at the same time as it is the expression of the hard struggle between the new bureaucratic reformist bourgeoisie and the big exploiters, it contributes to sharpen it.

In the future, a strong executive will be a difficult obstacle for the conquest of power by the people, the development of the state domain of the economy and the power of the executive will make large contingents of workers of these enterprises understand. , by mobilizing against exploitation, the need to really conquer power to solve their problems.

#### **5. The armed forces**

Product of the aggravation of class contradictions (between the people and Yankee imperialism; between the people and the reactionaries; between the people and the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie; between the latter and imperialism

and between the different bourgeois layers) as well as from the economic crisis, which swayed the system, the armed forces appeared once again, clearly, as the pillars of the bourgeois regime.

All bourgeois sectors (both opposition and government), at the same time as they violate bourgeois institution and legality, when it suits their interests, accuse the other of doing so and demand intervention of the armed forces.

The ultra-reactionaries accuse the government of moving away from the constitution in force and incite the Armed Forces to overthrow it; the government for its part, claims their support against seditious attempts, attacks and sabotage by the far right.

The political crisis, as well as the flattery and bribes that the government sent to the army, only succeeded in strengthening it in its role of defender of the dependent bourgeois regime that there is in Chile.

This has also made the ever-increasing role that the ultra-reactionary sectors play on it more dangerous. The warning shot of Friday, June 29, which, for sure, has more ramifications than the ones that have been updated, is the first demonstration that the armed forces are not so democratic, apolitical and faithful to the Constitution as 'we say.

As the class struggle developed, as well as the aggravation of the contradictions between different bourgeois groups, and some of them with Yankee imperialism, the latter was forced to play the card of the armed forces in Latin America.

Already, in Rockefeller's message, the role he gave them at critical moments was very clear. When the crisis is very acute they pass from the role of guardians of the regime to that of direct administrator.

For this, for years, he has given them special instruction, not only in military techniques but also in all areas necessary for the functioning of the State.

## **6. Popular power**

Faced with the new reactionary attack, the revolutionary masses, both inside and outside Popular Unity, mobilized once again. They carried out combative street mobilizations; they confiscated means of transport; they occupied factories; and moreover, they make efforts to arm themselves and prepare to fight.

All this is due to the fact that the people have understood that the ultrareactionary putsch targets not only the new layers of the reformist bureaucratic bourgeoisie who run the government, but also, fundamentally, its own organizations, its rights and class interests.

The revisionist leaders, who have always opposed the initiatives, organizational forms and combative actions of the masses (industrial cordon, commandos of communes, armament of the masses), appear today to support these initiatives and organizational forms. They do this for a double purpose.

On the one hand, so as not to be isolated and to prevent a real proletarian revolutionary leadership from emerging from it, which, starting from the material and political interests of the masses, leads to a struggle to really conquer power.

On the other hand, to put pressure on those who seek to overthrow the government and obtain from the Christian Democracy an advantageous compromise, by finding within the limits of the current system a way out of the political and economic crisis.

In the best of cases, they only propose to defend the current government and its bourgeois reformist program, and in no case to lay the basis for a truly revolutionary program which leads to a real conquest of power by the people.

Certain leading sectors of Popular Unity or linked to it, while being influenced by Trotskyist or Castrist tendencies, put forward certain more advanced points of the program and endeavour to mobilize the masses before the threat of putsch. This offers wide possibilities for unity of action with them.

But, because of their petty bourgeois ideology, they range from opportunism to adventurism, from sectarianism to spontaneism to mobilize the masses. On the one hand, they understand the need to mobilize the masses, but on the other hand, they allow themselves to be dragged by the sectarianism of the revisionists who aspire to exclusively control the mass organizations to put them at the service of the government.

On the one hand, they launch slogans more advanced like not to pay compensation and not to pay the external debt, and on the other hand they are satisfied with a simple support for the bourgeois reformist government.

On the one hand, they recognize the need to prepare to fight and thus avoid a coup or compromise; and on the other, they spread among the masses a dangerous illusion which consists in making believe that organisms which can be used as instruments in the struggle for the conquest of power, are already the expression of a parallel "popular power" in bourgeois power.

True people's power will only exist when it has been wrested from the reactionaries, crushing the armed forces that defend them.

To claim that popular power can be achieved by proclaiming itself as such is either an adventurous position which will lead the masses to suffer a serious defeat on the part of well-armed and trained repressive forces; or it is only a bluff intended to obtain concessions and to compromise to present the current power like the expression of the "popular power."

## **7. The revolutionary alternative**

The condition of a real revolutionary alternative consists in placing, without sectarianism of any kind, all the popular forces under a correct revolutionary orientation.

This orientation supposes first of all to get rid once and for all of the legalist and reformist illusions according to which it is possible to defeat the enemies of the people by respecting bourgeois legality; thinking that it is possible to move towards socialism by keeping the current system and by submitting to its reactionary institutions and laws.

This requires rejecting the illusion that popular power - without an effective armed force could develop as a "seed" or a "plant" within bourgeois power and that it would yield positions and gradually die out without being crushed.

The idea of gradually developing "popular power" is only a new version of reformism, on a field even more dangerous than that of political or social reforms.

We can and we must develop, prepare and seriously arm bodies fighting for the seizure of power, fully aware that they do not have power and that they will have to fight to conquer it.

A revolutionary orientation requires to unmask and isolate the revisionist and reformist leaders who give themselves combative airs to negotiate in good



position with the Christian Democracy and maintain to what extent it will allow them the current bourgeois reformist policy, incapable of facing the reactionary counter-offensive, the effects of which fall on the shoulders of the people.

It requires supporting and orienting the initiative of the masses towards the defense of their material and political interests, in order to go beyond the limits of the claims and legalist struggles and, by fighting exploitation, to set up a truly revolutionary program and organize the revolutionary struggle for power.

The mobilization of workers, who defend themselves against hunger and misery pushed to the extreme by the crisis, cannot be described as "unprincipled economism".

On the contrary, the struggle of the masses to improve their wages, to curb increases, to fight speculators, for food ... THROUGH THE PRINCIPLES OF A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM, must be a powerful tributary in the fight against putschists, to resolve the crisis by revolutionary measures, and move towards the seizure of power.

If these demands of the masses are ignored or fought, as the crisis intensifies, the demagogues of Christian Democracy and the other reactionary forces will succeed in better deceiving the people.

Likewise, if workers in medium and small enterprises are to be fully mobilized, the adventurist policy of hitting these entrepreneurs in the same way as the monopolists must be combated, thus pushing them into their arms. We must at least try to neutralize them and give them guarantees in order to isolate the most powerful exploiters.

Otherwise, the united front of the ultra-reactionaries will be reinforced and the economic crisis which falls on the people will worsen. This adventurist policy which strikes small and medium-sized enterprises is only the counterpart of a policy conciliatory of reformism with the big exploiters.

## **8. Joining forces for the struggle**

The struggle for the conquest of power, to which the reactionaries and US imperialism will oppose by all means including arms, must be a struggle of the whole people, resolute and firm but not adventurous.

It must assume that the enemies to be overthrown (including a brutal aggressor like Yankee imperialism) are very powerful and influential; they have regular armed forces at their service and governments in Latin America and the rest of the world who will support them.

TO OVERCOME THEM, THERE IS A LONG-TERM STRUGGLE AND IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO OVERWRITE THEM WITH SHORT-TERM INSURRECTION.

During this prolonged struggle, where the people must arm themselves seriously and acquire the experience of armed combat, while the advantages in favour of the people will increase, the contradictions will sharpen in the enemy camp.

It is necessary for this to avoid the "decisive" encounters that the enemy will seek to take advantage of its initial superiority in weapons and military experience, with the aim of destroying the popular forces.

The initial strategic inferiority of the people in terms of armaments and combat experience must be compensated for by fighting only battles in which they have tactical superiority, so as to destroy the enemy in pieces.

The coming days will surely be hard. The class enemy will not give up their will to defend their interests and brutally oppress the people in order to unload on themselves the crisis.

The reactionary coup was not averted. There can be no confidence in the armed forces created and controlled by the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, "failure" to putschist threats, if it is not based on a deep revolutionary mobilization of the people, on an authentic march towards the conquest of power, will rest on compromises which will make the conditions of people's lives.

The people must urgently come together to fight their enemies thoroughly: US imperialism and the monopoly big bourgeoisie of the city and the countryside.

We cannot pretend to unite all the people to fight and crush the essential enemies by accepting and submitting to the division between opposition and government.

Both among the forces influenced by the opposition parties and among those influenced by the government, there are millions of people who will have to unite under correct proletarian leadership.

The reformist group which directs the government, inspired by the petty and narrow interest to remain there, strikes without distinction of the workers and the middle layers which will have to be united against the large exploiters. Thus, he throws them back into the arms of the enemy.

On the other hand, the handful of reformist and reactionary leaders of the Christian Democracy, although agreeing with some reforms, want the crisis to deepen and the government to collapse, to return to administer the government, in order to better serve imperialism and also according to their class interests.

Only the revolutionary unity of the people can carry out a program with decisive measures against the essential exploiters, advantages for the workers and guarantees for the middle strata which distance them from the ultra-reactionary influence.

Unity can alone, by abandoning the idea that the big exploiters will accept peacefully and within the framework of their legality to be expropriated, by largely mobilizing the people, to act in agreement with this fact.

The core of the unification of the people must be made up of these forces, inside and outside of Popular Unity and also of the radicalized layers which are under the influence of the opposition parties, which understand that for to defeat the fascist coup, as well as the tendency to want to prevent it by compromises on the back of the people, we must mobilize to defeat the armed resistance of the adversary.

The differences on how to organize this struggle and on a common platform that unites the people must be discussed in the very course of the unity of action intended to organize the popular struggle to block the road to the coup, prevent the reactionary compromises and advancing towards the real conquest of power.

Many doubts and errors will be corrected in practice and in the fight to tie the hands and then crush the putschists.

What must be clear in any case is that this revolutionary unity cannot be led by reformists, hesitant, those who dream of warding off the putsch by making concessions to the reactionaries and their laws, and by maintaining a program and a reformist style of struggle.

**Revolutionary Communist Party (Chile)**

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