

# Chilean Defeat Carries Vital Lessons On Building Workers' Revolution

PROGRESSIVE LABOR

Chile's new fascist bosses are treading down a path well-worn by their predecessors Hitler, Franco, Suharto, and others. They are trying to exterminate all revolutionaries and wipe out Marxism-Leninism. In addition, they are carrying out a racist campaign, killing hundreds of "foreigners," calling for Jews to be "hung from lamp-posts," and blaming communism on a Jewish foreigners' "conspiracy" (Newsweek, Oct. 1).

**THE FASCISTS ARE BOMBING WORKER-controlled factories and invading workers' neighborhoods with tanks. Thousands of workers are being jailed in stadiums, on ships, and in islands near the Antarctic. Nonetheless, workers continue fighting back all over Chile. The struggle will be protracted, and the working class will take time to reverse this defeat, but in the final analysis, Chile's working class and its allies will defeat their enemies and achieve socialism.**

However, there is no escaping the fact that previous reliance on sellouts like Allende and the fake Chilean "Communist" Party will make the fight for socialism more costly and difficult. Workers and revolutionaries everywhere must absorb the lessons of events in Chile.

**LESSON #1.** The liberals in the dominant wing of the ruling class are the main fascist threat. Allende was elected to the presidency in 1970 because of the upsurge of class struggle in Chile and because Chilean bosses were split into two groups: the liberals (represented by the Christian Democrats) and the old commercial and landowning oligarchy (represented by the National Party). The liberals were the dominant wing of the Chilean ruling class and had the closest ties to U.S. imperialism. In 1970, U.S. business controlled about \$1 billion of a total \$1.7 billion foreign investment in Chile. In 1970, foreign investors controlled 19% of all Chilean industry and 30.4% of the dominant industries. Despite Allende's "nationalization" program, U.S. imperialism still had \$100 million in investments at the moment of the coup.

**UNDER ALLENDE, THE NAZI-ONAL PARTY** was very much frozen out of power, and the liberals controlled the Congress and the Judiciary. After Allende's election, the National party tried all kinds of coups, along with ITT and the CIA. U.S. imperialism also attempted an anti-Allende "invisible blockade." However, for the sake of appear-

ances and ruling-class unity, the liberals went along with him.

Within Allende's united front, some forces in the left and the working class saw the Allende movement as a means of building up a revolutionary rank-and-file led mass organization. Allende and the "C" P attacked these forces as "ultraleftists," calling them provocateurs, and sometimes killing them, but as previous CHALLENGE issues have pointed out, the mass movement continued to grow.

**AFTER AN ABORTIVE FASCIST COUP ON JUNE 29,** the Chilean working class took matters into its own hands, armed itself by the thousands, and began to seize many more factories. Workers formed councils and joined with peasants and housewives and students in Common Councils. These councils put forth many demands—including full payment to housewives. Workers were preparing themselves for a final confrontation with the big bosses, and workers' power was becoming a reality all over Chile.

Nonetheless, "socialist" Allende again decided to deal with the bosses. He agreed to surrender many of the factories now being run by workers. On July 19, thousands of workers showed what they thought of this surrender by blocking the avenue leading to the Vicuna Mackanna industrial section. Jose Arroyo, a worker and member of MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), was murdered by the police. On July 24, thousands of workers in the Barranca Communal Council took the streets to demand better food distribution, the expropriation of all big wholesalers and retailers, and for a general strike. They held the streets for 24 hours.

**A SIMILAR REBELLION WAS TAKING PLACE** all over Chile. Patricio Romo, a young worker who was chairman of the Communal Council, told a CHALLENGE reporter in August: "Allende blamed this mobilization on a few 'hotheads,' and when thousands of workers heard about this on national radio, they were hopping mad." He also told a MIR reporter: "The reformists repress us because without any doubt, we and the action by the Council are an obstacle to their dialogue with the bosses... reformism has never been interested in talking to the people... reformism sees in our actions, in the soviets we are creating, a serious danger to their plans for reconciliation."

The workers realized who their enemies were—to a great extent. The bosses recognized this and began setting the stage for the coup. All kinds of businessmen and shopowners went on "strike." Terrorism against workers was rampant. Soldiers and sailors sympathetic to the left were purged and tortured. The army raided worker-controlled factories daily, killing many. Meanwhile Allende agreed to every demand the bosses made of him. The liberals thought they could use him until 1976: they thought he could block the workers' leftward movement. Finally, however, they saw that no sellout force could accomplish this—and they dumped him in favor of open fascism.

**THE GENERALS DIDN'T ACT INDEPENDENTLY:** they carried out their masters' wishes. U.S. imperialism gave the final green light. The U.S. ambassador rushed back to Santiago after hurried consultations with Kissinger a few days before the coup. The "Popular Front" was smashed, as two popular fronts of unity with liberal bosses had been overthrown by the army in the 1930s in Chile. Past lessons were useful to Chilean bosses: they remembered from their own experiences as well as from the experiences of Uruguay in July 1973, of Bolivia in 1971, and of Indonesia in 1965, that "communists" who united with them are setting themselves and the working class up for the kill.

Many people argue that Allende couldn't do anything because if he had acted to mobilize the masses, the big bosses would have overthrown him before. But he knew beforehand there was going to be a coup. He told everyone that a coup was imminent. Nonetheless, he led the workers straight into the jaws of fascism. How could militant action have brought about a situation worse than the one Chile's workers face today? Revisionist-inspired accommodation with the bosses—any wing of bosses—is deadly to workers.

**OVER 125 YEARS AGO, KARL MARX ADVISED** German workers that boldness and initiative were key in gaining strength in the class struggle. The advice still holds true today:

"The defensive is the death of every armed rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small, but daily; keep up the moral ascendancy, which the first successful rising has given you; rally those vacillating elements to your side which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known—**BOLDNESS, BOLDNESS, AND MORE BOLDNESS.**"

**MARX WAS RIGHT. THE PERIOD OF FASCISM'S** preparation can also be a period of preparation for revolution. If revolutionaries are alert to the signs of the impending coup and are ready to break with the "sanctity" of the bosses' constitution, they can strike the first blow, thwart the fascists' counter-revolutionary plans, and establish rule by the revolutionary working class. In 1917, the Bolshevik

Party in Russia sensed an uprising by monarchist generals. It did not wait for the generals to strike the first blow and then rally to the defense of the social-democratic government. Instead, they moved first, overthrew the vacillating fake-socialists and national capitalists, established workers' power, and prevented the fascist coup.

But Allende, because of his commitment to the bosses and the status quo, was not the man for this task.

**LESSON #2:** All imperialist bosses no matter how they portray themselves, are pure poison to the working class. Allende's death has been mourned by every political hack from fascist Balaguer in the Dominican Republic to liberal Willi Brandt in Germany. In Argentina, Peron used Allende's death as a cover to start a massive "mop-up" of all leftists. He wants to guarantee that Argentina will be returned to European imperialism with as little disturbance as possible. On the other hand, Washington was happy to see Allende go. Shares of Kennecott and Anaconda Copper skyrocketed immediately after the coup. Agnew's men gave the game away when they confided in Newsweek that they feared Nixon would use the "crew that did Allende in" against Spiro.

Why are the U.S. imperialists happy about the coup, while the Common Market and Soviet imperialists are unhappy? In the recent period, inter-imperialist rivalry has sharpened. But today empires are challenged and broken up not by invasion, but by proxy—by nationalist "revolution," election of "socialists," or coup and counter-coup. In the past two years, we've seen Bangla Desh (a victory for Soviet imperialism), the "cultural" revolution in Libya (a victory for Franco-Italian imperialism), this year's coup in Afghanistan (chalk up another for the Soviets), and the return to power of Peronism in Argentina (score one for German imperialism). All these nations, at one time or another under U.S. control, now have fallen under Soviet or Common Market sway to one extent or another. The Allende government was supported by the wing of the Chilean bourgeoisie that wanted to exchange U.S. rule for Common Market and/or Soviet tutelage. The military coup in Chile is a blow against this global trend and has at least temporarily remanded Chile to the U.S. imperialist "back yard." However, U.S. imperialism's increasingly desperate situation is indicated by the fact that U.S. moguls are forced to rule through naked fascist terror while their European and Soviet competitors are able to use popular nationalists or fake socialists as stand-ins.

**WHILE INTER-IMPERIALIST RIVALRY CON-**tributed a great deal to the coup, fear of the Chilean working class was the major motivation of the fascist generals, their local bosses, and the masters in Washington. Thus, the U.S. ruling class has added another dark chapter to the book of its genocidal crimes against the people. We shall not forget when the time comes to even the score.

**LESSON #3:** The need for a truly revolutionary communist party and a new international commun-

The workers realized who their enemies were—to a great extent. The bosses recognized this and began setting the stage for the coup. All kinds of businessmen and shopowners went on "strike." Terrorism against workers was rampant. Soldiers and sailors sympathetic to the left were purged and tortured. The army raided worker-controlled factories daily, killing many. Meanwhile Allende agreed to every demand the bosses made of him. The liberals thought they could use him until 1976: they thought he could block the workers' leftward movement. Finally, however, they saw that no sellout force could accomplish this—and they dumped him in favor of open fascism.

**THE GENERALS DIDN'T ACT INDEPENDENTLY:** they carried out their masters' wishes. U.S. imperialism gave the final green light. The U.S. ambassador rushed back to Santiago after hurried consultations with Kissinger a few days before the coup. The "Popular Front" was smashed, as two popular fronts of unity with liberal bosses had been overthrown by the army in the 1930s in Chile. Past lessons were useful to Chilean bosses: they remembered from their own experiences as well as from the experiences of Uruguay in July 1973, of Bolivia in 1971, and of Indonesia in 1965, that "communists" who united with them are setting themselves and the working class up for the kill.

Many people argue that Allende couldn't do anything because if he had acted to mobilize the masses, the big bosses would have overthrown him before. But he knew beforehand there was going to be a coup. He told everyone that a coup was imminent. Nonetheless, he led the workers straight into the jaws of fascism. How could militant action have brought about a situation worse than the one Chile's workers face today? Revisionist-inspired accommodation with the bosses—any wing of bosses—is deadly to workers.

**OVER 125 YEARS AGO, KARL MARX ADVISED** German workers that boldness and initiative were key in gaining strength in the class struggle. The advice still holds true today:

**"The defensive is the death of every armed rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small, but daily; keep up the moral ascendancy, which the first successful rising has given you; rally those vacillating elements to your side which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known—BOLDNESS, BOLDNESS, AND MORE BOLDNESS."**

**MARX WAS RIGHT. THE PERIOD OF FASCISM'S** preparation can also be a period of preparation for revolution. If revolutionaries are alert to the signs of the impending coup and are ready to break with the "sanctity" of the bosses' constitution, they can strike the first blow, thwart the fascists' counter-revolutionary plans, and establish rule by the revolutionary working class. In 1917, the Bolshevik

Party in Russia sensed an uprising by monarchist generals. It did not wait for the generals to strike the first blow and then rally to the defense of the social-democratic government. Instead, they moved first, overthrew the vacillating fake-socialists and national capitalists, established workers' power, and prevented the fascist coup.

But Allende, because of his commitment to the bosses and the status quo, was not the man for this task.

**LESSON #2:** All imperialist bosses no matter how they portray themselves, are pure poison to the working class. Allende's death has been mourned by every political hack from fascist Balaguer in the Dominican Republic to liberal Willi Brandt in Germany. In Argentina, Peron used Allende's death as a cover to start a massive "mop-up" of all leftists. He wants to guarantee that Argentina will be returned to European imperialism with as little disturbance as possible. On the other hand, Washington was happy to see Allende go. Shares of Kennecott and Anaconda Copper skyrocketed immediately after the coup. Agnew's men gave the game away when they confided in Newsweek that they feared Nixon would use the "crew that did Allende in" against Spiro.

Why are the U.S. imperialists happy about the coup, while the Common Market and Soviet imperialists are unhappy? In the recent period, inter-imperialist rivalry has sharpened. But today empires are challenged and broken up not by invasion, but by proxy—by nationalist "revolution," election of "socialists," or coup and counter-coup. In the past two years, we've seen Bangla Desh (a victory for Soviet imperialism), the "cultural" revolution in Libya (a victory for Franco-Italian imperialism), this year's coup in Afghanistan (chalk up another for the Soviets), and the return to power of Peronism in Argentina (score one for German imperialism). All these nations, at one time or another under U.S. control, now have fallen under Soviet or Common Market sway to one extent or another. The Allende government was supported by the wing of the Chilean bourgeoisie that wanted to exchange U.S. rule for Common Market and/or Soviet tutelage. The military coup in Chile is a blow against this global trend and has at least temporarily remanded Chile to the U.S. imperialist "back yard." However, U.S. imperialism's increasingly desperate situation is indicated by the fact that U.S. moguls are forced to rule through naked fascist terror while their European and Soviet competitors are able to use popular nationalists or fake socialists as stand-ins.

**WHILE INTER-IMPERIALIST RIVALRY CONTRIBUTED** a great deal to the coup, fear of the Chilean working class was the major motivation of the fascist generals, their local bosses, and the masters in Washington. Thus, the U.S. ruling class has added another dark chapter to the book of its genocidal crimes against the people. We shall not forget when the time comes to even the score.

**LESSON #3:** The need for a truly revolutionary communist party and a new international commun-

## THE CPL SAYS: MIR clings to opportunists



With friends like this . . .

Fidel and Chilean dictator Pinochet in pre-coup photo. MIR still banks on Fidel's "solidarity".

Since the coup in Chile many left groups have begun to publish little rhetorical essays with titles like: "Chile, End of an Illusion". The articles explain that Allende was "well intentioned," but naive; he believed that socialism could be won by peaceful means and, alas, he had failed. But, the silver lining in the cloud, was the "end of illusion" of peaceful transition. Now, the story goes, the workers after being dunked in their own blood will throw off their alleged illusions and make revolution. However, things don't happen that way and the people who are spreading these tales are only trying to avoid a struggle with the various revisionists and Trotskyites who are responsible for promoting the illusions and the bloody massacre of workers that resulted from them.

Illusions don't die, they have to be killed. The Indonesian Communist Party has been wiped out at least three times, along with tens of thousands of workers and peasants, due to its fatal program of allying with the "progressive" bourgeoisie. The Party was KOed but the illusions kept right on going because the assassin theory was never thrown overboard. The same miserable process could happen in Chile unless the revisionists are exposed and excluded from the revolutionary movement.

To point up the danger: The principal Trotskyite papers of Europe, Canada, and the US as well as the neo-Maoist National Guardian of New York have begun to tout the Chilean group called the MIR

(Movement for a Revolutionary Left). The Guardian recently carried an interview with the leader of MIR which proves that "illusions" die hard. After saying that the coup proved that Allende's reformist path was wrong and that no one would ever try that again, he moves on to say that now is not the time for recriminations (in other words it would be bad manners to mention that the CP of Chile and Allende had led the workers into a holocaust). The left he says must unite (including the sellout CP) and one of the first tasks is to fight for the release of Luis Corvalan, one of the bastards who thought up the class collaborationist line in the first place! He continues along with the observation that the Chilean revolution is fortunate to have the backing of the "Socialist bloc" and particularly the support of Fidel. What a can of worms! Fidel who went out of his way to build up Allende and Breshnev the socialist blockbuster who treats Nixon like a fond friend. The MIR spokesman closed the interview with the observation that Allende was a great revolutionary martyr.

With such a quantity of illusions the MIR will land anyone who follows them right back in the same mess as before. No Party is going to participate in a successful working class revolution unless they can first eliminate the phonies, waverers, and opportunists from the leading ranks of the movement.

The Worker/L'Ouvrier

## Allende Demobilized Workers, Trusted Bourgeoisie

I come back to my earlier question, comrade Allende; the workers behind you have voted you into office, but if I ask you how and when you are going to win real power, what is your answer?

*Allende:* My answer is that we shall have real power when copper and steel are under our control, when saltpetre is genuinely under our control, when we have put far-reaching Land Reform measures into effect, when we control imports and exports through the State, when we have collectivized a major portion of our national production. I say 'a major portion' because in our programme we announced frankly to the nation that there would be three sectors in the economy: nationalized industry, a mixed sector and the private sector. Now then, if these things – affirming our national sovereignty, recovering our basic wealth and attacking monopolies – do not lead to Socialism, I don't know what does.

-----

The sceptics and the prophets of doom will say that it is not possible. They will say that a parliament that has served the ruling classes so well cannot be transformed into the Parliament of the Chilean People.

Further, they have emphatically stated that the Armed Forces and the Corps of Carabineros, who have up to the present supported the institutional order that we wish to overcome, would not consent to guarantee the will of the people if these should decide on the establishment of socialism in our country. They forget the patriotic conscience of the Armed Forces and the Carabineros, their tradition of professionalism and their obedience to civil authority.

-----

*Debray:* Shall we look back at something else. Given the circumstances; since the programme of the Popular Unity was known from before the elections, and since your personality, and particularly your recent political career, were also well known, how do you explain that the bourgeoisie, well, the Right, the other side shall we say, split its vote by putting up two candidates?

*Allende:* Pride. In the case of the Right, insolence. And, in general, an inadequate understanding of the interplay of opposition between sectors of society.

-----

*Debray:* If they go outside the law, will you also go outside the law? If they hit out, will you hit back?

*Allende:* If they deal us an illegal blow? We'll return it a hundredfold, you can be sure of that.

*Debray:* One thing has surprised me: this is the relative absence of mobilization of the people. Certainly, there was a great mobilization of the people at the time of the elections, but it seems to me that it has now fallen off. My

question is therefore: how do you propose to transform this electoral mass into a revolutionary mass?

*Allende:* Look, before answering, I want to tell you that what you say is true, but only to a certain degree.

-----

Have you read Lenin's *State and Revolution*?

*Allende:* Yes, of course.

*Debray:* Good, because we'll probably discuss it a little later on.

*Allende:* In many of my speeches in Parliament, I have quoted passages from this work and earned criticism from the spokesmen of the reactionary press as a result. One such newspaper, *El Mercurio*, reproduced paragraphs from one of my speeches and from Lenin's book as an illustration of my intention, naturally, to 'suppress the bourgeois State'. I think that basic works like *State and Revolution* contain key ideas, but they can't be used as a Catechism. I said it just before our victory. The revolutionary struggle may be found in the guerrilla *foco* or in urban insurrection; it may be the people's war and it may be an insurgence through the polling booths; it depends on the content it is given.

-----

In other words, can the same Court which yesterday interpreted the Law in favour of the estate-owners interpret it today in favour of the peasants without the Court itself changing? Can the same police forces who yesterday ejected people from the estates they occupied now turn to the defence of the oppressed?

*Allende:* We have proposed reforms to the Courts of Law and we shall reform the laws. By implementing Constitutional Reform, we shall bring about changes in the judiciary and, as I have told you, in the event of a proposal for a reform of the Constitutional Charter being totally rejected, we shall resort to the plebiscite, and we shall win.

-----

*Debray:* Does a socialist militant change when he becomes Head of State?

*Allende:* No. I believe that the Head of State who is a socialist remains a socialist, but his actions must be consonant with reality.

*Debray:* It really is something new to find a socialist in power who still feels and acts as a socialist! There aren't all that many examples of this, comrade.

*Allende:* I know, unfortunately this is true. Nor are there many socialist parties which are Marxist in the true meaning of the term.

-----

*Debray:* Returning to the theme of class confrontation, and if I may give you my personal view, I rather doubt that the Right would be stupid enough to provoke an immediate break. Do you not think that there is more to fear from the silent protest of the bourgeoisie?

# Real Communist Party Needed to Defeat Peronism

**BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA**—Juan Domingo Peron has been elected to the presidency by a vote majority of 61%. Peron is the last hope of the Argentinian bosses and their imperialist masters to keep things under control here. Peron has been used by the bosses here to keep the working class quiet and to stifle the upsurge of class struggle during the last few years here.

**A MASS MOVEMENT WAS GROWING AMONG** workers and students that wanted socialism as a solution to their problems. Workers rejected any deals with the military rulers that governed Argentina for international imperialism and for the local bourgeoisie and general strikes as well as uprising (like El Cordobazo—workers took over this industrial center and fought against the Army for days in 1968). Then the bosses decided that it was time to bring their old “enemy” Peron.

Peron came back in 1972 and left a few weeks later. He set up the basis for the election of a puppet Hector Campora. Campora was elected last March, he resigned after a few weeks in power and new elections were held in Sept. Peron was elected with an overwhelming majority. During all this time, the huge mass movement has been stifled. Workers and many “leftwingers” have shown their support for Peron. Peron began a purge of any leftwingers inside his movement. Finally he used the coup in Chile to destroy any fears among his imperialist masters that he is a “leftist.” Peron told the Italian paper *Il Giornale D'Italia*: “We are decisively antimarxist. Allende fell victim of his own sectarianism... Chile has taught us many things. If the guerrillas insist, the same that happened in Chile will occur here, where the responsibility shouldn't be placed on the military, but on the guerrillas. Either the guerrillas stop disturbing the life of the country, or we will force them to do it with all the means we have.”

**SO WE MUST ASK OURSELVES: WHO IS THIS** man and what roles does he play? First of all, Peron is and has always been a fascist. Peron was a member of a group of Argentinian officers during World War II known as the GOU. This clique had grandiose dreams for Argentina. In their 1943 manifesto they expressed that “Argentina and Brazil were the only nations strong enough to become tutors of the South



“Mirror, mirror on the wall who's the best German imperialist agent of them all Me, Juan Peron, of course.”

American continent just like Germany in Europe and in North America, the U.S. for a period... in our times Germany has given life a heroic sense... we must eliminate civilians from government and give them the only role they have to play: to work and to obey.”

The Peron doctrine implies the creation of an Argentina closely tied to the Common Market bosses and Europe and Japan. Just before Peron returned to Argentina last year, he met in Italy with high ranking bosses of the EEC (Common Market). During Sept., Peron had a meeting with Japanese bosses to discuss a deal of \$10 billion investment by the Japanese imperialists. So it is clear that Peron is becoming the darling of the inheritors of Hitler and Tojo while the U.S. bosses are losing ground there.

In Argentina, the workers and revolutionaries must break completely with this neo-nazi and start organizing an independent Communist Party in order to defeat the fascist attacks that Peron is holding for anyone who opposes his “peaceful transition” to fascism.