

Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

A policy to fight imperialism and overthrow the dictatorship

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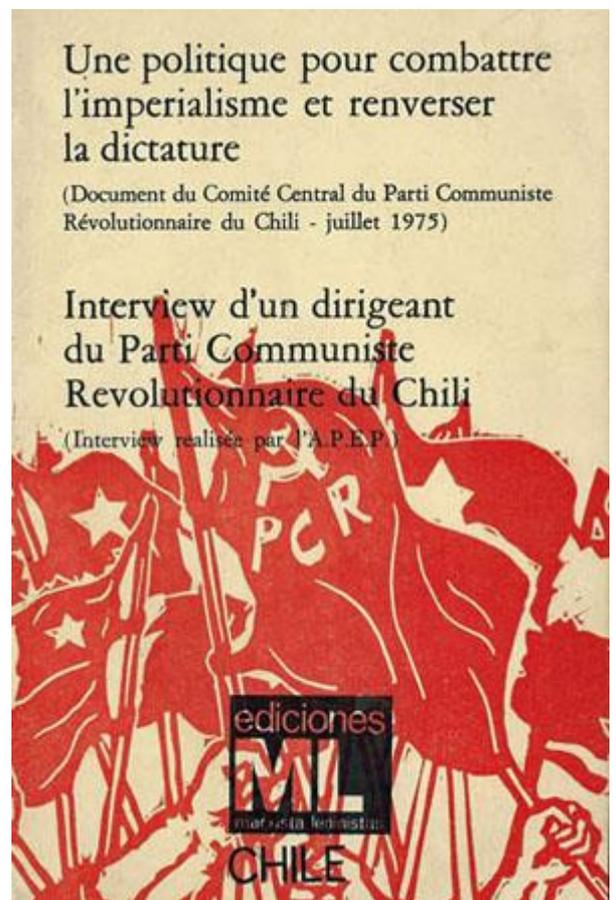
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*Document of the Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile,
July 1975*

1. - *The crisis is deepening*

The Chilean people are experiencing a more dramatic situation every day. All Chileans wonder about the possible outcome of such a deep crisis. And the fascist military junta (JMF) is constantly tightening the noose with which it intends to suffocate our people and it persists in the application of a reactionary economic policy for the benefit of a tiny minority.

On the other hand, our situation as a dependent country has made us more vulnerable to the effects of the crisis of the world capitalist system.



And finally, it is also necessary to remember that our country, because of this same dependence and super-exploitation imposed by imperialism (situation made even more serious by the attempts of the reformist governments), has been bearing the weight for many years still higher external debt and constant high inflation.

The junta claimed to make our people believe that all their present suffering is to be attributed solely to these last two factors and not also, and in large part, to its ultra-reactionary policy in all areas.

And the crisis is getting worse every day, leading to a greater fascization of the regime and to a greater repression of the popular masses, extreme impoverishment, permanent unemployment, chaos and the paralysis of economic activity, condemning this makes our people begging and destitute.

Such a policy, which leads to crisis and confusion, which harms more than 95% of the population and which is maintained thanks to fascist terror and repression, can only provoke the exacerbation of all contradictions and the disintegration of the system in place. It leads to the decomposition of the old parties, the bankruptcy of bourgeois institutions, the isolation and the growing instability of the JMF.

This situation makes the junta ever more odious in the eyes of our people. We can convert this hatred into a great current of struggle against the dictatorship. This is currently the most urgent political task, and one which enables us to progress towards future tasks.

Because it is certain that, even if the instability and the isolation of the regime always go on growing, the dictatorship will not fall by itself ... It must be overthrown. And it is by ever widening the vast patriotic sectors that want to unite and engage in the most diverse forms of struggle and resistance that we will get closer and closer to achieving this important and imperative objective.

2. - A great historical task for today

We have reaffirmed in previous documents that, since the fundamental contradictions of our society have not changed, our programmatic conceptions and the general policy of our Party remain applicable as a whole. And they tell us in what perspective to direct the efforts of our present and future work.

The main task of the peoples of the world as a whole is to fight against the hegemony of the imperialist superpowers. The struggle of the Chilean people for the definitive defeat and expulsion of North American imperialism and its national allies is one of the particular and concrete forms that this great task of the peoples is taking in our country.

The JMF represents the politics and interests of Yankee imperialism and the national ultra-reactionary sectors. The struggle for the overthrow of the JMF is, therefore, the current expression of the great historical task of the Chilean people and also takes place in the common struggle of all the peoples of the world against the hegemony of the imperialist superpowers. .

Promoting unity and fighting to isolate, strike and overthrow the dictatorship represents today the immediate, concrete and effective form of fighting imperialism and the reactionaries and of accumulating revolutionary forces to bring about their defeat and expulsion. final.

This is why, and we insist once again on this point, as long as the dictatorship remains, the most urgent and necessary main political task will be that of promoting and directing the struggle of our people to overthrow it. there is no doubt. This is the immense historic task which ALL patriotic sectors must tackle, a task which also counts with the full support of the democratic and revolutionary sectors around the world.

3. - Correctly draw the demarcation line

The great line of demarcation which clearly separates the patriots from those who are not, today passes between those who support the action of the JMF and those who oppose it. That is to say between North American imperialism, the financial oligarchy, monopolist and latifundist (represented by the JMF) and the vast working and democratic layers which, as a whole, gather more than 95% of the population.

At this stage of the struggle, where dictatorship is the political target used to distinguish friends and allies from enemies, and as long as this target remains, the line of demarcation may undergo variations. This insofar as the different social sectors modify their attitude towards the WFD. Depending on whether they adopt a more or less favourable attitude to dictatorship, the camp of friends and allies

and that of enemies will widen and shrink respectively. This phenomenon appears all the more as the contradictions within society are increasing.

Let's give an example. It is well known that Frei's group participated in the preparation of the military coup and initially supported the policy of the JMF. And yet these sectors, which are today affected by JMF policy, no longer support it. This means that before the golpe, and during the first stage of JMF government, they were part of the camp of the enemies of the people and that currently, and although we cannot consider them as true friends, they are susceptible to be won as allies in the fight against dictatorship. Because it is clear that they are not, today, in the enemy camp.

The fact that at this stage of the struggle against the dictatorship we appear to be supporting a common political objective with sectors which, traditionally, have served as agents of the imperialist powers, does not in any way mean that we have abandoned our own political interests. Everyone knows in Chile that the DC freist group represents the interests of a sector of North American imperialism, and the leadership of the CP those of Russian imperialism.

This does not prevent, however, that in certain circumstances, one can use the contradictions of these sectors with the oligarchic groups and, including, certain determined forms of the imperialist policy in Chile.

For example, the anti-imperialism of the leadership of the revisionist CP does not represent the contradiction between our people and North American imperialism, but rather reflects the contradictions between the two superpowers (EU and USSR). It can nonetheless be used in the fight that our people are waging against North American domination. One can, in the same way, use (as at this moment) possible contradictions between republicans and democrats in the USA as regards the form to give to the North American imperialist policy. All this explains the possibility of working with Freism in the anti-junta struggle. The latter, in fact, a traditional partner in the "liberal" wing of the Yankee Democratic Party, has gradually aligned itself with the position of its mentors, who are now carrying out an active policy against the junta.

If it is therefore true that today we seem to seek unity with these sectors to confront a common enemy, the dictatorship, it is in fact on the basis of different interests.

We revolutionaries must at all times work in accordance with the concrete situation, take advantage of existing contradictions and gain the maximum of allies, even momentary. We are working today in accordance with the situation we are experiencing. Only by going beyond this circumstance can we take the struggle of our people to another stage and achieve other objectives.

4. - The People's Front: a policy for the present time

We have said that isolating, fighting and overthrowing WFD is the main political task of the moment. This is the objective to be reached today.

We also said that it was the task of ALL the people. It was very important to achieve the unity of the people to achieve this goal. We have also made it clear that there is no point in pretending to move towards the goals set for the future if we do not first carry out the task imposed on us by the current situation.

The People's Front, in its various expressions, is the concrete response to the need to find a popular and revolutionary solution to the current situation. And the Minimum Program of the People's Front is its immediate content.

The FP is not only one more organization in the political life of our people. The FP is, above all, an expression of the policy of unity and the struggle of the most diverse sectors of our people against North American imperialism and the JMF.

It is important to consider that a policy does not always have to acquire a pre-established organic expression. Or a determined and unique organic expression. Each of its' expressions will depend on a series of factors. And in practice, we must be always ready and attentive to develop, with the greatest flexibility, this FP policy which can acquire many forms of expression.

So, with regard to Frei's group for example, it is possible that we will never succeed in having any type of common organism or even in establishing any contact with it to fight against the dictatorship. And yet, insofar as today we were not targeting Frei, and starting from the contradictions which oppose this sector to the JMF, we can hope to convince him to defend democratic freedoms and to oppose the monopoly sectors, etc. ... This is a concrete way of applying our F-P policy to this sector. In practice, we may not be able to set up a Front organization with it.

If, tomorrow, we succeed in forming a Committee to defend a determined political figure persecuted by the JMF, it would have to be considered this committee - even if it has only a transitory and not very stable life - as one of the many expressions that can acquire the policy of the F P.

In the same way, the clandestine committee that we create in each industry to fight for freedom of association, the work that we do among the pobladores to try to solve vital problems like famine, housing, insufficient clothing, or still "las ollas comunes" which appear in various forms in many poblaciones, etc ... are all forms of expression of the politics of unity and struggle, of the politics of the FP, and therefore deserve our full attention and our most determined support.

All these actions and organizations have one thing in common, and that is their content. They all start from some point of the FP Minimum Program and all aim, essentially, to isolate, weaken, strike and overthrow the dictatorship. They are therefore useful for uniting the people and sharpening their capacity and their fighting spirit towards their enemies.

5. - Overcome narrowness and bigotry

The FP policy, the essential content of which is included in the Minimum Program, must materialize in all areas of corporate activity, culture, sport, etc.

It must acquire multiple forms of expression and various dimensions. Each social, industrial, cultural, poblacional, etc. sector will necessarily correspond to a particular form and type of Front organization capable of unifying and incorporating them into resistance and the struggle against dictatorship, in accordance with the characteristics and their own level of consciousness.

What has just been said does not exclude the possibility, when conditions present, of also promoting a certain type of FP organization extending to an entire region or to the country and which, in addition to content of the Minimum Program, may have other common characteristics that further identify it with our future prospects. In other words, organize and work with the most advanced sectors.

But this cannot, in any way, justify the attempt to achieve a sectarian and restrictive policy, leaving aside many sectors likely to be unified and mobilized for the fight against the dictatorship because of their contradictions, to varying degrees, with it.

In the present moment, we must emphasize what unites us with all the sectors which, in one way or another, are not on the enemy side and aspire to the overthrow of the dictatorship. This is the essential thing. We must also, insofar as we concert alliances with certain sectors, ensure that these allies do not commit any act which could harm the people and the achievement of the objective for the achievement of which we have united.

And today we call the policy of unity and struggle with the allied sectors, the policy that we are establishing around the objective of overthrowing the JMF and which, tomorrow, will aim at other objectives.

To achieve what has just been said, we must, among other things, first dominate the basic aspects of our politics and its future prospects, second, know the interests of our possible and real allies and, third, be able to reason and act with the greatest flexibility and without the least sectarianism.

In summary, it is a question of not containing, with mechanical diagrams and a partial and sectarian vision of things, the process of unification and struggle of all the people. Which does not mean that we abandon it to its own whim. We must move forward firmly to achieve the immediate objective of overthrowing the dictatorship and prepare, through the accumulation of revolutionary forces, for the completion of the tasks that our people will have to face in successive stages.

6. - A standard of struggle against dictatorship

The essential, to advance in the process of unification and struggle, will be determined by the content and the scope of the actions that the masses can carry out, actions and fights that our Party must promote, organize and lead with self-sacrifice.

As far as these actions are concerned, we must first focus on their content, and then deal with their organic expression or form.

It is this content, based on the various points of the Minimum Program, which will serve as the nucleus of political unity for the concrete struggle that our people are waging against the dictatorship. And it is these 7 points contained in the FP Minimum Program that constitute our immediate standard of unity and of struggle to overthrow the JMF.

7. - The Minimum Program of the People's Front

1. - Struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship.

End of the “Internal War State”, repression, persecution and denunciations. End of the war courts and unconditional freedom for political prisoners. General amnesty.

2. - Struggle for the recovery of democratic freedoms. For freedom of thought, expression, press, movement, assembly, association and for freedom of association.

3. - Fight against super-exploitation. For the increase of wages, salaries and pensions. For freezing commodity prices. For the abolition of the exaggerated taxes to which the popular masses are subjected and the reincorporation of all the dismissed workers.

4. - Struggle for the respect of university autonomy and the end of fascist interference in university affairs and education in general.

5. - Struggle to help small and medium-sized enterprises in agriculture, commerce and industry. For adequate credits to these sectors and the fall in consumer prices.

6. - Struggle for the non-restitution of companies expropriated from imperialism, big monopolies and national latifundia. For the non-payment of compensation to these sectors.

7. - Struggle for the continuation and deepening of land reform. Defense and aid to agricultural businesses and cooperatives.

8. - Focus on the present situation and do not forget the perspectives of the future struggle

A few words on the relationship between the tasks of the present moment and those of tomorrow.

It should not be forgotten that the great contradictions of a society can only be resolved through an extended process, composed of several stages. Thus, the fundamental contradiction which opposes the Chilean people to Yankee

imperialism and to the national reactionaries acquires, at each stage of the process, a particular expression. It does not disappear.

As part of our political strategy, we have set ourselves the task of bringing the struggle of our people to resolve this fundamental contradiction, but by adapting the slogans and concrete policies to the form taken by this contradiction at each stage.

For example, we have said that fighting today for the overthrow of the dictatorship represents the immediate, concrete and effective form of fighting imperialism and the reactionaries and of accumulating forces for its definitive defeat and expulsion.

But we must not, at this stage of the process, as at all stages, forget or leave aside the future of the struggle, the objectives established for, the future, and this, at the risk of seeing our action of the moment lose its revolutionary sense.

The two tendencies, that which pretends to work only in the perspective of the future by ignoring the particularity of each stage, like that which ignores the future and is limited to implementing an immediate policy, does not make it possible to resolve the fundamental contradiction of our society . It must be remembered that the general resides in the particular and that it is only by solving the particular that we can advance towards the solution of the general.

9. - How to combat the influence of the bourgeoisie among the masses

At the present stage of the struggle to resolve the situation of dependence and exploitation of our people - which is expressed in the struggle against the dictatorship - we must necessarily unite with the various sectors of the bourgeoisie which are affected by this. We must therefore endeavour to resolve correctly the struggle against the manifestations of this ideology among the masses.

The ideological struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is a protracted struggle, which is expressed on all planes of existence, which goes far beyond the struggle for power and which, ultimately, will not be resolved during the historic stage that we are experiencing.

The politics of revisionism (and its variants) as well as that of the Christian Democrats, among others, constitute the most generalized expressions of bourgeois influence among the masses.

We know in advance that, ideologically speaking, we will never coincide with the bourgeoisie. In the current situation, however, to properly resolve the struggle against the influence of their ideas among the masses, we must not forget, first, that it is the dictatorship that represents the main enemy and, secondly, that the contradictions with the sectors of the bourgeoisie being affected by and opposing the dictatorship must be dealt with according to the concrete situation we live in. This is something that we must not forget in our action at among the masses.

When we act among the masses, we must, in order not to cut ourselves off from them, ensure that the inevitable ideological confrontation within it starts from its own level of consciousness. We must present this confrontation in the least abstract way possible, taking into account the problems experienced by the masses and those that derive from its own actions. In this way we will succeed in involving the masses in the fight against bourgeois ideas and in raising their level of political consciousness.

So, for example, when in a committee we are discussing the drafting of a leaflet, article or platform, we must take advantage of the situation thus created to listen to the various opinions of the masses and the different trends that then appear. And the masses, for their part, will also listen to other opinions expressed.

We must take advantage of this moment to set out our point of view on the basis of the problems discussed and which interest the masses. This is an opportunity for us to criticize, on the basis of a positive and unitary attitude, the ideas which reflect the influence of the bourgeoisie.

What we have just said clearly shows that such a problem must be solved in practice, in accordance with the situation created by each concrete action that we propose to the masses. We act from the interests and problems of the masses, the most immediate of these being exposed in the Minimum Program of the People's Front. This is our immediate point of departure and standard, both to push the various sectors to unite and to oppose and criticize the views which harm the people and the struggle against dictatorship.

We have observed, on several occasions, that certain comrades pretended to solve a priori the problem of the struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideas among the people, in this way anticipating the practical experience that the masses - necessarily - must live. We also laughed that their concern was only partial. On the political level, for example, they make efforts only to unite and work with the sectors influenced by revisionism (ex-UP) and ignore the sectors which still believe in Christian Democracy. Likewise, on the ideological level, they pay attention only to the fight against revisionism and leave aside Christian Democracy.

So far, we have mainly talked about the struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideas among the masses. As a complement to the ideological struggle which takes place at this level, we must, in accordance with the existing needs and conditions, deploy all the propaganda necessary to help the masses to synthesize the experience of this struggle and to also help the most advanced sectors to play a role of organizer and leader. This requires adapting propaganda to the needs of each sector of the masses, taking into account, firstly, the differences between the advanced, intermediate and less developed levels - without excluding any of these three sectors -, taking into account, secondly, the different fields social, political and cultural; and third, allied and likely to become allied sectors.

Failure to properly resolve the problem of the struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideas leads us to serious errors and political deviations. The fact, on the one hand, of claiming to unite only with the sectors of the bourgeoisie without at the same time fighting against their ideas, leads us to right-wing opportunism and puts the proletariat and the mass movement behind the bourgeoisie. The fact, on the other hand, of only emphasizing the struggle while ignoring the need to unite with these sectors, leads us to "left" adventurism and condemns the proletariat and the movement of the masses to isolation and defeat.

10. - Some considerations at the base of our work among the masses

We have, so far, emphasized the need on the one hand, to correctly interpret the current situation and, on the other hand, to work to resolve the immediate task that this situation suggests to us, in this way, progress towards the definitive solution of the problem of dependence and exploitation which our people are confronted with.

Let us now clarify, in a few words, some of the considerations which lie at the basis of our work among the masses.

In the first place, we must consider that the process of unity and struggle of our people develops through the realization of concrete actions and from the problems experienced by the masses.

Secondly, we must consider that for each of these actions, the accent must be put on their political content, which must be exposed in the platform that we develop for each action. And this political content must come from the Minimum Program of the People's Front or from one of its points.

Third, we must consider that some of these actions may, even when they leave the Minimum Program, not explicitly refer to the overthrow of the JMF. We should not ignore them, because they also serve to isolate, debilitate and strike the JMF and allow the masses to strengthen their combat capacity.

Fourth, we must consider that, in working with FP Committees, the emphasis must be placed on the committees that form within the natural fronts of the masses themselves. Where the problems of the moment are expressed most clearly. Where we can do longer term work with a broader perspective? And finally, where we can develop a stronger and more effective party organization.

Fifth, we must consider that by stimulating the creation of new mass organizations within their natural fronts, we must give them a new character, so that they allow an agile mobilization within the framework of conditions of the repressive regime, in industries as well as universities, schools, poblaciones and in the countryside, etc. We must take advantage of this to encourage the masses to analyse the experience of the legalist and economicist organizations set up by the different bourgeois currents in the past, to push them to analyse the limits of these organizations and their total incapacity and ineffectiveness under the current conditions of the repressive regime. To make the masses understand that their current weakness in the face of the dictatorship is due above all, among other things,

6th, we must consider that, in working with the different class sectors - without neglecting any that is likely to be won over to our objectives - we must concentrate all our attention on the working class and, in particular, the large proletarian concentrations. It is indeed the working class of large concentrations

which has the greatest capacity for political assimilation and which must play the leading and catalytic role of the whole revolutionary process of our time. And in the regions where the rural sector predominates, the accent must be put on working with the agricultural proletariat and with the poor peasants.

In the 7th place, we must consider that the fact of applying the 5 basic principles in working among the masses must be adopted by all the organizations of the Party. Each organization must, in the same way, adopt as permanent working principles the systematization and synthesis of its political experiences among the masses, taking into account the policies, plans and methods that have been outlined.

And, in 8th place, we must consider that only a large disciplined, clandestine party, firmly established among the masses, practicing criticism and self-criticism and which is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, can allow us to lead successfully the struggle of our people in the present, and even more to progress towards the goals set for final liberation.

11. - *Develop a disciplined ML Party*

In the preceding pages, we have pointed out some of the great problems which arise in the application of our F P policy. But the FP is only an expression, of decisive importance, of our policy in the situation current. He is not the only one. We cannot develop all our political work exclusively through the FP, because that would mean denying the political independence of the proletariat, limiting the process of accumulation of revolutionary forces and seeing its future prospects diluted.

The revolutionary experience of other peoples has repeatedly demonstrated the need to count, among other things, on three essential instruments to progress and obtain results in the liberation struggle: the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the FP and the People's Army. The party constitutes the ruling vanguard.

The firm and constant growth of the Party is an essential condition for ensuring the success of the revolutionary process at each of its stages, as well as for advancing uninterruptedly towards its future prospects.

This is how our own experience teaches us that the relative (and partial) success that we have obtained by stimulating the achievement of certain important actions

of the masses, allowing us to acquire more strength and influence in their organizations, s 'It does not go hand in hand with the solid construction of party cells is only of short duration and sees finally reduced to almost nothing this too precarious influence and our work.

And this does not only appear in the context of an experiment within a determined front of the masses, but also holds true when we have to acquire a broad and multiple influence in a large sector of the masses or of opinion. public. If this action is not accompanied by the parallel process of Party building, our influence will be weak, momentary and will run the very great risk of disappearing quickly. Furthermore, it will not present any definite possibility of making us progress, in one way or another, towards future prospects.

The development of the Party (enlargement and strengthening) through the various forms of the struggle of the masses (political, military, etc.) gives this struggle, in addition to a correct direction, the continuity essential to enable it to grow constantly (in quantity and quality) and to integrate into the multiple process of the accumulation of revolutionary forces in the perspective of the armed struggle for Power.

The practice confirms to us every day with more force the necessity of a constant development of the Party through the struggle and in close relation with the masses. The rigors of the repressive regime, the complexity of the political situation and the continual influence of the bourgeoisie underline the need to maintain firm discipline, strict morals and the spirit of sacrifice, as well as the need to persevere in Marxism-Leninism and to deepen the struggle to adopt a Marxist-Leninist conception of the world, this without separating theory from practice and by persisting in criticism-self-criticism.

All the activists whom we have accepted into the ranks of the Party must voluntarily submit to a solid organic base firmly disciplined. This is an essential condition for strengthening our political conscience, moral and revolutionary temper. There is no freedom without discipline and no democracy without centralism.

12. - Some reflections touching on the perspectives of the future struggle

The popular armed struggle for the conquest of Power is the highest expression that our politics can take. This is what our future prospects consist of. This is the

objective towards which we are directing the process of the accumulation of revolutionary forces. And to achieve this development, it is absolutely essential that the people rely on their own strength. Without an army of their own, the people will get nothing. This is a very certain thing and a lesson which the vast masses of our people are in the process of assimilating deeply after having experienced, first, the dream of an illusory "peaceful way" and "without social cost" (?!), and then, and as one of its consequences, the very real nightmare of fascist barbarism.

The mere fact of being today defenseless before the arms of the fascists must make each patriot of our country think, and in particular, those who have not yet drawn all the conclusions from this harsh lesson.

In any society divided into classes, there comes a time when the exploited no longer have any possibility of expressing themselves politically if they do not count on the force of their own weapons to confront those of their oppressors. If our people do not want to end in the most complete slavery they must, all the more reason, take the path of the armed popular struggle. And although this path appears very thorny today and not in the short term, our people, convinced that this is the only real and sure alternative to free themselves from their oppressors, will be able to overcome all difficulties, accept all sacrifices and go through all the journey to the deserved victory.

We wanted, with the help of this document, to analyse the importance of the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship, signaling at the same time that this struggle constitutes an inseparable part and the immediate form of the fight against imperialism and the reactionaries. That is to say, constitutes a necessary and inevitable step on the way to our future prospects.

Although the immediate development of this struggle against the dictatorship may take place within the limits of imperialist domination and the bourgeois regime and not necessarily mean the definitive liberation of our people, we in no way adopt an indifferent and passive attitude in this fight, and to the extent that, really, it constitutes a step towards this objective. To wait for the dictatorship to fall by itself to organize and stimulate the development of revolutionary forces for the conquest of Power would mean falling into passivity and the worst of opportunisms. It would also mean not understanding that, in this journey towards our future perspectives,

13. - *After the dictatorship ... any government?*

There is a relation between the solution which results from the overthrow of the JMF and the development of conditions which will make possible the struggle for the conquest of Power. Between the regime which will follow the current JMF and the progression towards the Popular Democratic regime.

Although more than 95% of Chileans vehemently aspire to the overthrow of the dictatorship, in whatever way and "whoever succeeds it", that does not mean that this new government will be better than this one. At least as far as the proletariat and the vast masses of the people are concerned.

The non-monopoly bourgeoisie seeks the support (uses) of the people to gain the maximum weight and resolve the contradictions which oppose it to imperialism and to the monopoly sectors represented by the JMF. But once this bourgeois sector has freed itself from them (or reached an agreement with them) it will inevitably turn against the people.

And the proletariat and the people can, only if they have the necessary weapons (and the conditions to use them), take advantage of the contradictions that arise between the various sectors within the bourgeoisie itself and those that exist between that and imperialism and national monopolies. It is only on this condition that they will be able to ally themselves with the sectors likely to be united - including certain sectors of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie - within a large Single Front. Only on this condition, finally, that they can maintain their independence and advance on the path of people's war and the conquest of Power (future prospects).

Apart from the fact, as we have already pointed out, that the JMF can be overthrown either through the armed popular struggle, or through unarmed popular pressure, or even as a result of the exacerbation of the very contradictions which arise in within the bourgeoisie (these various factors can also act jointly), the form of government and the regime which will succeed it will be more or less democratic, will be better or worse for the people, depending on the ability of the proletariat and the people to intervene and to put pressure by means of his own forces, and even arms, will be more or less great. The greater this capacity, which can go as far as the leadership of the process by the proletariat, the further it can lead the process of democratization.

But, and as follows from what we have said, we do not make our participation in the active struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship subject to the fact that the people previously armed themselves and whether or not they were able to impose and secure such democratic guarantees. If the proletariat and the people do not actively participate in the struggle for the overthrow of the JMF and neither do they develop their own armed forces, leaving this fight in the sole hands of the bourgeoisie, they cannot hope that the latter will grant them such democratic guarantees free of charge. The more important will be the forces that the proletariat and the people will be able to develop and the greater will be the democratic guarantees that they will succeed in wresting from the bourgeoisie and imperialism,

But if we do not make our participation in the active struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship conditional on the fact that the people are armed, on the other hand, we will make the greatest efforts to, on the one hand, that this struggle means advancing in the development of armed forces of the people, advancing in the process of accumulating revolutionary forces and obtaining the widest democratic guarantees from the government which will succeed the current regime, and for, on the other hand, that all that has just come being said is a decisive step in the struggle for the conquest of power for the people.

And therefore, the slogan "any government is better" is in no way correct. It does not reflect the interests of the proletariat and the people in the immediate future or in the future; he condemns their struggles and their forces to passivity, condemns them to wait until the bourgeoisie concedes them a few crumbs. The greater the democratic guarantees obtained by the people through their own struggle and their own forces, the more they can advance in the perspective of their true liberation.

14. - *The democratic government of anti-fascist unity*

To fight for a government which guarantees the realization of important and effective democratic measures for the people, which guarantees the crushing of the fascist and ultra-reactionary sectors, that is to say for a government of anti-fascist unity, constitutes the great task for all patriotic Chileans. This government must be born from the struggle of the broad masses against the dictatorship and from the combative mobilization of the people.

However, it should not be forgotten that dark forces in the service of the two great powers are moving behind the scenes to prepare, behind the backs of the people and against them, when the time comes, a replacement government for the current JMF. These attempts must be thwarted and any outcome that does not take into account popular interests must be prevented at all costs.

To the extent that the JMF breaks down and is isolated, the class struggle acquires greater complexity. This is why, in addition to gathering the maximum of forces to strike and overthrow the dictatorship, we must never forget that the only guarantee of a truly democratic solution to the current situation lies in the leadership capacity that the working class can exercise on the anti-fascist democratic movement.

The historical experience of our country (and of the whole world) shows that the proletariat exercises the irrevocable direction of the movement of the masses with the force of arms. This is why the character of the government which will succeed the JMF will be given by the capacity of the working class to arm itself and arm the people to fight and defend effectively by force their legitimate interests. Nevertheless, we repeat, we do not make this a condition for fighting against the dictatorship and even overthrowing it.

The outcome of the present situation is linked, on the one hand, to the capacity of the broad masses, led by the working class, to fight in all forms to overthrow the JMF and, on the other hand and at the same time, to the process of accumulation, through these fights, of the force which is necessary for them to impose their own solution. Everything therefore depends on the force that the proletariat manages to accumulate.

Taking into account what has just been said, past experiences and the current situation, the working class and the broad masses must not be led by the adventurism of "all or nothing" or by the opportunism of "lesser harm". This is a fundamental consideration which must guide the concrete actions of the present moment. The immediate future of the Chilean democratic movement largely depends on how this contradiction is resolved.

Brandishing the FP Minimum Program as a standard of struggle represents the surest way to join forces against the dictatorship. The struggle for this Program as a whole or for one of its points in particular will make it possible to strike, weaken, isolate and ultimately overthrow the JMF.

Authentic patriots must make all the sacrifices so that the masses see in this Minimum Program what it is in fact, the materialization of their deepest aspirations. By brandishing this program and making it the people's program, we will mobilize them for the struggle. We can, in this way, demand from the government which will replace the JMF the realization of the following Democratic Program of Anti-Fascist Unity.

15. - *The democratic program of anti-fascist unity*

1. - Complete and final crushing of the dictatorship. End of the regime and repressive instruments. General political amnesty and freedom, for all those who had to abandon Chile because of the persecution of the dictatorship, to return to the country. Confiscation of all the property of the members of the JMF and their closest collaborators, depriving them of their political rights and punishing them in an exemplary manner, together with all the torturers and fascist criminals.

2. - Guarantee for the people to benefit from the widest democratic freedoms (freedom of thought, expression, vote, movement, assembly, trade union, association, university autonomy and democratic education). Repression of ultra-reactionaries by means of popular mobilization.

3. - Effective participation of the people in the exercise of Power. Development of a new Political Constitution of the State largely ensuring the exercise of democratic freedoms. Reorganization of the Armed Forces, putting them at the service of democratic tasks. Definitive term for the trusteeship exercised within them by Yankee imperialism ((on the ideological, political, military and technical levels). Elimination of all the clique of officers and commanders linked to the current dictatorship and who play the role of agents of imperialism, reorganization of justice, repeal of all repressive legislation and its replacement by new democratic and popular laws, displacement of existing judges and democratic and popular election of new judges.

4. - Improvement of the living conditions of the people. Increase in wages, salaries and pensions, and their automatic readjustment in line with the real increase in the cost of living. Provision of essential products at affordable prices for the people. End of unemployment by stimulating industry and agriculture. Elimination of taxes which discriminate indiscriminately on the sectors with the lowest incomes and which prevent the development of small and

medium-sized sectors of industry, agriculture and commerce. Provide health, education and (healthy) recreation services for the people.

5. - Real economic recovery of the country.

Effective measures to end shameful domination, imperialist control and sacking. Cancellation of all contracts and conditions imposed by Yankee imperialism through its various financial, military, political and cultural organizations. Expulsion and expropriation without compensation from all sectors compromised with it in the country. Recovery for the Chilean people of all national wealth in the hands of Yankee imperialism.

6. - Effective anti-monopoly measures. Expropriation without compensation of all monopolies. Reorganization of the economy by clearly delimiting the state, private and mixed sectors. Make the basic sector of the economy the strict and sovereign property of the people under their control and direction. Suppression of speculative delinquency by financial tycoons. Granting of credits for the real stimulation of the development of industry, the modern mining sector and agriculture, by providing solid guarantees to the small and medium sectors and by preventing all monopolistic actions. Fairer tax reform for small and medium-sized sectors.

7. - Effective application of the Agrarian Reform.

Definitive elimination of all latifundia and their expropriation without compensation. Correction of all wrong policies and measures (paternalism, adventurism, etc.) applied by reformist governments. Direction of the Agrarian Reform process by the agricultural proletariat and the poor peasants, with the right financial and technical support of the State. Efficient development of agricultural enterprises (in the form of cooperatives and state enterprises, depending on the circumstances) ensuring in all cases the maximum yield.

At the same time, guarantee the free work of small and medium-sized farmers, also ensuring them all the necessary support from the State. Support and intervention in areas where the minifundio predominates, unproductive due to its size and individual form of work. Absolute freedom of corporate and union association.

Development of the agricultural industry (machines, fertilizers, treatment and packaging of products, transport and means of communication, and development of infrastructure to ensure watering throughout the year. Development of the electrification process).

Defense of an external policy of membership with the countries of the Third World, by condemning the interference, plunder, domination and hegemony of the great imperialist powers. By condemning racist and neo-fascist regimes. By promoting, through the development of industry and agriculture, Latin American economic integration at the level of non-monopoly sectors, in the broadest sense. Respect for the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

Our path passes, to conquer power, through the development of people's war. We are resolutely moving in this direction. By persevering in the process of accumulating revolutionary forces to conquer Power, by correctly carrying out the tasks imposed on us by each stage of this process, by correctly drawing the dividing line between friends and enemies in each concrete situation, and by persisting in the will to build, develop and consolidate during the struggle a large ML Party, a large Single Front and the People's Army, both led by the Party, we will undoubtedly succeed in advancing and fully accomplishing the great objectives set for the definitive liberation of our people and the construction of a popular democratic society,

Santiago, July 1975.