

# Communist Party of Chile

Unleash the two line struggle in the international communist movement, against revisionism and opportunism!

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***Workers of the world, unite!***

*(Note: this document reached the Madrid Conference after the event)*

The Communist Party of Chile, founded in 1922 by our guide Luis Emilio Recabarren and in the process of reconstitution since 2009, warmly greets the International Conference, thanking you for your invitation that for the first time offers us the opportunity to present our point of view on the problems issues of the World Proletarian Revolution and in particular of the National Democratic Revolution in Chile. Although it is our will, today our assistance is impracticable, but from now on, we are taking measures to guarantee our presence in the future where the world revolution demands it, in fulfilment of the urgent tasks that as communists and therefore internationalists, we must face. We take a position for the proposals of the call,

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## **OUR POSITION**

**Extract from 'Discussion document on the international line', 2010.**

We are entering times of world people's war. Obviously, the minimum condition is that popular wars must be fought in some countries, as it is today, and even in only one, as was the case of Peru in the eighties. In perspective, the conquered powers will generate a new

socialist camp, a system of support bases that will sustain the development of the people's war throughout the world. A necessary condition is that there be a greater state, this is the importance of the current international debate in the international communist movement. Debate that takes place mainly among those who develop people's war or prepare in fact for its beginning. Our position in this regard is established by Lenin at the time of World War I:

*"The International is not that they sit around a table and write hypocritical resolutions and rogue people for whom the true internationalism consists in the fact that the German socialists justify the calls of the German bourgeoisie to fire on the French workers and the French socialists on call from the French bourgeoisie to fire on the Germans in the name of defense of the fatherland !!! The International consists of the mutual rapprochement (first ideological and later, in its time, organic) of people capable of truly defending socialist internationalism in our difficult days, that is, of grouping their forces and 'shooting the seconds' against governments and the ruling classes of their respective 'homelands'. It is a difficult work, that it will require no little preparation and great sacrifices and in which defeats will be inevitable. More precisely because it is a difficult work, it must be carried out only with those who want to do it, without fear of completely breaking with the chauvinists and the defenders of social chauvinism "*

*Dead chauvinism and living socialism. Lenin. 1914.*

We assume the unity base for the ICM proposed by the PCP: Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, developing the world revolution and crushing revisionism. We support the resolutions and mobilizations - rallies, conferences - developed with the participation of the Communist Parties and organizations that are developing people's war or are preparing to start it. We take a position along the ICM red line specified in the Gonzalo Thought positions, and we repudiate the revisionist position headed by Avakian. We consider that the main thing in the Peruvian people's war is not the military successes on which some focus, but Gonzalo Thought, which has a double meaning, is Marxism, Leninism, Maoism applied to Peru, which is its particular character and contains a fundamental contribution to the development of Maoism which is its universal character. We consider Gonzalo thought to be a revealing mirror of revisionists, for this reason, we do not agree with statements such as those that have circulated in our continent signed by self-styled Maoists from Chile (URC, Red Fraction PC), Bolivia (MRP), Brazil (PC mlm ), Ecuador because they contain convergent positions with the LOD of Peru and Avakian of the United States, some of those who subscribe to it, long ago silenced the problem of the people's war in Peru, the problem of Gonzalo thought, and they did not and do not take a clear position on it. We delimited with those who, before the revisionist betrayal, raised the Nepalese people's war, opposing it to the Peruvian people's war, and we take a lesson from it to prevent them from doing so today, which is campaigning for the Indian People's War, to which we adhere. We call for a campaign to defend President Gonzalo's life by conjuring up the imperialist plans to 'use' his name and image against the world proletarian revolution.

## **APPROACH TO THE QUESTION**

**Extract from 'Discussion document on the international line', 2010.**

Imperialism will not prevail and socialism will triumph. Imperialism, world reaction and revisionism will be completely swept away by the proletariat and popular masses of all countries. The world proletarian revolution, brandishing its powerful and fundamental weapon, Marxism, Leninism and mainly Maoism, will complete the sweep of imperialism with the fire of the world people's war. A prolonged process in which destruction and construction, sweeping and establishment, is the contradiction; being main in it, the construction, the establishment, the power. Sweep of imperialism part by part and also by parts, establishment of socialism, of the nascent popular and socialist republics, a new socialist camp,

Our national democratic revolution is part of the world revolution. To be a proletarian internationalist is to carry out the revolution, the people's war in our country, in function of the revolution and the world people's war. Making the revolution in Chile today means "Raising Recabarren by developing the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Chile", reconstitution to start and develop the people's war, the main thing being to start to develop. We raise Recabarren and develop reconstitution under three guidelines: Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, the Political Line for reconstitution and the principle of "striving to lead everything" in the class struggle of the masses for their progressive incorporation, and in the struggle of two lines, learning to handle the three situations of every revolution, that of the enemy,

We are in the strategic offensive of the world revolution, and within it in a new wave of the Revolution. The popular masses with uncontrollable explosiveness, the unyielding peoples in armed resistance against imperialism and its lackeys, the proletariat and peasant classes that march preparing to jump into the people's war; together, all form this New Great Revolutionary Wave, in whose vanguard are the wars popular from India, Turkey, the Philippines and Peru being this last torch that lights the World Revolution.

## **CHILE: THE WAY OF REACTION**

**Extract from 'Discussion document on the international line', 2010.**

Since the 1990s, the governments of the "concertation" and the "alliance" have played the role of continuators of the imperialist plans implemented by Pinochet. The fascist military regime applied 'scorched earth' at all levels of society, especially at the level of the conquests and rights of the people, to build a new institutionality, in which everything was subject to the military statute and the rules of a free market dominated by the monopolies of big capital. This set of fascist measures, which today technocrats call 'first-generation reforms', aimed at reshaping Chilean society. The following governments were disillusioned for being opposed or at least different, and invented the false dilemma, military dictatorship or parliamentary democracy, False because behind the individuals who specify it, a dictatorship is the political oppression of one social class over another social class, exercised through the State and personified in a form of government. Pinochet's fascist military regime and

subsequent parliamentary democracy are two different ways of governing the same old state, they are two different systems of government, one and the same class dictatorship, the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and the landlords, exercised for generations since independence, over the other exploited and excluded social classes of the old Chilean State until today. They may differ in some methods and characters, but they defend in common the same class interests; and that is why the remodeling of the society made by the military government was not revoked by the concertation, on the contrary, they adapted it to the liberal demo canons, under the name of 'transition to democracy' and since the 2000s, they have been deepening it under the name 'path to development'. Now instead of the military statute we are bound by the rule of law and the electoral statute and of course, burdened by the same free market of the big capital and the big agrarian property. In summary, the concertation and the alliance are applying another set of measures that the technocrats call 'second generation reforms', since they are the combination of demo liberal and fascist criteria. From this set of demo liberal and fascist criteria, it is necessary to highlight three which are: measures against the proletariat, against the peasantry and indigenous masses, and reactionary violence.

- **Against the proletariat.** The labour conquests that were razed by Pinochet, the conciliationists thanked him, the proof is in the current labour code. With the help of the opportunism of the CUT (unitary confederation of workers), it is the bourgeoisie that authorizes how and when the proletariat, organize their unions and their strikes. Since 2003, no national strike or mobilization has been called by the workers' centrals.

- **Against the peasantry.** The military government expelled a large section of indigenous and non-indigenous peasants from their lands, and handed them over to their front men. The following 'democratic' governments, instead of reversing it, respected the murky 'agrarian properties' thus created, and even more so the fascist disguised as Democrat Aylwin, created CONADI (national corporation for indigenous development) to control the indigenous 'reductions' or 'communities' created by law, through the corruption of their leaders; and just as the misnamed 'agrarian reform' of Frei Montalva and Allende, CONADI buys land from the landowners, land that never belonged to them, and with the purchase they give them money, capitalize them, so that they invest in other businesses, while that delivers it to the communities, of the purchased land, in most cases it is used to manipulate community leaders, promoting the division of the most 'conflictive' communities; And so they move populations to protect the imperialist business from the forestry and hydroelectric plants, an imperialist business mounted and protected by all governments since the 1950s, including Allende's. In the north of Chile, Conadi, Conaf and the origins program have 'encouraged' Aymara families to acquire legal status as 'communities' and to participate in projects that corrupt leaders, but these projects are screens of officials and NGOs to steal; Today the northern countryside is depopulated, and the auquénidos livestock has served to accommodate a handful of Aymara families living on the coast, and that they accumulate wealth at the cost of the work of impoverished pastors; and that handful of wealthy Aymara landowners and peasants anxiously await the arrival of the large mining companies to sell them properties.

To divide the masses and ward off the revolution, imperialism intends to build a Latin American indigenous movement based on indigenous organizations in each country on the continent. He was raised to oppose it to the people's war in Peru and to the preparations for a people's war in other countries. This is used in Chile by the application by governments of Convention 169 and the formation of the corporate 'Areas of Indigenous Development'.

The indigenous problem is being used to separate indigenous masses from those that are not. The fundamental strength of the popular masses in America lies in the class action of the proletariat and the "democratic energy", as Marx says, of the mainly poor peasantry. Masses that were originally indigenous agrarian societies, which led to societies divided into classes, with a formed state –Incas- or with a state in the process of formation –mapuches-. indigenous masses exterminated and reduced to slavery, increased by miscegenation, resisted Spanish feudalism, and since the 19th century, developed in struggle against semi-feudal domination and imperialist. The culture of each indigenous people is not only constituted by language, religious traditions, lifestyle and artistic expressions; In addition to these aspects, in the indigenous culture there are three fundamental traditions defined by Mariátegui: spirit of rebellion, tendency to collective work and power of assimilation of the foreigner (from outside the community). We must oppose these three traditions to the bourgeois theory of culturalism that focuses on the other aspects to move the indigenous masses away from the central problem: the land that is the basis of their self-determination.

We must vindicate the struggles of the peasantry in history, who, evicted from their lands, proletarianized in their march to the cities, laying the material foundations of the only alliance that should be developed, the worker-peasant alliance, a powerful pillar of the revolution. Propose that the indigenous problem is that of double oppression, of race and class, being the oppression of the main class, because between culture and land the latter is the main thing, if there is no land, culture cannot develop, and because in the struggle for land, the mainly poor peasantry must unite without distinguishing race or culture. Oppose this to the theses of imperialism that focus on race, calling it 'native people', and they take the cultural thing by believing that by modifying ministerial constitutions and regulations, that by writing public signs with a dual language, building intercultural hospitals, intercultural schools, in short, agreement 169, the problem is solved, and this, there are people intoned that are spreading.

The fight in backward countries like Chile, is for a popular democratic state, and not ethnic or indigenous, as it is intended to show what a misleading image, in Bolivia or Ecuador. The popular democratic state for which we fight is the state of all the exploited classes led by the proletariat today, classes that will exercise democracy among themselves and dictatorship over the exploiting classes today, which will have been overthrown but not yet eliminated. And the soul of the popular masses, of the proletariat and peasantry in America, they are the poorest indigenous and mestizo masses; for poverty is not a shame but an honor, and being a proletarian or peasant is not a scorn but a pride.

**- On reactionary violence.** The state security law, the antiterrorist law and the military courts decreed by Pinochet, were perfected by agreement; Aylwin, president in the 90s,

advised by the imperialist agent Cumplido, added human rights to these laws, and simultaneously used the murder to destroy the groups of youth who were armed until the beginning of the 90s. Lagos and Bachelet, presidents in the 2000s, they murdered young Mapuche and workers, and while the former added faceless witnesses and the empowerment of prosecutors, Bachelet applied the precepts of the imperialist 'low intensity war', infesting the countryside and urban fringe populations, with an army of NGOs to inventory people's poverty and identify possible points of popular explosiveness. The current president Piñera does not intend to exterminate but selectively neutralize the "terrorist" groups, as they are beginning to call them; they have two reasons, the first is as they have said, that "violent groups are shielding themselves from the population", but this must be read backwards, it is rather the population that is expanding the use of violence in their struggle economic both in the countryside and in the city.

In the case of the countryside, the struggle in Araucanía has no political character because they have not yet considered confiscating the land (without any payment and therefore with arms) from all the landowners of the country. This objective can only be considered considering the interests of a whole class, the national peasantry, and not only the interests of a group of communities or small parceros. At the present time, the fight for land has an economic, demanding nature, because each community manages or demands more land for itself, in the same way that the factory workers demand a wage increase for themselves; but just as the economic struggle of the workers becomes political when they raise national demands, so also the economic struggle in the countryside becomes a political struggle when one class, the national peasantry, raises the demand for all the land in the hands of landowners.

The armed actions of the CAM (coordinator Arauco Malleco) are an expression of the increasingly violent character of the economic struggle of the communities. The CAM is not the cause of this economic struggle, it does not generate it, rather it is a consequence of the mobilization of the Mapuche communities. In the cities, part of anarchism practices individual terrorism, but this is also a consequence and not a cause of the greater violence used by workers in their economic struggle. The second reason why the reaction does not want to end the problem of terrorism is the shady management by high-ranking police officers of the budget allocated for the "anti-terrorist" fight by the Chilean and US governments; that's why they inflate the 'social problems' with montages to inflate the budget that comes to them. Regarding the militarization of 'policemen', it is a violation of their own bourgeois democracy because policemen are a civilian body, and they have deepened it based on the Bachelet - Obama agreement of 2010, signed by Piñera in 2011, according to which the United States send financing,

## **EL CAMINO DEL PUEBLO**

**Extract from the 'Document of Arica', 2012.**

In Chile, for just over four and a half centuries, our people have fought against the domination of foreigners and nationals, they have sought the path of their liberation with the

struggle. For centuries our people have faced the class enemy that is in front, and the opportunists that swarm in their own ranks. It has always been like this, two kinds of enemies, the one in front and the one that is infiltrated into the town. This can be seen in the struggle of our people that is summarized in four main milestones.

The first milestone constituted by the heroic combats of the Mapuche people whose slogan to expel the Spanish invader, was abandoned by the collaborationist caciques who accepted the Spanish invader through the parliaments and mainly cattle trade.

The second milestone is that of the great street fighting of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, in which our proletariat was forged, whose slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat, opportunism replaced it with that of participation in the bourgeois landowning State; Likewise, the greatest conquest of the Chilean proletariat, the Recabarren Communist Party was assaulted by revisionism and turned into an electoral machine.

Third milestone, the great popular ascent of the sixties that revisionism tried to divert it towards electoral pacifism and that today it burps again to its rotten electorism; That popular rise, as it could not be controlled by the corporatist government of the Popular Unity, was devoured by military fascism, to rise again in a fourth milestone, at the beginning of the eighties, marking the entrance to the general crisis of bureaucratic capitalism, to the putrefaction of the prevailing order of the Chilean society that we have lived until today.

There are four great milestones, from which we must draw a lesson. Every old state is sustained by the organized violence of its genocidal armed forces, and the destruction of this old state demands to organize the revolutionary violence of the oppressed masses, and that is the people's war that we propose. The only organization capable of organizing and leading it is a Communist Party based on the only revolutionary theory, that of the proletariat, Marxism, Leninism, Maoism. And that Party, Recabarren Marxist Leninist of his time, was founded not in 1912 as revisionism affirms but in 1922, and not for elections as even bourgeois intellectuals support it, but as Recabarren himself declared, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But revisionism since the 1930s turned it into an electoral machine, distorting Recabarren's thinking. Faced with this situation, are we going to make a clean slate and found another party? That was the serious limitation of the Chilean PCR in the sixties and that of its inconsistent current role, the URC, both proposed to found a new party.

Our revolution is national democratic, it began when Recabarren founded the Communist Party. The Chilean proletariat conquered its class political independence. It is not a story of people but of classes that fight each other. And as we see, it did not begin in the sixties with what the PCR was or in this decade with the gentlemen of the URC. You cannot silence what Recabarren did, his life and the history of the Chilean proletariat are one and the same thing.

The fact that electoral revisionism has hegemonized for decades until becoming a bourgeois party, does not erase what has been done by the class, by the poor peasantry and the masses in general, to ignore it is to consider the initiator of history. The fight against revisionism begins with recognizing it as an allied part of the counterrevolution, which, encouraged by the bourgeoisie, infiltrates the assemblies with its 'revolutionary' language, to break them and

manage the masses. On the ideological level the contradiction is between Marxism, Leninism, Maoism and the revisionist ideology whose base is eclecticism.

On the political level, the contradiction arises between the false corrupted communist party within the bourgeois landowning state and the Communist Party of Recabarren ready to engage in the people's war that we will initiate to destroy that old state. These contradictions have nothing to do with the non-antagonistic contradictions within the people in which criticism and self-criticism serve to combat ideas, attitudes, opinions and right-wing and revisionist lines that are the main danger within the people. But the revisionism that presents itself as a 'communist', 'socialist' or 'workers' party, is in reality an ideological and political current organized as a liberal or social fascist demo party, and therefore is part of the counterrevolution, consequently with him there is no debate,

Since the fourth milestone in the struggles of our people, constituted by the popular rise of the eighties, the popular masses have gone through a long period of searching for the way to resolve economic slavery and political oppression that weigh on their shoulders. The armed groups of those years were not the desired alternative for the people, due to their ambivalences as a result of their Castro and Guevarist conception, they did not know how to concretize the organized vanguard in the communist style, and those who gave their lives showed the wrong way with blood. They were annihilated by Pinochet and Aylwin with the help of the informers. Thereafter, in the 1990s, the bourgeois intelligentsia, the revisionists, and other opportunists spoke of the 'lost generation', but spoke of scepticism in the mass, about consumerism in the town; a portion of the Chilean MIR, in agreement with the interior ministry, appeared on television in 1993, to say that they would write the true story, the 'historical' MIR, other portions took shelter under the face of Guevara, proposing to organize on the street the popular power; the FPMR (Manuel Rodríguez patriotic front) created by the false PC in 1983, declared to abandon arms to make political reflection and later to propose that the popular movement does not exist, that it is destroyed and that it had to be rebuilt; the revisionists of the false CP, agreed with the agreement to protect their government by diverting the people's struggle towards the Pinochetist lags and not against the government in power, and they adopted Gorbachev's esoteric slogan 'another world is possible', without trying to transform the real world in which we live. However, this 'lost generation', that scepticism of which they accused the mass, was actually the capitulation of the 'old left' that covers the surface of the mass like a rotten cream, capitulation that they tried to hide with their 'new left', formed by groups, who had reservations even calling themselves left, and then they put names like 'la surda', 'popular action groups', 'people's assembly', etc. those who in recent years have derived in more names, 'workers' party', 'autonomous left', etc. small groups in which the old Castro, Guevarist, Allegian, Humanist approaches circulate, in short, a dust of badly digested eclecticism, and is that not the ideology of the capitulator?

Years past have seen these vermin move from one swamp to another. Faced with such a spectacle, are the people not right to distrust these rats? And while these small groups make pacts and coordinators, the people in the countryside and in the city cannot abandon their struggle for economic demands and freedoms, and those struggles in progress are the basis on



which the politics of the proletariat has been developing and of the popular masses. Indeed, some steps have been taken from the 1990s until today. Without considering this abortion, the former member of the Chilean PCR, Mr. Artés, who founded his own communist party with the surname Acción proletaria, that he campaigned in defense of the life of Chairman Gonzalo to later show his true identity as a voting rat and publicly linked to the LOD of Peru; We are going to outline how Maoism has developed in our country.

In the eighties, there were young people who sympathized with the people's war in Peru, to the point of making trips to that country. From the Recabarren trade union movement formed in the 1990s, a group of young people reunited with some migrants, formed the Committee to support the Peruvian revolution - CARP Chile, which in its first manifesto stated that the best support for the Peruvian revolution is to contribute to development of the Chilean revolution and that this development requires fulfilling the great task of recovering the Communist Party of Recabarren. Thus, Maoism does not appear in Chile online as the URC has put it, the internet enters everywhere, but it is the real class struggle, it is men and women, material beings who move ideas anywhere, and it was CARP that developed the first public campaigns to spread Maoism and the people's wars, in particular that of Peru; there was a Popular University School, a revolutionary student Coordinator - COER (secondary), a Women's Group, a Committee for union work; it contributed in the fight against the LOD within a Committee of political refugees from Peru, and even in the formation of the first front of national and foreign workers.

The two-line struggle within it revealed the presence of liquidating opportunists who fled the debate when in the CARP it was proposed to concretize the vanguard of the proletariat, and behind these opportunists were crouching without making themselves known, who would later form the URC. It was a time when these opportunists and the squatters were afraid to pose Maoism under the excuse that the mass would not understand them or that the reaction would identify them as 'terrorists', times when they used intimidation, the threat of physical assault and public denunciation against members of the CARP and against sympathetic workers.

Once its work has been completed, the CARP dissolves, and a Communist Propaganda and Organization Committee - OPC, arises in Santiago, focusing its agitation against the parliamentary cretinism of revisionism, a magazine "Popular Protest" and a bulletin "Emancipation of workers" circulated, there was a Population Cultural Center, and they spread Marxism Leninism Maoism. We picked up those red flags as the URC settled into its editor's chair and raised them high from the Southern Popular School and the magazine 'Red Seed'.

Thanks to the action carried out by the consistent companions of the CARP and the OPC, we concluded that the Recabarren Communist Party can only be recovered by raising its thinking and reconstituting its party. The URC, with pride, replied that there was nothing to reconstitute, that it had to be founded and that Recabarren was a pre-scientist. In 2009 we agreed to 'cross the threshold', it was the beginning of the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Chile. But nothing is obtained without a fight, and in our ranks there was opposition, history repeated itself, and as Marx says, first it is tragedy and repetition is a comedy, that's

the way it is. What happened in the CARP was repeated, and at the beginning of the reconstitution the two-line struggle expelled the liquidationist opportunism, unmasking one of its characters, for its secret links with the URC.

Today, almost three years after the reconstitution began, we are applying 'Raise Recabarren developing the reconstitution of his Party, striving to lead everything in the struggle of the masses and in the middle of the struggle of two lines'. The time elapsed, the work done, demonstrates the correctness of our policy, which we have specified in what we call the "Political Line for Reconstitution", it is not yet the General Political Line of the Chilean revolution as this can only be the result of the reconstitution process, and there can only be reconstitution developing our founder Recabarren, and merging with our people, the poorer masses of the countryside and the city, mainly the countryside; This is another fundamental difference with the dogmatism of the URC theorists that in the year of presidential elections, published their General Political Line and even a detailed program of the revolution where not even soccer forgot; pure buzzwords.

### **THE PROBLEM OF IDEOLOGY.**

**Extract from 'Documento de Arica', 2012.**

Our supreme end is communism on earth. But we are communists mainly because in our practice, we are organized into a Communist Party whose reconstitution will empower you as the leader of the working class and the popular masses towards power and later to communism and because our thinking is guided by Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, mainly Maoism. We mainly say Maoism because it was Chairman Mao who developed the universal truths of Marxism more deeply than anyone before; and only another great communist, like Chairman Gonzalo, was able to systematize this development, elevating it to its third and superior stage, Maoism; and in doing so, I give a fundamental contribution to its development. Every Communist Party and every revolutionary organization, because it is, it adheres to Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, it must take a position for these developments and not ignore them. Chairman Mao said:

*"Inevitably Marxism will advance, it will progress with the development of practice, and it will not remain static. It would be lifeless if it stagnated and stereotyped. However, the basic principles of Marxism can never be violated. It is dogmatism to approach Marxism from the metaphysical point of view and to consider it as something rigid. It is revisionism to deny the basic principles of Marxism, the universal truth of Marxism. "*

Therefore, maintaining the principles and at the same time developing them is the contradiction that explains the movement of ideology. Denying principles in the name of development is revisionism, and denying development in the name of principles is dogmatism; referring to these two deviations he said *"both dogmatism and revisionism are contrary to Marxism"* and evidently Chairman Mao made a distinction *"under current circumstances, revisionism is more pernicious than dogmatism"* And those circumstances for

us are the fact that revisionism is part of the counterrevolution, while dogmatism is a petty bourgeois deviation within the people; In conclusion, our slogan is to crush revisionism and overcome dogmatism. In Chile, the revisionist rats of the false CP say that all forms of struggle are possible, including armed struggle, but they deny the universal principle that armed struggle is the main form of struggle as established by Marx in the 'Manifesto'; They say that in order to fight the 'lack of democracy', you have to participate in elections and in the reactionary state apparatus, with the aim of 'democratizing the state', denying the universal principle established by Marx that the revolution consists of "*destroying the state bourgeois*" and build the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Today and throughout the world, the old revisionism that attacks Maoism from the outside is no longer capable of stopping or diverting the revolutionary impetus of the mass, and because Maoism is spreading, imperialism has been forced to use certain 'Maoists' to attack it from within. This counterrevolutionary tactic has been used since the time of Marxism, at that time, Lenin said "*the theoretical triumph of Marxism forced its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists*" The same happened with Leninism when Khrushchev or Castro disguised themselves as Leninist Marxists and now it is with Maoism.

Within maoism a new revisionism has emerged, whose black head is Avakian of the American RCP, who has elaborated his new syntheses, Marxism of the millennium, denying the basic principles of Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, and opposing the contribution of Chairman Gonzalo. Between this new revisionism and Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, there is a third sector made up of undefined people, a group of vacillators who in Latin America and particularly in Chile, distanced themselves from Avakian so as not to 'burn out', as he was unmasked for his sinister attitude towards the problem of Nepal, but they do not accept the universal character of the contribution of Chairman Gonzalo. In their newspapers, 'New democracy' or 'the people' in the case of Chile, for years they have spread some documents of Chairman Mao, they even salute the People's War in Peru, but they do not accept it as a 'torch of the world revolution' and neither do they accept Chairman Gonzalo's contribution is a development of Maoism, and they are based on saying that 'Gonzalo thought is for the Peruvians'. Their lack of definition has pushed them to dogmatism, they spread principles but deny their development.

They have not understood that things have a double character. The bourgeoisie is an internationalist in economics, but its policy is nationalistic, since it has created national states; the bourgeois economy has created an international proletariat, but this working class in each country faces a reactionary state within the framework of the national class struggle; and this double aspect is reflected in the Thought that guides it, which is the application of Marxism, Leninism, Maoism to the particular conditions of the country, but within the framework of the international class struggle.

But if these are Marxist foundations applicable to all guiding thought of any country, the historical position of the People's War in Peru and of Chairman Gonzalo is exceptional and of great historical and world repercussion, because in the midst of the problems generated by Khrushchev 's revisionism in the 1960s, and by Deng Xiaoping's revisionism in the 1970s, at

a time when a great world change was taking place, the move to the strategic offensive of the world revolution, c. Gonzalo fulfilled the responsibility of retaking Mao Tsetung Thought and raising it to the third stage as Maoism, specifying that its essence or center is power for the proletariat, conquered with organized armed struggle such as people's war, led by a militarized Communist Party; that is to say, it has given us Maoism with a revolutionary character and not that tame and tame 'Maoism' that the new revisionists and the indefinite, vacillating and dogmatic 'Maoists' are spreading in Latin America. This is the first problem, the problem of taking a correct position for ideology, which every communist party or revolutionary organization must solve. It is not just a matter of taking a position, it is a matter of doing it correctly.

## **TWO OBJECTIVES, THREE INSTRUMENTS AND A PATH**

**Extract from 'Documento de Arica', 2012.**

In perspective, the World Proletarian Revolution will complete the sweep of imperialism and will establish socialism throughout the world, a precondition for marching towards classless society. But while communism we enter 'all or nobody', the previous establishment of socialism, can only be done part by part, conquering power country by country through revolutionary violence, which requires Communist Parties to organize it in each country.

These simple truths, falsified in Chile by revisionism and turned into a dead letter by the undefined of the URC, were already raised by Marx, who said that two are the objectives of the proletariat, the "*great duty*" of the immediate conquest of power in each country and the supreme goal of entering communism; and he pointed out that the proletariat as a class must forge its "*different and opposite*" Party to achieve such objectives, which "*can only be achieved by overthrowing by violence the entire existing social order*". Years later, Lenin demonstrated with the practice of the Russian revolution -in an imperialist country, the most backward of his time- the validity of the three questions pointed out by Marx: Communist Party as a combat machine, revolutionary violence organized and directed by the Party and New State whose class character is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao with the Chinese revolution -in a backward, semi-feudal and semi-colonial country-, systematized these questions and developed the theory of the New Party, the theory of people's war and the theory of New Democracy, specifying the three instruments of the revolution: the Party, the popular guerrilla army and the united front that supports the new State. They were thus essentially completed, the universal principles for making revolution in any country, capitalist or backward; principles that obviously must be applied specifying the particularities of each country. But the problem of capitalist restoration remained to be solved; Marx and Engels raised the need to continue the revolution under socialism, and that socialism itself is a succession of political revolutions until entering communism; Lenin stated that under socialism in the early days, every day, every hour, small production generates a bourgeoisie, and that the bourgeoisie has been overthrown but has not disappeared as a class, let alone its ideological, legal and political expressions; Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao solved new problems about socialist construction, and made appeals to

ward off the danger of capitalist restoration, however it remained a problem pending resolution because the corresponding social practice was lacking, until the restoration was presented in the USSR with the Khrushchev coup d'etat in 1956.

The Soviet state continued to call itself that, but they were transformed into social fascists, the USSR into an imperialist social power, and Marxism into a miserable handful of bourgeois theses summarized in "the three peaceful ones and the two all." Around this creeping revisionism, the usurpers of communist parties in the world, such as the Corbalan, Teitelboim or Neruda in Chile, leeches who settled under the finances of social Soviet imperialism, closed their ranks.

The world's communists responded. The 'great controversy' was unleashed under the leadership of Chairman Mao. The ideology developed. There were communist parties in which, taking sides with Mao Thought, they divided, expelling revisionism and others who did not; and between the two aspects in struggle, there were communist parties such as those of North Vietnam, North Korea and Albania in which the indefinite predominated, to later end up in revisionism.

And the center of this great storm was as it should be, in the direction of the world vanguard: the Communist Party of China, could it perhaps be exempt from the two-line struggle? In the People's Republic of China itself, Chairman Mao personally organized and led the first Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution against revisionism infiltrated by the army, the State and the Party. Ten years of cultural revolution were interrupted by the sinister coup d'etat of Deng Xiaoping, but as c. Gonzalo, they were enough to demonstrate in practice the solution to the pending problem: you can only conjure up capitalist restoration, continuing the revolution under socialism in the only possible way, firmly grasping the ideology of the proletariat and unleashing the revolutionary violence of the masses in around power for the proletariat, as indeed happened with the red militias and the nascent 'revolutionary committees' of the Chinese cultural revolution.

When Chairman Mao died in 1976, revisionism took advantage of the imbalance that is always generated by the disappearance of a great chief and gave a coup d'etat initiating capitalist restoration in China; and just like in the USSR, the State and the Party became social fascists, and China social imperialist. Marxism Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought suffered a schism, one part dropped the mask and they supported Chinese revisionism, another part made up of hesitants rolled from scepticism to capitulation and a third part raised, defended and applied Mao Tsetung Thought; to this part belonged the communists who later we see them forming the vanguard of the world revolution, involved in the revolutionary fights and wars in different parts of the world; But in the world vanguard, as in everything, development is uneven and among all the communist parties, it was the Communist Party of Peru, which after a long process of reconstitution, started the first popular war of our time in 1980.

In such circumstances, Chairman Gonzalo argued that ideology had developed and raised Mao thought to its correct condition as the third stage of Marxism, and went further, developed Maoism, proposing, among other theses, the concentric construction of the three

instruments, under the principle of party militarization, thus laying the foundations to prevent restoration. In China, revisionism had spread in the army to the extent that it was becoming professional, so the cultural revolution had as its axis the militias and not the army, and that entrenchment of revisionism in the army was demonstrated by its active participation in the coup of Deng state and in the subsequent revisionist takeover of all the institutions of Chinese society; "*The armed sea of masses*"; it is this armed sea and not a professional army separated from the unarmed civilian population, the guarantee of victory over restoration. But this does not mean that it is not necessary to build an army for the revolution, on the contrary it means that this army must have a popular character, closely linked to the mass, tending to be more and more, the mass itself but armed, organized, under a Communist Party.

The new revisionism and the indefinite 'Maoists' of the URC do not understand this, in their pamphlets they describe the cultural revolution as great battles in the ethereal world of the human soul, of ideas, of 'culture', and they do not see that the soul, ideas and culture, under socialism continue to have class character, and are the reflection in the mind of living matter, "*Bloody fight or nothing*".

Based on this understanding, Chairman Gonzalo, in his capacity as head of the Communist Party of Peru, stated that the development of ideology corresponds to a development in politics and organization, and therefore he called on the world level to reconstitute the Communist Parties by tearing them apart, from the jaws of revisionism, and place Maoism as command and guide of the world revolution, which means as command and guide of each and every one of the revolutions throughout the world; He also warned that a Communist Party is reconstituted for the armed struggle, that it begins and develops as a people's war, that the center of the people's war is power, and that power only materializes with the construction of the new state by parties ( support bases), along with the destruction by parts of the old reactionary state through military campaigns, by waves; and that only then can we conquer full power in each country and keep it running unstoppable to communism, our common goal. Of all the great developments of Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, those referring to the Party, the armed struggle and the new State, constitute the core of the entire contemporary situation.

How are the three instruments of the revolution presented today? Today there are Communist Parties leading popular wars and others like ours, in the process of reconstitution; Today there are popular wars in development and others in preparation; and today there is new power, in the heroic Support Bases that in the countries with people's war - India, Turkey, the Philippines and Peru - represent the new state in formation. And how should we apply these three instruments in our country? The development of the three instruments depends on choosing the correct path of the revolution and this correct path is in backward countries like Chile, from the countryside to the city, it is the path of encircling cities from the countryside.

This is the key to culminating the national democratic revolution in such countries, and it is the touchstone, with which in addition, we can distinguish true Maoists from falsifiers. The path of encircling cities from the countryside defines that from the very reconstitution of the

Party, the preparation and start of the people's war, must be done by putting the main weight in the countryside and taking the city as a necessary complement. But the indefinite 'Maoists' of the URC have settled in the cities to speculate in their newspapers, despising the peasantry, coming to argue that in Chile due to the particular capitalist development, it is not defined whether the path is from the countryside to the city or to the other way around, that the peasantry is a minority, that the Mapuche national minority must fight for their self-determination ... deep down they don't want the violent revolution, they prefer the virtual revolution.

In conclusion, we have two objectives: the immediate conquest of power and entry to communism; three instruments: party, popular army and united front-new state; and a way: to encircle the cities from the field; and the fact that there are 'Maoists' like the URC and its daily 'new democracy' or 'the people', who are not defined in the facts on these three fundamental questions, is because they have not solved the first problem that all Revolutionary party or organization must resolve; the problem of taking a full position for ideology and its development: Marxism, Leninism, Maoism and the fundamental contribution of Gonzalo Thought to Maoism.

The Chilean working class is an integral part of the international proletariat, and at the same time it operates within the specifications of our country. This double character is expressed in its ideology, Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, which on the one hand is universal ideology and on the other hand is ideology applicable to the conditions of each revolution. Chairman Mao said "*the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is universally applicable*" Consequently, the problem before us is that of applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the specific conditions of the Chilean revolution. For us, this application is based on the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Chile founded by Recabarren and oriented towards the people's war for the conquest of power.

This base and direction is specified in the two periods in which the general process of Chile's national democratic revolution is divided: a time of unarmed struggle in which we have been developing since 1922 and which will culminate in the full reconstitution of our Communist Party and a time of armed struggle, specified as a people's war that will culminate in the conquest of power throughout the country.

But we are in the strategic offensive of the world revolution and not in balance, exploitation and oppression is more intense and greater is the craving for rebellion, the imperialism that has begun to sink, has evolved its ways of annihilating the revolution, we must develop our ways of annihilating the counterrevolution and build the new; the reconstitution of the Party and the overflow of the masses, today have a new meaning, because we are in the developing world people's war, revolutionary violence is potentiated even in the time of unarmed struggle, because reactionary violence has been exacerbated and this is what The indigenous and non-indigenous peasant masses, mainly from the south of the country, live in their own flesh, and are we going to ask them to wait for us to complete our theorizations?

The communists says Chairman Mao are "*Support and support*" of popular struggles. Naturally the indefinite 'Maoists' in Chile could not understand this, and among

them there are recalcitrant people who believe that by changing the slogan of founding to reconstitute in a newspaper, it solves the problem. For us, on the contrary, the work consists of mobilizing, politicizing and organizing in function of the national democratic revolution, that is what we do, and not only propagandizing the struggles for demands in a neutral tone of mediocre petty bourgeois journalist; the c. Stalin says propaganda is necessary but it is not enough, you have to organize, who only makes propaganda is because he wants to become a horseman who rides on other people's struggles.

We call on the best children of our people to join the great movement for the reconstitution of the Party. The time has come to prepare the reckoning of the oppressors and their lackeys, the opportunism of the sold-out leaders and the creeping electoral revisionism of the false CP. The mass movement for the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Chile has begun. Almost three years ago, we declared 'crossing the threshold'. The path of encircling cities from the countryside is beginning to unfold. Nobody can turn back the wheel of history, once raised, the red flags cannot be lowered. Luis Emilio Recabarren, clear water, living rock, is a guide to the national democratic revolution.

**RAISE AND RECONSTITUTE!  
PREPARE AND START!**

**RAISE TO RECABARREN AND RECONSTITUTE ITS COMMUNIST PARTY  
IN FUNCTION OF  
PREPARING AND STARTING THE PEOPLE'S WAR FOR THE CONQUEST OF  
POWER.**

Communist Party of Chile  
October, 2013.