

Chilean *Communist Party / Proletarian Action (PC-AP)*

## **Reformism - the gateway to fascism**

**Some factors to explain the defeat of September 11, 1973 - and to advance toward victory**

---

**Published:** *Unity & Struggle, # 6 August 1999*

**Transcription, Editing and Markup:** Paul Saba and Sam Richards.

Copyright: This work is in the Public Domain under the Creative Commons Common Deed. You can freely copy, distribute and display this work; as well as make derivative and commercial works. Please credit the Encyclopedia of Anti-Revisionism On-Line as your source, include the url to this work, and note any of the transcribers, editors & proof readers above.

---

*'The Chilean Road to Socialism':*

## **Reformism - the gateway to fascism**

**Some factors to explain the defeat of September 11, 1973 - and to advance toward victory**

*By Chile's Communist Party / Proletarian Action (PC-AP)*

On the eve of the 25th anniversary of the fascist military coup on September 11, 1973, all classes and social strata through their organizations - from the bourgeois armed forces to the political parties (including ours, the PC-AP) and religious communities - express their ratings, draw their conclusions and set out the way forward in accordance with their own class interests.

The fascist military coup that took place in Chile in 1973 was not just another in the series of countless military coups in Latin America and the world. It has a special significance, not only because of its immense brutality, but also because of the long duration of the fascist regime and the distinctive restoration of capitalist

oppression and exploitation in Chile, following demands from Yankee imperialism and its local allies. For us - and that is the goal of this writing - the coup gives workers and the popular movement many clear lessons about the connection between the ideas that guide their practice and the outcome of their struggle.

Because of the low level of the existing ideological debate, we do not want to misunderstand or confuse anyone with the genuinely proletarian and revolutionary nature of our analysis. As has been proven through our tireless practice, we first want to express a well-deserved tribute to all the victims of fascism, to all who fell in defense or the formation of their unions, popular organizations, on the barricades in the neighbourhoods, in armed confrontation, to all those who resolutely fought both the coup itself and the fascist dictatorship. While honouring them, no matter how difficult it may be for some to accept the communist truth, we cannot broadly express our Marxist-Leninist opinion on the most important, ie. the inner factor (the popular movement), which led the working class and the people to the defeat, to the massacre, to ideologically, politically and materially unarmed to confront the reactionaries. We do this to reconcile the opportunism of revisionism, which, to avoid its criminal responsibility, focuses only on the external factor - on the reactionary behaviour of imperialism, local capitalism, on ITT's (International Telephone & Telegraph, ed.), On Pinochet's "malice and betrayal ", etc. One could not expect, because of their reactionary nature, that they would act differently.

The ideological and political confusion surrounding the UP (People's Unit), Salvador Allende and everyone who considered themselves "vanguard" or at least "leftist" has not diminished. On the contrary, it is rising and has reached such a level that those who stand for "Allende and UP's path" are considered "ultra-left". Moreover, young people who have recently joined the social struggle in their quest to reveal all the treachery and opportunism seek a revolutionary alternative in the honourable and courageous attitude of Salvador Allende in the last moments of his life, in which he La Moneda (the government building) with a machine gun fought against the attacking fascist hordes. They quote: "*He did not surrender, he fought with a rifle!*". What is important here is that young people express their desire for revolutionary change. The confusion is cunningly exploited by the opportunism to lead the fight and once again lead the workers and the popular movement along the path of defeat. It is mainly revisionism and its Social Democratic allies that are at the forefront of this.

There is no doubt that the masses, in terms of bourgeois-democratic freedoms and the opportunity to express the desire for revolutionary change, never in Chile, and perhaps even throughout Latin America, have had better conditions than during the experiment with the UP. This experienced not only the people, but also the reaction and imperialism that reacted to this.

The glow of the masses played an important role throughout the Allende government period. The masses not only mobilized themselves against imperialism

and reaction, against sabotage of production and against the black market claimed by the revisionists, but also to seize power - despite the UP's policies and actions. Evidence of this was that CUT (Chile's LO), led by the PC (Chile's Communist Party) and PS (Chile's Socialist Party), was taken over by the industrial belts. These organizations, despite the negative influence of certain opportunistic, petty-bourgeois ideas, still had some confusion in their demands and goals, along with the municipal commands and other popular organizations, the great merit of pointing to the whole problem of the class struggle - the conquest of the political power. This last one was exactly that,

As we shall see later, the UP was the result of the long-standing work of reformism and revisionism, a work that received strong international support from the revisionist politics, which, after the death of Comrade JV Stalin and the Khrushchevite coup, was led by the Soviet Union. We must emphasize the role that the experience of the UP played at that time and today plays in the ideological and political discussion that developed and continues to evolve between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, in our country and internationally.

It is important to remember that at that time, the experiment with the UP created many illusions in various countries, especially in the so-called "third world", where the people fought and still struggle to pay off the yoke of imperialism, achieve progress and social justice. Whatever it is, the UP was presented by international revisionism as the affirmation of the thesis of "peaceful transition" or "peaceful path" to socialism, which at the Congress of the Disgrace, the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union (Soviet Union Communist Party), was contradicted by the Marxist Leninist teachings about the conquest of political power, which was defended in the days of Lenin and Stalin.

Opportunism's "peaceful path" was a parole and permanent practice, aimed at the labour movement and the masses, a parole denying the revolutionary truth that when the higher stage of class struggle is reached and the issue of political power comes to the fore, armed confrontation is inevitable. This was especially true in Brezhnev's time, when the interim imperialist confrontation between the United States and the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union was tapered. But yet - and here is the deliberate betrayal of revisionism - when it became clear that a material (armed) force was needed to avoid the "reactionary uprising," the revisionists talked of so-called "*patriotic officers*" about "*preserving the armed forces constitutional nature* ""*integrate them into change*".

They popularized demobilizing and giving up passwords like "*dear soldier, the people are with you*" , "*the military is the people in uniform*" or as Luis Corvalán said: "*You can say that the Chilean people and the armed forces of the country must stand up in defense of the sovereignty of their fatherland.* " (International Journal, December 1970).

As a result of this view, the entire Parliament under the Allende government, with the exception of Senator Raúl Silva Ulloa, passed the "Arms Control Act" which gave the bourgeoisie's military right to unrestricted access anywhere suspected of housing arms. This was a great help to the fascists in the preparation of the 1973 coup; Months and days before the coup, the bourgeoisie's military law, which the entire UP, along with DC (the Christian Democratic Party) and fascist mummies, had voted to break into factories, intimidate workers and confiscate old shotguns and guns. In doing so, the military had weakened the workers' ability to counter the massacre that was being prepared. The "military" policy of revisionism achieved, disregarding the surrender of the unarmed people to its enemies, some meagre results in the arrest and torture of Army General Carlos Prats, Flight General Bachelett, some military police officers, and a handful of navy personnel executed by the military just days before the coup itself . In this context, it is important to emphasize that the "extreme left" has been blamed for the coup for many years.

When the revisionists adopted their confused "*policy of popular revolt*" that never set any goal other than the "*return to democracy*" that existed before the coup, they organized, with highly specialized equipment, "armed struggle" against Pinochet, but once again without the masses. And they rejected, and along with other groups of the civil opposition to Pinochet, abandoned this fight at the most crucial time.

The UP organized petty-bourgeois thinking, not only revisionism with borrowed phrases from Marxism-Leninism, but also by virtue of the PS, whose leader was Salvador Allende, and PR (the Radical Party) social democracy with greater or lesser degree of radicalism. Many of UP's leaders, including Allende, admitted that they belonged to Freemasons organizationally and philosophically. Another element that contributed to the complete ideological and organizational confusion in the UP leadership was the "progressive" Christian thinking, represented by DC outbreaks, by the MAPU (Movement for Popular Action) and the IC (Christian Left), all of which because of their origin and petty-bourgeois ideology, the "right" and "left" wavered. In any case, these organizations did not play a decisive role in the RIP because they were hybrids of different political directions, preventing them from developing a direction different from that of the PS / PC axis.

*In order to gain a better understanding of UP, we believe it is very important to portray its ideological and political flows, or at least the main currents, PS and PC.*

### **Chile Socialist Party (PS)**

Perhaps that would define them by the popular term "career makers" (fake socialists), since the majority, apart from rare and notable exceptions, have usually always used their membership to personally step up the social ladder, to get access to the bureaucratic, capitalist state bureaucracy and obtain their share of the

exploitation of workers and the transfer of national resources. Always, in one way or another, through ministries, agreements or whatever, PS has participated openly or concealed in virtually every government that has ruled Chile. The exception, and not least the persecution to which it was subjected during the fascist military dictatorship, must be understood in the context of an international situation, where there is an interim imperialist struggle between two imperialist superpowers - Yankee imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. In this context, the PS and its alliance with the PC were placed under the umbrella of Soviet revisionism and therefore one of the goals against which Yankee imperialism excited the reaction and the bourgeois armed forces. Another goal, and the main objective, was, as we all know, to prevent the working class from leading the people towards the conquest of political power, which would have led to the expulsion of imperialism from Chile and the beginning of the construction of a new country with popular democracy and socialism. In this context, the PS and its alliance with the PC were placed under the umbrella of Soviet revisionism and therefore one of the goals against which Yankee imperialism excited the reaction and the bourgeois armed forces. Another goal, and the main objective, was, as we all know, to prevent the working class from leading the people towards the conquest of political power, which would have led to the expulsion of imperialism from Chile and the beginning of the construction of a new country with popular democracy and socialism. In this context, the PS and its alliance with the PC were placed under the umbrella of Soviet revisionism and therefore one of the goals against which Yankee imperialism excited the reaction and the bourgeois armed forces. Another goal, and the main objective, was, as we all know, to prevent the working class from leading the people towards the conquest of political power, which would have led to the expulsion of imperialism from Chile and the beginning of the construction of a new country with popular democracy and socialism.

The leaders of the PS, yesterday's ministers, ambassadors, MPs, the top of the trade union and student movement during the UP period, are today advocates and defenders of neo-liberalism of the institutional order inherited from the dictatorship. PS members of parliament enjoy chairs, banquets and privileges with fascist members, with senators for life, with Pinochet himself. Its ministers, like Ricardo Lagos, are received with honors by representatives of Yankee imperialism. The local big capitalists publicly express their approval, even " *if one of them one day became President of the Republic*".

PS leaders have been spearheaded by the reactionary Chilean state's dirty work. The "Socialist", Marcelo Schilling, a member of the Central Committee, was the originator of the reconciliation government's sinister "ministry of inquiry", which did not aim at annihilating the fascist legacy, but on the contrary infiltration, provocation and destruction of the revolutionary organizations of the people, even the murder of their members. . The gendarmerie in Chile is engaged in keeping dozens of social justice advocates imprisoned in "high security prisons" and there,

both mentally and physically, while hosting a five-star hotel for military fascist criminals. This gendarmerie was led and led today by PS's top executives.

PS was born ideologically, politically and organizationally as a clear social democratic, opportunistic, anti-communist creature, which it was never able to overcome. The left-wing positions it has held at some point were the result of its exclusion from the incumbent, bourgeois government or tactical considerations in the power struggle with other bourgeois forces, such as the revisionists.

Another distinctive feature of PS is its shelter for various opportunistic currents and people who call themselves "leftists" and who have attacked or attack Marxism-Leninism. Trotskyists, titoists with their anti-communist thesis on self-government and fake desk guerrillas have all found a shelter, or rather, a hiding place. In these years of "reconciliation", a large number of former members of the MIR (Movement for the Revolutionary Left), the FPMR (the Fatherland Front "Manuel Rodríguez") and the PC have joined. Those who tire of fighting have united with fascist militarism in the administration of the bourgeois state and gain share in the exploitation of the workers, waging a hateful fight against all who have not gone into the swamp of treachery.

The Social Democrats in PS have always had their brothers in the leadership of the PC, these tireless travellers in ideological and organizational unity. Before the formation of the UP, the first secretary of the PC, Luis Corvalán, reiterated again and again that *"we will continue to insist that what unites socialists and communists is much stronger than what separates them"*.

Today, 25 years after the coup, PC management still maintains its "unity" efforts with PS. And in addition, in a lengthy interview in El Siglo (PC newspaper, ed.), Jorge Insunza expressed his regret that PC's proposal to PS for a joint tribute to Salvador Allende had been rejected and then confessed with a bitterness that was two lovers worthy: *"Honestly, we did not achieve the success we had hoped for. This week, after more than two months, we received the response from PS's leadership that the party will not fulfil the promise it made to us regarding the formation of a broad national committee in which it would itself participate."* (El Siglo, No. 890, August 6, 1998).

### **Chile Communist Party (PC)**

For many different ideological and political reasons, both national and international, the revisionist PC was the main force in developing the theory and practice that led to the experiment with the UP. This cannot be understood without an understanding of the great work done by the leaders of the revisionist PC in this field.

Only by looking at the evolution of the PC - a development incomparable to the PS, with its carnival-like existence - can one get a nearly complete picture of the ideological and political support that made the UP government possible and led the workers and the people in arms on the fascist massacre.

The support for the so-called "*Chilean path to socialism*" was developed in contradiction with all the historical experiences of the working class and its revolutionary theory, Marxism-Leninism.

Marx's, Engels', Lenin's and Stalin's teachings about the revolutionary struggle, power, the state, the leadership role of the working class, the proletarian nature of the party, etc. were never present. Therefore, the tragedy and defeat of the UP that the working class and the people had to pay for was not the tragedy and defeat of Marxism-Leninism, but, just like in the former revisionist Soviet Union and in the Eastern European countries, social democracy and revisionism. So when Gladys Marín, first secretary of the revisionist PC and eternal presidential candidate, talks about a resume of "UP and Allende's Way", it is no longer a tragedy, but a farce.

For many years, the PC's revisionist leadership has idealized the possibilities of parliamentary work and thereby adopted a "parliamentary cretinism", which Lenin often warned communists against. For many years it has covered the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the mask of the sacred bourgeois "democracy", and it ran on the "great tradition of law and democracy" that the bourgeois armed forces and other state institutions supposedly have. All the arguments of revisionism were and are based on subjective idealism, on opportunism - and not on Marxism-Leninism. Let us, for a start, look at the historical manifestations of revisionism.

With the widely used parole "all parties and groups without exception" the revisionist PC managed to sit in Gabriel González Videla's government in the mid-40s. Videla, who had been elected with the votes of the PC, later threw it out and banned it. Nevertheless, all this was no problem for the opportunistic leaders of the PC, who did not at first understand what was going on and even offered their "*constructive support to the government*".

From abroad, the PC imported "willingly" or "reluctantly" the negative influence of browderism. At the time, Browder (Earl, ed.) Was the First Secretary of the United States Communist Party, which supported the opportunistic flow that preached class reconciliation and reduction of the party's leadership role to a kind of cultural organization. This external influence was accompanied by a strong negative flow in the leadership of the PC, which was expressed in the view that the anti-fascist unity fronts (necessary to fight world-class fascism) should be exclusively legal and pacifist. Indeed, the PC leaders subordinated the proletariat to other forces under the so-called "progressive bourgeoisie", thereby denying the necessary and irreplaceable leadership role of the proletariat in this front. This "

The Soviet Union's influence on Comrade JV Stalin's time, his proletarian internationalism, and the enforcement of Videla's anti-communist law, known as the "Law in Defense of Democracy" or in the People as "the Damned Law", led a group in the leadership of the revisionist PC to a more radical stance, which is specifically expressed in the *"National Rescue Program"*. But soon this group was defeated and its supporters excluded.

The PC now embarked on a new class reconciliation line, presented in an opportunistic document, "The Emergency Plan", which was in complete contradiction to the former.

The PC revisionist leaders Ibáñez (Carlos, president (1952-58), ed.) were very supportive when they made their proposals for *"to make a decisive contribution to the success of Mr. Ibáñez's government, to the best of the country, in its work"*. Later, they added, *"Our indispensable rule is to ensure that labour disputes by all means are resolved peacefully. We only support strike, a right enshrined in the Labour Law when all other means do not work."* (Document from PC management in the first year of the Ibáñez government). In doing so, they had reaffirmed their function as a class fire extinguisher.

The opportunistic policy led by the PC's revisionist leadership received international support from N. Khrushchev's revisionists, which PC executives blindly followed.

Moreover, in addition to the foolish attempts of the revisionist leaders to prove themselves as "independent" and "original", it is fruitful to remember Volodia Teitelboim, Mr. T. Manically, he tried to be more Catholic than the Pope, and told anyone who wanted to hear the bourgeois press that PC was too perestroika before Gorbachev launched his. This was not a "return to Leninism," as Trotskyists and revisionists claimed. The bottom line of the PC today is to use the "experiment with the UP" to attack and erode the proletarian socialism that was built in Lenin and Stalin's time during the dictatorship of the proletariat. See how Jorge Insunza attacks socialism: *"In many areas, Allende's program meant a complete breach of that model (...) to resume the experiment with the UP and its government is to show the people that we are not bowing to models that were really contrary to what we wanted to really do."* (El Siglo, No. 890, August 6, 1998).

It is true that the UP had nothing to do with proletarian socialism, which makes opportunists feel so uncomfortable. But Mr. Insunza, let us remind you that under Khrushchev's revisionism, the leadership of your party here in Chile sneezed when your "older brother" in Moscow was cold.

Local revisionism's tail to Soviet revisionism found its highest and most grotesque expression in the swift convening of the 10th Congress of the PC, barely 2 months

after the 20th Congress of the SUK, where the "peaceful path to power" was "discovered". In # 35 of Principios (PC Theoretical Journal, ed.), The argument when the speech falls on the "peaceful path" is that *"this one was made from the grand stand of the 20th Congress of the SUKP"*.

After that, the efforts made to claim "originality" and "one's own design" seem ridiculous. Corvalán made his "contribution" to the "creative development" of Marxism by saying, in the same way as Khrushchev in presenting his bourgeois position, that *"In fact, the (peaceful path) has already been put forward by life itself. In many countries, revolutionary changes have taken place, which have taken new paths that cannot be considered the path of rebellion. In Chile itself, the ability of the popular forces to use the parliamentary path to power has already emerged. But this was not sufficiently clear to us."* (Luis Corvalán: "Our Revolutionary Path ")

And to leave no doubt about the "contributions" that revisionism is so proud of and which has made the struggle of workers and peoples so much injury, Corvalán reminds us that *"We emphasized the need, in our program, to make a more complete and complete analysis of the peaceful path."*

The entire period before the fascist coup in 1973, from Ibáñez to Allende, including the period from Alessandri (Jorge, President (1958-64), ed.) To Frei Montalba (Eduardo, President (1964-70), ed.) And their "revolution in freedom, which followed the guidelines and demands of the Progress Alliance, was a period when local revisionism gave evidence of its devotion to bourgeoisie and imperialism.

In 1957, at the 24th Plenary of the PC Central Committee, its revisionist leadership clearly exhibited its counter-revolutionary goals: *"We want and demand our freedom. And we sincerely declare that if we are again allowed to participate in political life, we will not pose a threat to the interests of any respectable person. We stand for democratic solutions to all issues where the majority of the country, within the framework of free play for all political parties and organizations, is decisive. Today, our goal is not to replace the Chilean capitalists' property with collective property. believes that it must be done by the will of a majority of Chileans, through the peaceful path, and guarantee the safety and rights of capitalists, ie provide them with appropriate compensation "*.

Particular attention should be paid to the "constructive" attitude adopted by the PC's revisionist leadership to Frei Montalba's "pro-development" or bourgeois, reformist government, which, in accordance with its class nature, did not hesitate to suppress and murder workers, peasants, native mapuche Indians, students, and residents of the neighbourhoods who fought for their economic and political demands. For example, who does not remember the massacre of the inhabitants of Puerto Montt?

In the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, the PC and PS voted for the Frei government's various plans. Peasants who occupied land, students who radicalized their fight for a university reform, labour and trade union leaders who opposed and ignored the "agreement" between the CUT and the government that meant workers' rights restrictions, those who called for revolutionary positions to armed struggle and the mass uprising, everyone in the PC's central body, El Siglo, was condemned as "ultra-left".

Like their Italian opportunist brethren, the PC's revisionist leaders never stopped, even during the UP period, their attempt to form the highly self-praised "*historical compromise*" with the Christian Democrats.

By December 1970, Salvador Allende had already been elected President of the Republic. Luis Corvalán gave an early tribute to the thesis on the parliamentary or "peaceful" path hatched by Khrushchev and his successors: "*The Chilean example will show that the ways and methods of the revolutionary process have their own peculiarities in each country, proving that the thesis of the SUKP's 20th Congress is not at all absurd.*" (International Journal, 1970).

Two and a half years after Corvalán, at the head of the Volodians, Millas, Marín and others, cheered on the alleged "triumph" of the Khrushchevitic thesis, in 1973, not only the absurdity of this thesis, but also its criminal and treacherous nature was proved .

Corvalán's shamelessness is boundless, as the events in Indonesia, a few years before the election of Allende, had once again shown the grotesque in the "peaceful path". 500,000 communists and patriots were murdered in the fascist coup carried out by the bourgeois army led by General Suharto against the "constitutional" president and father of the fatherland, Sukarno.

### **The anti-reformist "left"**

From "left", ie. From the groups that fought the "peaceful path" ("parliamentary path"), great efforts were made to fight the so-called "traditional left" bourgeois reformism, "peaceful path" and class reconciliation. A large number of comrades from the "revolutionary left", MIR, PCR (Chile's Revolutionary Communist Party) and other smaller groups, were all brave examples in the fight against fascist dictatorship.

Although the revisionists claimed that these groups were responsible for provoking the coup, it is in fact, when they ignore their ideological and political mistakes, that they find the most consistent response to a revolutionary way out of the crisis that the bourgeois-democratic form of capitalist exploitation was in pre-September 11,

1973. Experiences with the UP have, in one way or another, generated different reactions within the "revolutionary left".

For example, VRM (Marxist Revolutionary Front), which at that time to some extent fought against Khrushchev revisionism, became paralyzed and self-destructive. Most of the members of the organization fell into opportunism, dragged their sharpest "left" edges and entered the PS, others in the PC, and, strangely enough, became the most stubborn defenders of the UP government, formed on the theory of the so-called "peaceful path to socialism," which they had previously fought.

Eventually, it became clear that their break with revisionism never went beyond tactical contradictions, such as the alleged contradiction between different paths, ie. the armed versus the "peaceful" path. With the UP's parliamentary "victory", the situation that initially propelled them to criticism of the UP disappeared. They never understood that the UP's parliamentary "victory" would prove the impossibility of the "peaceful path". Those who did not unite with the UP retained certain organizational ties and died for the majority in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

With regard to PCR, it should be noted that the process of self-suppression and decline as a result of the UP's parliamentary "victory" and its "peaceful path" also weakened this party sharply and created internal disputes which together made the party's influence among the popular masses small, and that it was almost totally isolated from the great glow that characterized society, and from the existing class struggle. This was just at the time when two highly explosive elements began to connect: the general dissatisfaction of the workers and the people with the vacillation, paralysis and legalism that characterized the UP leadership, and the open sabotage of reactionary and fascist under the protection and order of Yankee imperialism.

In order to wage political struggle and secure its own existence, PCR mechanically began to transfer the International Communist Party of China, leading the party to serious mistakes in the issue of the imperialist main enemy of the Chilean revolution. The party attacked imperialism with no distinction whatsoever, and sometimes Soviet social imperialism more fierce than Yankee imperialism, thus disregarding the fact that although both imperialist powers were generally equally dangerous to the people, Yankee imperialism was the dominant one in Chile.

Either way, PCR had the great merit of keeping the anti-imperialist debate alive and not restricting it to mere propaganda.

With the same inevitability as the confrontation caused by the social conditions at the end of 1979, and after developing and participating in the opposition to the fascist military coup, both groups in which PCR had been split ceased to exist as a party and some of its many members, those who remained in Chile, continued the

struggle for popular revolution and socialism.

One organization that insisted on uniting important groups that disagreed with the bourgeois reformism of the UP leadership was MIR. This movement consisted mainly of radical students who were strongly inspired by the Cuban Revolution and the guerrilla warrior Ernesto Che Guevara. They raised passwords for the armed struggle, which was based on the theory of "guerrilla focus" and "going up the mountains". During these years, MIR gained different experiences with mass work on special fronts, which meant that it became the largest "ultra-left" organization - the term used by UP's revisionists on organizations such as MIR.

Politically, the MIR developed some kind of critical support for the Allende government. It took the initiative to conquer small industrial and agricultural properties as well as large monopolies and regarded all of them as essentially the same. In doing so, it helped increase the confusion surrounding the Chilean revolution's primary and secondary enemies.

Outstanding personalities of the old MIR were people like Miguel Enríquez who, with exemplary courage, dedicated themselves to the revolutionary struggle. On the other hand, today there are people who are a slap in the face of people like the aforementioned; they not only undertook a retreat during which the MIR was transformed into some small remnants, but they even thwarted all revolutionary ideas and turned into proponents of capitalist exploitation; they became members of the PS, the PPD (Party of Democracy) or even DC.

An example of individualistic, anti-reformist struggle, isolated from the masses, was and was given its clearest expression in the VOP (People's Organized Advocacy). Faced with police persecution and as a way to "awaken" the masses from their illusions about the UP, its members turned into "suicide bombers" and blew themselves up in the air outside the security police headquarters, leaving all participating members and some policemen dead.

Only to add a little humour to this document is it worth remembering the disgusting attacks by one of the organized leaders of organized Trotskyism, Luis Vitales, who was not satisfied with his membership of several petty bourgeois organizations and today tries to *"save Marxism with Christian ethics"*, while pretending to be a historian aimed at Bernardo O'Higgins and others who fought for independence from Spain during the Spanish colonial period, for not fighting the Socialist Revolution.

Another factor which, if not for the confusion of the masses and the desperate search for a revolutionary alternative to the UP, would simply provoke a shrug, was the Trotskyist POR (Chile's Revolutionary Workers' Party), which was divided into small groups. During the UP, its newspaper called for a general strike in

support of Allende. 15 days after the failed general strike, it demanded a strike on the continent, and 15 days thereafter, without expecting any backing for its claim, the party called for a "*world strike in support of Allende and against imperialist aggression*".

All the various groups of the "revolutionary left", except the Trotskyists, who are the revisionists' equals for treason, sought to find a revolutionary way out of the crisis in which the bourgeois-democratic system was until September 11, 1973. They made great efforts, among which were examples of heroism. No one can conclude that their defeat was the result of a lack of will or bravery - on the contrary - they had much of both. The explanation for their defeat must be sought in the ideas that guided their practice, in their eclectic thinking, which was far from proletarian, revolutionary understanding, from Marxism-Leninism, from Marx's, Engels', Lenin's and Stalin's teachings applied to reality in Chile. Once again, with the blood of the workers and the people,

On the 25th anniversary of the fascist military coup, the working class and the people of Chile have not only to show defeat, but also a treasure trove of valuable experiences and lessons learned through blood and through 18 years of ideological, political and organizational work in building a true Marxist- Leninist party. The culmination of this work was the formation of PC-AP. The party has no obligation other than that which emanates from the revolutionary consequence, from Marxism-Leninism and from the revolutionary interests of the working class and the people of Chile. It has been able and continues, like no other organization among those who call themselves leftists or revolutionaries, to focus on the elements that enable the true causes of events to be established,

*Finally, let us present the following excerpt from PC-AP's programmatic theses, published in June 1995:*

"The heroic time of struggle that preceded us must be summed up from an open, scientific point of view, without the dogmatic, idealistic and factual religious approach that robs it of any revolutionary impact, which presents it as something already concluded cannot be subjected to an analysis that could possibly clarify its merits and shortcomings, the positive and negative experiences arising from it. Those who today walking down this path conceals their lack of ideological and intellectual abilities, or worse, maintains past mistakes that will once again lead the people to defeat.

All factors that have determined the struggle in the past, both objective and subjective, should be studied in order to draw with rigorous, revolutionary, scientific correctness conclusions that will enable us to realize the historical claim of popular democracy and socialism as our country today requires. Based on an understanding that the objective conditions (national and social

oppression and exploitation) of a revolutionary upheaval in a country like ours has always existed, it is above all necessary to analyse in more depth the various political trends that led the previous matches.

It is beyond doubt that the quality of the subjective factor always has the primary importance and that the outcome of the fight, its victory or defeat, depends fundamentally on it. The defeats of past struggles are not due to the absence or weakness of the objective factor, not to historical fidelity or the betrayal of one or the other, and even less, the lack of sacrifice of our selfless people. On the contrary, our people have filled thousands of pages of heroism that would bring tears to everyone.

The earlier resistance to and rejection of imperialism and reaction, especially during the Republican era, could not be based on programs for a genuine revolutionary class alternative, for the overthrow of the existing bourgeois dominion and the creation of a new power, the socialist. On the contrary, these alternatives were based on progressive reforms, on "expanding democracy", on gradually "taking over" the capitalist state dependent on imperialism and putting it in the service of the workers and the people. Founded on this erroneous ideological and political theory by the leaders of the popular movement, forms of struggle developed which did not place the conquest of power, ie. the social revolution, on the agenda. Illustrative examples of this are the parliamentary path, the "peaceful path" that the UP followed,

The subjective factor, the political leadership and its ideas, therefore, play a crucial role in the struggle of the workers and the people. The collapse of the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries is the universal confirmation of our view that what happened in those countries was not the collapse of socialism, even less the communist ideology, but, on the contrary, a consequence of the apostasy and betrayal of it. Today, this is clear even to ultra-blind idealists, to anyone who would not see the revisionist and anti-communist reality in the leadership of these parties and former countries.

National and international reaction has for a short time clouded the waters. Some self-proclaimed leftists and revolutionaries have left the path of struggle and openly joined the reaction, others still hesitating and trying opportunistically, with "progressive", social democratic phrases, to serve the reaction and imperialism.

The masses, although temporarily confused, seek to find a way out of the crisis of capitalist giant exchange, the workers and the popular movements following each other. And in general, it is found that in Chile, as in the rest of the world, a new wave of the revolutionary struggle of workers and peoples is taking shape. This is to be welcomed with a revolutionary, class-based ideology and politics of a larger

calibre than before, which will seriously allow us to achieve the goals of the current period and secure its socialist perspective. "