

Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

Interview with a leader of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

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Interview conducted by APEP

1. - Could you give us details on the experience of the Chilean people since the fascist military coup?

The fascist military coup in Chile not only means the most monstrous repression for the Chilean people in their history, but also takes place in contemporary history as one of the repressions the most brutal and bloody that any country has ever suffered.

More than 30,000 people have been murdered. More than 150,000 others passed through prisons and concentration camps and several thousand are still there. The most brutal and refined torture has been and continues to be used as a "normal" interrogation procedure or as simple revenge.



Various international courts have denounced, among other things, as the tortures used: the application of electrodes to the genitals, anus and gums; gang rape or rape using animals; immersion in excrement or petroleum baths; acid or fire burns; mutilations, fractures, cuts, "tourniquets"; stays in metal drums until causing tearing of the eardrums or madness, etc ...

To these physical tortures, used by the sadistic fascists who govern Chile, must be added a large number of psychic tortures: simulated shootings, violations or tortures in the presence of family members, obligation to carry out in the simplest apparatus the tasks more humiliating and degrading in front of the troop, etc ...

But repression has not only resulted in acts of direct violence against people; it led to the complete destruction of bourgeois democratic institutions and guarantees existing in Chile for several decades.

Were suppressed: the Parliament, the elections (up to the burned registers), all the political parties, the Unique Central of the Workers as well as all the other trade union organizations, most of the press, radio, television. We have witnessed the burning, as in the Middle Ages, of books considered to be subversive, the elimination inside universities of all the professors, pupils, chairs and even careers likely to have in the eyes of the fascists certain affinities with Marxism.

The most rigorous laws and procedures have been and are observed during trials before military courts as well as during wartime. And yet even these harshest legal standards are not followed in practice, and the most repressive arbitrariness is required. Since the coup, the country has been kept in an exceptional situation: state of siege or state of war and curfew permanently.

The most basic trade union rights have been abolished: the right to strike, to elect, to assemble, etc ... as well as the social and economic privileges already won by workers. Tens of thousands of them have been expelled from their work, in violation of all legal guarantees. The working day was gradually extended arbitrarily in many companies and statutory holidays were abolished.

All these acts of repression came after the fascist soldiers declared a real war on the people: bombing of the Presidential Palace and assassination of the President of the Republic, bombardment and assault of the poblaciones, industries, schools, fundos and other points of concentration of the masses. Already on the eve of the

coup, a ruthless purge was undertaken inside the barracks in order to eliminate, within the Armed Forces, elements not openly favourable to the golpists.

And I would like, in conclusion to what has just been said - too briefly - about what fascist repression has been and continues to be in Chile since the military coup, to report the opinion expressed by Leopoldo Torres, Secretary General of the Movement of Catholic Jurists and member of the International Commission of Jurists, after he had investigated in Chile in October 1973, that is to say at the time when the repression began: "... The situation and the criminal acts of the junta in Chile can be qualified as attempted genocide as defined in the United Nations Convention".

2. - How do you explain that the Allende government and the political and union forces that supported it - which apparently were quite numerous (more than 40% of the votes still in March 73) - put up such a weak resistance to the coup fascist?

Here we touch on the key aspect essential for understanding the events that occurred in Chile. Hundreds of books and brochures have been written to denounce the brutality of the fascist coup in Chile. But no real critical analysis has been made of the policy that made the coup possible, that is to say of the opportunistic policy of the leaders of the old "communist" party of Chile, who used the campaign to expose fascist crimes to divert attention and make them forget their own responsibility. But the tragic experience of Chile has again proven at least very clearly one thing, and that is that opportunism, reformism and false Marxism are truly the antechamber of fascism.

The inability of the Popular Unity government to carry out its reform program and prevent the coup is to be attributed to the ideology and politics that dominated it, that is, politics and opportunist ideology imposed by the leaders of the pro-Soviet "communist" party under the leadership of Corvalàn.

The crushing of the government of the UP as well as the tragedy lived by the Chilean people as a result of the fascist coup d'état are no other than the expression of the brilliant failure of the illusion which wants that socialism can be achieved by a "peaceful way".

What has happened in Chile proves that "the peaceful way" does not even allow relatively advanced reforms, and therefore even less any path towards

socialism. The leaders of the old "soviet inclined" PC, as Corvalàn himself liked to call it, tried to apply this "peaceful way" to Chile, and this to meet the demands of their ideological bosses and mentors, the Soviet leaders. The results of this anti-Marxist and revisionist experience of Marxism speak for themselves.

We cannot be more eloquent. And yet, certain leaders of this same false communist party, like Volodia Teitelboim for example, persist in their errors and continue to assert, with the greatest cynicism and a total lack of responsibility, that the 3 years of survival of the UP and its government are proof of the viability of the "peaceful way" to socialism. This clearly demonstrates the need to unmask and immobilize these traitors who persist in their intention to drive, like lambs, the Chilean people to the slaughterhouse.

The reform program of the UP affected the interests of certain companies of Yankee imperialism, the land oligarchy and the Chilean monopoly bourgeoisie, that is to say precisely the sectors of the ruling class which controlled power in Chile.

Because the victory of the UP during the presidential elections of 1970 had only allowed it to obtain a small part of this reactionary power: part of the executive power. Parliament, the judiciary, most of the mass media (press, radio, television, etc.), fundamental companies and, above all, the Armed Forces, pillar of the bourgeois state, remained in the hands of reactionaries.

And although the program of the UP had been reformist, it did not intend to completely liquidate the economic (and even less political) power of the main class enemies of the Chilean people, any more than it really wanted to entrust to the people the reconquered goods.

It was therefore, given the context in which we intended to carry out these reforms, a truly "leftist" adventure. In other words, we pretended to act as if power had been conquered, and that without having conquered it.

The "logic" of this absurdity must be sought in the opportunist project that the Soviet leaders wanted to apply to Chile by the "pro-Soviet" team under the leadership of the old CP. According to the basic - absurd - idea, Yankee companies and reactionary Chilean sectors directly affected by the reforms and expropriations, would nevertheless tolerate the latter if they intervened in the context of their own laws and institutions.

In other words, one started from the false, anti-Marxist idea and in opposition to all world historical experience, that one element of the superstructure - the alleged loyalty of the reactionaries to bourgeois democratic institutions - would be stronger than the economic basis of class interests of these. And these shoddy Marxists then dare to complain!

The results obtained by them are roughly comparable to those obtained by any bad doctor who would try to treat a patient with insufficient doses of antibiotics, and who would only succeed in multiplying and making more virulent the microbes that he specifically wanted to fight.

Because, as should be expected, the Chilean reactionaries and the imperialist enterprises, directly affected in their interests, reacted and stood up violently, relentlessly using all the legal and extra-legal means at their disposal to overthrow the Allende government. .

Paradoxically, one could almost say that in fighting to overthrow the government of the UP, they gave the false Marxists who run the old Chilean CP a truly "Marxist" class character, They used all the institutions and all laws at their service, acting in parallel in an illegal, clandestine and terrorist manner; they took advantage of THEIR Armed Forces and formed illegal armed groups; they rallied, around their concrete interests, vast sectors of the masses with the very clear political aim of overthrowing the government; they obstructed government plans with the help of existing laws and institutions, simultaneously sabotaging the economy, etc.

The leadership of the UP and the Allende government, operating within the framework of the opportunist policy imposed by Corvalàn and his clique, were absolutely powerless to fight such an offensive.

Let us examine in 3 points what paralyzed these last while they underwent the implacable blows of their all-powerful class enemies.

First of all, it is their resistance and their inability to mobilize the great masses of the people to crush the reactionaries and really conquer power. They could not do it because that was not the goal sought by the ideological mentors of the UP experience, the leaders of the old CP, who wanted in fact only one thing: to develop the area of the state at the expense of the companies of the big bourgeoisie and imperialism to set up their own bureaucratic bourgeoisie there. In

other words, to develop state capitalism under the guise of a pseudo-socialism as in the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other nations of Eastern Europe.

Second, we find the claim of the UP to carry out reforms, which largely destroyed the economic base of the dominant sectors, foreign and national, by rigorously submitting to the legality and institutionalized of the bourgeois state, instead to destroy it. And this, while the reactionaries openly ignored their own laws and institutions.

And finally, thirdly and as another aspect of what has just been said, the stupid and anti-Marxist belief that the Chilean Armed Forces were neutral and would limit themselves to demanding respect by all of the institutions in place. That is to say, the conviction that they were not in fact repressive forces serving the ruling classes.

And we see the Allende government and the forces that supported it, as they were dying under the fierce blows of the reactionaries (as well as vast middle sectors and certain workers even won over to the reactionaries as a result of the crisis) to refuse themselves to mobilize the people to fight these enemies and conquer power, and to submit to the laws and bourgeois institutions that tied their hands completely.

And they covered with praise and granted ever more facilities and powers to the Armed Forces, which were preparing to give the coup de grace to this same government and to the UP, as well as to the Chilean people.

And the height was reached when all parliamentarians, including those of the UP, approved the so-called "arms control" law, a fiercely repressive law which granted the Armed Forces the right to enter any premises or building capable of shelter weapons with, as a corollary, very severe punishments for all persons in possession of them.

The fascist soldiers used this law to the full to prepare carefully and several months in advance for the coup d'état, terrorizing the masses with their brutal interventions, invading the unions, fundos, poblaciones and private houses. And this, even as the fascist civil groups calmly transported weapons and multiplied the assassinations and terrorist attacks throughout the country.

But even this situation did not alert the leaders of the UP and did not give rise to any doubt about the real and reactionary nature of the Chilean Armed Forces. And Yankee imperialism continued to pay credits to the Armed Forces for the purchase of armaments while it blocked all credits and payments to the Allende government.

It is therefore not, as some have asserted, a failure due to the fundamental errors committed by the UP, errors which could possibly be corrected if the latter again had the opportunity to come to government.

It is the very politics and the line that inspires it that are erroneous and opportunistic: the politics that claims that one can seize the goods of imperialism and the oligarchy without fundamentally mobilizing the masses to fight and overthrow the repressive armed forces in the service of these dominant sectors; the line that understands politics more or less like a card game, and the one that "draws" the highest number of votes, respectful of the rules of the game, will give their purse to the winner.

It is also false to believe, as the Chilean experience has shown, that those who put the electoral route in the foreground in power, those who use the people without allowing them to really conquer power, are capable - as they often promise it - to change course when the time comes, that is to say when the reactionaries take up arms to block their path.

In Chile, the leaders of the old CP first engaged in all kinds of bravado and threats against those who wanted to overthrow the government, then tried to move the reactionaries by effectively demobilizing the people with tearful instructions: "No to the civil war". These leaders, in doing so, may have curbed any civil war of the people against the golpists, but not the war of the Armed Forces and fascist groups against the people.

What happened in Chile is therefore only the logical consequence of all the treacherous policy of the revisionists, a policy which constitutes the answer to your question since it explains why there was no coordinated resistance within the forces supporting the government of the UP at the time of the fascist coup.

3. - What was the policy of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile vis-à-vis the government of the UP and the forces supporting it?

The PCR did not try to incorporate itself as a party to Popular Unity, considering (as the facts demonstrated) that the political line within this coalition was the opportunist line of the leaders of the old CP, who claimed deceive the people by persuading them to conquer power and achieve socialism by "peaceful and electoral means".

The PCR however decided to unite with mass organizations, at the base, with workers, peasants, employees, students and other middle sectors, whether independent or activists of the Popular Unity parties, to reveal the true character of the UP government and put forward a truly revolutionary program.

Above all, it was necessary to show the masses that the reforms proposed by the UP (and even more so socialism) were impracticable within the framework of the legalist and pacifist path imposed by the false communist leaders. It was necessary to insist on the need to support popular struggles and to help the people to prepare, ideologically and materially, to face a counteroffensive of Yankee imperialism and internal reactionaries on all fronts, including and fundamentally an armed counteroffensive.

Reveal that the UP did not intend to build socialism but rather to expand state capitalism, that is to say to move from dependent capitalism to a situation like the one that countries now know - by degeneration of socialism - like the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc ...

The revolutionary program of the PCR, consequently anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and anti-latifundist, proposed to radically destroy the economic and political base of these dominant class sectors in Chile, at the same time giving guarantees and attracting, to the side of the proletariat, the middle sectors of industry, commerce and agriculture.

And although the PCR never hesitated to promote a truly revolutionary program, aimed at crushing the main class enemies of the Chilean people and to overthrow the bourgeois state to really conquer power for the people, it also mobilized actively to defend the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic reforms of the UP against attacks from reactionaries from within and from Yankee imperialism.

Faced with the recalcitrant reformist and opportunist line that the pro-Soviet "communist" leaders had dictated to the UP, the PCR endeavoured, thanks to the struggle of the masses and by regrouping the most consistent militants and leaders

of the forces of the UP and its marginal forces, to create a pole of revolutionary regrouping, a centre of direction claiming a line of action and a more advanced program, a revolutionary alternative able to mobilize the popular masses against the golpists and to attract the middle sectors in parallel.

In October 72, a certain possibility arose of creating this revolutionary pole and subjecting a reformist PC. During this month, in fact, the reactionary sectors tried to overthrow the government by paralyzing industry, commerce, transport and certain professional services.

Faced with this employers' offensive, large popular sectors, the proletariat in particular, mobilized. The workers, grouped together inside the Industrial Cords (assemblies of workers' delegates from the industrial districts) and the Communal Commandos (workers' delegates, students, pobladores), actively and combatively opposed the employers' strike, succeeding in taking control of the 'initiative. And they made industries work without the bosses, the businesses under popular control.

Many means of transport were requisitioned; there was a direct distribution of food and other basic products in poblaciones and industries. Brigades were set up to protect industries from sabotage by reactionaries, etc.

And yet, the government and certain important leaders of the UP, under pressure from the leaders of the old CP, turned their backs on the masses and signed a pact with the reactionaries and their Armed Forces, a pact which specified that the reactionaries abandoned the offensive in exchange for a series of concessions and the government's promise to paralyze the popular counter-offensive then in full swing.

This resulted in practice in the designation of a military cabinet (which was to appear as the immediate cause of the cessation of the employers' strike), the withdrawal of UP militants from the Cordons and Commandos, the suppression of all the attributions which the latter had conquered in fact, and finally the presentation - by means of a monstrous display of propaganda - of the parliamentary elections of March 73 as the most important task, as a plebiscite which should clearly reveal who, from the opposition or government, enjoyed popular support.

As expected, the parliamentary elections - which did not allow the reactionaries to get enough votes to legally dismiss Allende - only accelerated preparations for the coup. And this time the people, who had seen their offensive previously held back by the government, found themselves demobilized. The second employers' strike, which was to take place a few months after the elections, no longer met with the vigorous popular response of October 72.

These are the facts which served as a direct antechamber to the fascist coup. The leaders of the pro-Soviet PC tried well to ward off this new offensive by pushing Allende to compromise on its program, but it was already too late.

4. - Why were the Revolutionary Communist Party and its activity relatively unknown and not very influential during the government of Popular Unity?

To be clear, I will answer your question - which is otherwise quite complex - by speaking of its subjective aspects first and its objective aspects afterwards. Subjective aspects, insofar as they relate to the maturity and capacity of our Party; objectives, insofar as they affect the concrete difficulties encountered by our Party in the implementation of its policy.

With regard to the subjective aspects, we must recognize that our Party, although essentially having a correct line, has not lived up to the difficult and complex political moment experienced by Chile. We have committed, as far as we are concerned, errors due to a lack of maturity, errors also in the application of the political line (sectarian tendencies in its materialization) and other errors still, which prevented us from overcoming the immense difficulties of the moment and to win the great popular masses to a correct revolutionary way, as our basic documents understood it.

On the other hand, very few of the actions organized and actually directed by our Party during the government of Popular Unity were publicly known as such. Unlike certain organizations, benefiting in Chile from an advertising image corresponding little to what they were and actually doing, the PCR is the only organization which has carried out and directed so many actions without surrounding them with a smattering advertising.

Two fundamental factors come into play here to explain what has just been said: the deliberate purpose first of all, both on the part of the most reactionary forces and of the traditional reformist left, of prohibiting and sabotaging all information

concerning the PCR. Worse still, many actions clearly bearing the character of the PCR were publicly attributed to other organizations, when these organizations did not arrogate them of themselves without the slightest modesty. It was clear that neither intended to disclose what had to do with the application of a true Marxist-Leninist line.

To this must be added the fact that the PCR, for reasons of principle (justified in practice), has always wanted to keep secret the fundamental activity of the Party, including during the government of the UP. This, of course, prevented the Party from publicizing as it did a series of mass actions which it nevertheless directed: numerous occupations of land, factories, campaign for the freedom of the workers of Saba, organization of solidarity committees and industrial cords, etc ... Facilitating in this the intention of the bourgeois opposition forces and the government to conceal our influence.

However, the answer to your question would remain incomplete if we did not speak of the immense concrete, objective difficulties which our Party encountered in carrying out its policy and strengthening its influence among the masses. It should be noted, on this subject, that it is only thanks to the gigantic economic means placed at its disposal that bourgeois politics, both on the right and on the "left" (which calls itself Marxist!), Was able to be realized.

The first, in fact, counted with the support of Yankee imperialism and powerful economic sectors of the interior.

The second was supported by Soviet social-imperialism, governments belonging to the Warsaw Pact, as well as the so-called pro-Soviet "communist" parties. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties of the opposition and the government controlled during the UP almost all the companies of the country, 150 radio stations, 11 newspapers (with a daily circulation of nearly a million copies), numerous magazines and 3 TV channels!

For the parliamentary election campaign of March 73 alone, the opposition and the government together spent close to \$ 100 million. Public opinion, the Chilean people, was largely mobilized - that is to say deceived - by this bourgeois policy which spread out millions.

Bourgeois politics in Chile (of the traditional right and "left") function in practice as a large commercial enterprise, using thousands of political, union or state

officials, commercial-style propaganda, numerous offices and political premises and hundreds of parliamentarians, etc ...

It is clear that a party like ours, really willing to serve the people and not to use them, having no connection with any superpower or great internal interests, could hardly counteract the harmful influence that this immense machine of deception exerted on the masses. Now the masses of the people, day after day, step by step, understand more and more by whom and why such sums of money have been used, and are becoming more and more impervious to deception. But we must however convince them again and again of all the deceit of these attempts, which constantly assume more subtle forms. This is a very difficult task.

It was particularly difficult to make the people understand the mystification contained in the policy of false communists exploited by means of the UP. Because reformism and opportunism, under the mantle of "Marxism", launched programmatic instructions responding to the aspirations of the masses. It was obviously very attractive to think of being able to free oneself from exploitation without having to face the hard necessity of fighting class enemies with weapons.

This was the "peaceful way" to socialism, as attractive as it was false and suicidal. On the other hand, the venomous opposition of the biggest internal and international exploiters to the government of the UP did not allow them to see clearly that the pro-Soviet leaders were in fact only seeking to implant a form of capitalism d state, a new form of exploitation. And many were those who allowed themselves to be convinced that we were really progressing towards socialism, all the more since the propaganda of the most reactionary forces tended to make them believe the same thing.

Many therefore reacted by following in the footsteps of the opposition to the government linked to Golpist interests. These two examples alone make clear what were, among other things, some of the problems we encountered during the UP government to disclose a correct revolutionary line.

The party of the proletariat cannot, given the interests it serves (the poorest and most exploited sectors), carry out its policy with money by converting its political activity into a commercial enterprise. It cannot do so, not only because it does not have the resources to do so, but above all and fundamentally because this is not

the adequate means to convince the people of the need to free themselves by their own forces.

It is essentially through their experience and struggle that the people must learn to distinguish between those who deceive them and those who genuinely represent their immediate and long-term interests. In a battle where the main thing would be to use the most advertising or other means to manipulate the people externally, the exploiting sectors will always have the upper hand. And if these means prove insufficient (as we have seen in Chile) these sectors do not hesitate to resort to brute force.

For this reason, our Party has based and will base its political activity on the direct links between its militants, its organizations and the masses, striving, mainly taking support on the latter and electing among them its avant-garde detachment, to gain his trust.

This is the only valid and lasting way to mobilize large sectors of the people to push them to the struggle by allowing them to discover, through it, who are those who deceive them and how to effectively combat the violence concealed, as a last resort, behind the trickery.

Propaganda and taking advantage of existing legal guarantees are also very important instruments, but only as complements to direct revolutionary work among the masses, as complements to the lessons that the people learn from their own struggle under Party leadership. This is why our Party refuses to speculate and recruit, without discrimination, its members by artificially inflating its advertising image by means of propaganda, a means which we deem unsafe, vitiated and unhealthy.

It is on the basis of their combativeness and their awareness in practice (and not on mere words) that our activists are recruited from the masses. A policy which follows and struggles with such principles, faced with the immense resources used by the various bourgeois currents to lure the people, certainly cannot progress as spectacularly as certain reactionary or opportunist political currents when these become "fashionable" "

But each of its advances, of its steps forward, are infinitely more solid and effective insofar as they correspond to a more solid and effective implantation among the masses. How many bourgeois or petit-bourgeois parties have thus

been "in fashion" in Chile, enjoying a glory as brilliant as fleeting! But, when a revolutionary party gains a vast sector of influence among the people, it is not a passing thing, a formal conquest of votes or publicity but a real advance of the people who, under his leadership, seriously launched an assault on power.

This is therefore, in a way, an irreversible fact, demonstrating for the first time that the people are no longer deceived, but now decide to fight, using their own forces, to make the revolution.

The situation as it currently stands in Chile confirms the correctness of our decision not to create a party based on legal facilities and money (commercial-style advertising, abundance of officials, locals, etc.), processes which are sometimes tolerated by the reactionaries.

Of course, we take advantage of these legal facilities where they exist, but without making them permanent and by maintaining, therefore, the underground structure and illegal activity as essential features of our policy.

Unlike certain organizations, which limit themselves to wanting to influence the masses externally by means of propaganda or any other bureaucratic process, we prefer to base our policy on direct links with the masses.

The parties that acted as commercial enterprises to sell their policies to the masses, adapting to the legal facilities that existed in Chile, were, with the implantation of fascism, fatally wounded. In fact, they no longer have their usual means of propaganda, secure civil servants, public premises, state machinery, parliamentarians, municipal officers or union bureaucrats. They no longer even have the legal right to act as a party. They were forced to transfer the remains of their bureaucratic and propagandist apparatus abroad. We say the remains, because thousands and thousands of their activists have been murdered or are still in prison.

Our party, on the other hand, although not having enjoyed during the previous regime the popularity which confers the use on a large scale of the means of publicity and legal facilities, has however managed to keep almost intact its links with the masses as well as the forces it needs to fight fascism. He confined himself to reinforcing the underground measures to which he had already complied during the previous government. It has suppressed the legal publication of certain journals, but it has intensified the dissemination of clandestine materials. Only a

dozen of its activists are abroad, also working actively to support resistance inside the country.

All this allowed the PCR, precisely within the framework of the very harsh conditions imposed by fascism, to considerably amplify its political work. And this, not only because his experience of clandestinity inspires confidence in the masses - who agree to organize and fight under his leadership while avoiding all unnecessary risks -, but also and above all because the masses are beginning to realize that this organization was the only one to encourage them, from the start, to prepare for what inevitably had to happen, as it was the only force that had always denounced the reactionary character of the Chilean Armed Forces, denying itself therefore to trust them and to cover them with praise.

5. - Chile is experiencing the highest inflation in the world today and is going through a crisis that the dictatorship is unable to overcome. Could you explain to us how this could have happened?

Chile is indeed going through - as you point out - the most serious economic crisis in its history. And we can say that the sufferings of the people which are to be attributed to the super-exploitation which crushes them (i.e. the sufferings which derive from the brutal reduction to 1/3 of their average purchasing power of years 68 and 69, those due to unemployment which affects almost 20% of the active population, to the abolition of many old social privileges, as well as to the severe reduction of all tax aid to social security organizations) are more great and have wider consequences than the sufferings which are directly related to the ferocious and brutal repression decided by the fascists.

Each house sees an average of 10 to 15 children or adults come every day to beg for some bread; infant mortality has reached figures such that one would think more of living in the Middle Ages than in our time; many people commit suicide because they no longer have enough to support or support their families. The Chilean people are literally decimated by famine and misery more than by the bullets and tortures of the fascists.

The reactionary spirit of the fascist junta and its desire to serve the great national exploiters and imperialists, who were at the origin of the coup, are such that they led the country to extremes, to a crisis much more serious than that of the last months of Popular Unity.

Essentially, this is a policy which authorizes, without discrimination and without control, the ransacking of the whole country by the monopoly and financial bourgeoisie, the big landowners and the Yankee imperialist monopolies. To serve these interests, the junta has endeavoured to offer internal exploiters and possible foreign investors cheap labour by abruptly reducing the wages or real salary of workers and by eliminating old social conquests.

It eliminated all state control over prices and reduced the production of some popular consumer goods, claiming, which is absurd in a country dominated by large monopolies, that "free competition" could curb inflation, steadily elevating and raising the rate of the dollar to make it "follow" the accelerated rise in internal prices, thereby favouring the imperialist monopolies and the exploiting upper middle class and at the same time accelerating the inflationary process.

It abolished, in favour of international monopolies and their internal intermediaries, protectionist measures affecting the importation of articles also produced in Chile. It has radically reduced, still in favour of monopolies, the credits previously granted to small and medium industry, to small and medium trade, massively pushing these companies to bankruptcy by the reduction of demand, strong external competition and considerable swelling import.

It undertook to pay heavy compensation for the expropriated imperialist enterprises; it returned to their owners (or sold to the highest bidder) the industries expropriated by the UP as well as those, numerous, which were born as state enterprises. She also returned many expropriated latifundia. It promulgated the Statute of the Investor to cancel the effects of the Decision 24 which intervened commonly in favour of the countries of the Andean pact by imposing certain restrictions on the foreign investors. It brutally reduced the tax assistance and the budget of several ministries, such as Public Works, causing terrifying unemployment by the contraction in demand and political repression.

The attitude of the sectors of the Chilean monopoly bourgeoisie, intimately linked to the land oligarchy and to the manipulators of the big export and import trade, shows that they hardly trust the capacities of the military as administrators of the government and the economy.

Neither are they deluding themselves on the political stability of their dictatorship, based on criminal repression and which quickly leads them to international and internal isolationism. This explains why they are content to take

full advantage, and as quickly as possible, of the policy of economic liberalism practiced by the fascist junta and of the super-exploitation imposed on the people. Despite the recriminations and the very threats made by members of the fascist junta, they refused to invest their fabulous profits in the industry, limiting themselves to speculating, or more simply to sending their money abroad.

Foreign investors, meanwhile, despite the shameful and anti-patriotic guarantees presented to them, refuse to place funds in Chile. The English liberal weekly "*The Observer*", in an article entitled "No to General Pinochet", reports that this government is "unable to pay its debts" and that "Pinochet does not only appear as a cruel bully but also as an incompetent administrator".

For its part, the magazine "*Business Week*", linked to certain Yankee financial sectors, remarks: "You have to be brave to venture into Chile". It is therefore clear that internal monopoly circles like the Chilean reactionaries who promote the coup, if they consider the generals as "police dogs" effective in killing and torturing, are wary of it, on the other hand (and rightly so) as administrators. For this reason, and given the danger of a popular uprising favoured by the crisis and the brutal super-exploitation of workers, many of these sectors are currently looking for a way to replace them as head of government.

This discontent is gaining more and more in the middle industrial, commercial, professional and agricultural sectors which, for the most part, allowed themselves to be dragged along by the ultra-reactionary golpists.

These sectors are currently, after the workers, the main victims of the catastrophic economic crisis to which the junta has led, in record time, the whole country.

Demand, in fact, fell vertically following successive and exorbitant increases in prices and the freezing of wages and salaries; the credits previously granted to them have been severely reduced; the products they have to import are more and more numerous, while the rate of the dollar increases every two weeks; foreign competition has been favoured in relation to their products, etc ...

Hundreds of small and medium-sized businesses have been forced into bankruptcy; and the crisis is now starting to affect some larger companies. The monopoly sectors took the opportunity to buy them almost all at low prices, and are currently continuing their work of expropriation of the middle sectors by

buying at half price the savings banks led to bankruptcy by the junta and put up for sale by the institutions savings.

And from then on, the monopoly tendency already existing in Chile rapidly increased, making the old rancid policy of "free competition" that the fascist soldiers persist in maintaining ever more absurd. And these monopolistic sectors, which know no competition, far from reducing their prices, always raise them more to defend themselves from the constant contraction of demand.

In summary, we can say that if the Allende government needed the "help" of the CIA for its "desestabilización" and for the intensification of the economic crisis which served as a basis for the coup, the junta A fascist soldier, on the other hand, does not need any external help and succeeds by his only efforts to ruin the economy of the country.

6. - What do you think are the possibilities of putting an end to fascism in Chile and what can be done in Europe to contribute to it?

Two fundamental tendencies have developed in Chile among those who wish, for one reason or another, to put an end to the fascist dictatorship. The majority tendency, expressing the aspirations and interests of the Chilean people, is composed by those who think that, to overthrow the fascist junta, it is necessary to focus on the struggle, INSIDE Chile, of all the vast sectors directly affected by its policy as well as dissatisfied or victims of ferocious repression.

The other tendency seeks, essentially by international manoeuvres, to convince North American imperialism to set up a government in Chile that is less savagely repressive and with more sensible economic policy. This current wants the current junta to be replaced by a few soldiers with "more democratic" appearances, and this as a transition to prepare for the arrival in government of certain pro-Yankee figures of Christian Democracy.

Within this second current, which seeks to promote from the outside and with the help of the United States a change of government in Chile, an acute struggle pits the servants of Soviet social-imperialism (the leaders of the old CP) against the servants the most faithful of Yankee imperialism (Frei and other Christian Democrat leaders). Frei and those who follow suit directly (and who within this party represent the golpist current) intend to exclude from the post-junta

government all those who represent in Chile the interests of Soviet social-imperialism.

The latter, who have approached the Christian Democrat leaders in exile - the most targeted by the junta - wish to enter at all costs the very strange amalgam, even as the most disdained among its ingredients, which will take, they think, the place fascists in government. And the leaders of the old CP dragged along in these manoeuvres certain leaders of the Socialist Party and other less important communities of Popular Unity.

All the efforts of these latter sectors aim above all not to be excluded from a possible change of government "graciously" promoted by North American imperialism. This is why they threaten to provoke a split within the Christian Democracy - by trying to strengthen ever more their links with the leaders of this party in exile - in case Frei wants to exclude them.

And we have seen very recently, as a result of these frantic efforts, the DC leaders in exile sign a pact with certain leaders of the parties of the UP, excluding the old PC, which apparently agreed to s " eclipse momentarily to allow those who follow him directly, and who are at the head of certain parties of the UP, to maintain their links with the "left wing" of the DC, thereby curbing the hegemonic current represented by Frei. This is to see how Frei and his team will react.

The most serious in all this is to see that the leaders of the UP allow themselves to be maneuvered by the agents of Soviet social-imperialism, and continue to do everything they can to prevent the people and the development of its anti-fascist struggle from to intervene in the construction of the future of Chile.

They therefore continue to apply the policy that the false communist leaders were defending while Yankee imperialism and the reactionaries were preparing the coup in Chile. That is to say, the policy which aimed to curb popular mobilization, ideologically and materially disarm the people with the law of "Arms Control" and the shameful slogan "no to civil war", and finally which sought to curb the reactionaries by compromising with them on the reform program. And they are currently trying, once again, by means of international meetings and turning their backs on the people and their heroic resistance against fascism, to gain admission under a new regime of less depreciated legal dictatorship, to administer what the fascist beasts kindly left Chile.

The truth is that the brutality of the junta, its international and internal isolation and the failure of its economic policy are such that Yankee imperialism fears that it will spread to Chile, despite the repression, an uncontrollable internal popular movement and able to overthrow the junta. He therefore prefers, without further ado, to manoeuvre in order to dismiss the members of the junta and replace them with a government which, while defending the same reactionary interests, offers a more acceptable formal image and applies a less absurdly reactionary economic policy.

As for the pro-Soviet agents who run the Communist Party, they also fear a popular uprising which would go against their desire to recover certain legal guarantees to reoffend in their plan to deceive the people and to sell their transvested state capitalism in socialism. This is why they are making so much effort not to be left behind when the junta is replaced.

It is certain that, whatever regime supplants fascism, it will create more favourable prospects for revolutionary political activity among the masses.

Any concession will be demagogic and will only be granted to contain the masses. But it can already be said that, given the maturity reached by the Chilean people after the opportunist experience of the UP and the fascist dictatorship, these demagogic concessions will have no profound effect. Revolutionaries, however, must not be content to profit from replacing the fascist junta by agreeing to bow to the manoeuvres of agents of North American imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism.

Our Party, as well as the overwhelming majority of activists and honest leaders of the parties who repudiated fascism, intends to bring together and unite all the broadest popular sectors in order to mobilize them and prepare them for various forms of resistance and struggle to overthrow the fascist military junta. And if it is true that certain sectors - which were compromised in the fascist coup, like Yankee imperialism and certain leaders of the Christian Democracy - are trying to replace the junta before it is overthrown by the people, we must not stop the popular struggle and give in to these manoeuvres.

On the contrary, the popular resistance struggle must be intensified in order to accelerate the scrapping of the fascists. This popular anti-fascist struggle will also give us the strength to confront the demagoguery and deception of this post-junta government, to overcome the opportunism and the accommodations of the false

communist leaders, and to mobilize the people to really conquer power under a firm proletarian leadership.

Despite the bloody repression of the junta, this anti-fascist resistance movement in large popular sectors has grown in Chile. And there have been strikes, small demonstrations, clandestine anti-fascist propaganda, execution of torturers and spies, sabotage of production, idle work, as well as a thousand other clandestine and even open forms of resistance to fascism.

The most advanced sectors of the people are organizing themselves by creating hundreds of small clandestine resistance committees in factories, fundos, poblaciones, schools, hospitals, offices and other mass gathering points. And the very popular sectors which do not incorporate - in an organized way - into the resistance, largely support those who fight and who are pursued by the junta. And we hear more and more people openly complaining about unemployment, famine and repression, and this in shops, workplaces, means of transport and, in general, all places of assembly. The situation becomes more and more explosive, turning into ever more frank opposition to the fascist military junta.

Our Party works fundamentally **INSIDE** Chile, uniting, at the very base, with other anti-fascist political forces and large independent sectors with the aim of creating clandestine resistance committees responsible for organizing massive opposition to fascism. These committees express the immediate demands of the masses and defend a very broad program to unite almost 95% of the people against the fascist regime.

The Party also works, from the very base and together with other political and independent forces, to bring together - around this common anti-fascist program - all the people on a national scale and within an Anti-fascist People's Front. The idea of uniting around a Minimum Program to develop resistance and overthrow the junta has also gained ground among anti-fascist party activists and honest, independent leaders outside of Chile. These sectors collided violently with the leaders of the old CP and all those who, out of opportunism, submit to its manoeuvres, subjugating and even sabotaging internal resistance in order to obtain that imperialism and its agents replace the junta and open the doors for them.

The PCR has achieved great success as a driving force in the formation of anti-fascist resistance committees, and this because it had from the outset valued the

experience of the UP government and the true nature of the Forces. Chilean armies. He was also right in predicting what was going to happen. The Party and its links with the masses therefore strengthened rapidly despite the very harsh repression.

Regarding the second part of your question, I think that the external forces opposed to the Chilean fascist regime can effectively and fundamentally help our people through propaganda, solidarity with those who find themselves persecuted and persecuted, aid material and political resistance, etc. But it is important that this aid goes to those who truly organize, and INSIDE Chile, popular resistance to overthrow fascism.

Helping indeed those who, as we say in Chile, "want to pull the chestnuts from the fire with the paw of the imperialist cat" in no way promotes the development of the popular internal anti-fascist struggle, which is the only decisive struggle. Neither should outside propaganda be strictly limited to denouncing the horrors committed by the junta, although this is obviously just and necessary. Critical conclusions must also be drawn with regard to the opportunist policy which made the establishment of fascism possible. We must denounce the main leaders of this opportunist policy because it is still in force both to obtain the replacement of the junta and for the future policy of Chile.

As for us, and whatever the manoeuvres of the superpowers and their agents to save the continuity of the bourgeois state in the future, we are convinced that the people, fortified by their experience of fascism and opportunism which opened the door for him, will find the real path of struggle that will lead him to power.