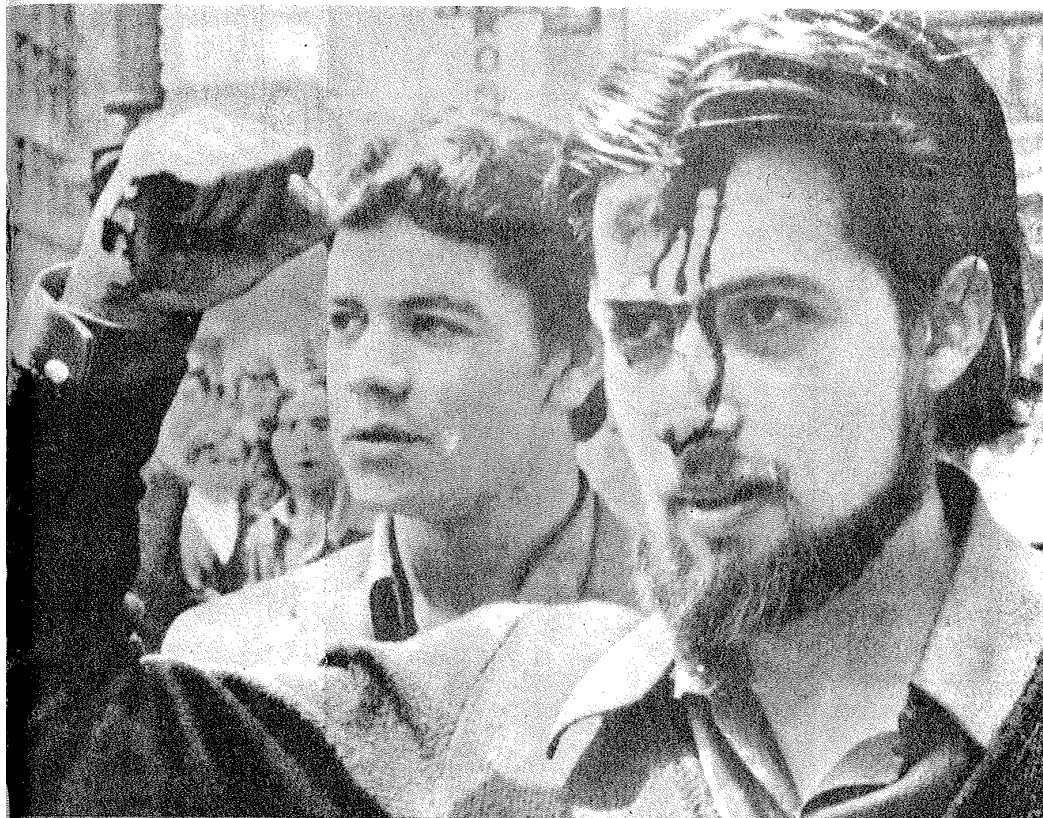


**FROM ALLENDE'S ELECTION
TO THE FASCIST TAKEOVER**



CHILE
1970 – 1973

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PREFACE

The articles from *Workers World* newspaper that appear in this pamphlet are reprinted without omissions or additions, and carry their original headlines. They begin chronologically with the first article to appear in WW after the election victory of the Popular Unity coalition led by Salvador Allende in 1970, and end with a collection of articles from the first issue of the paper to come out after the fascist takeover. They are arranged in this pamphlet, however, with the post-coup articles first.

Some appeared as editorials in our paper, and are so designated. However, nearly all are of an editorial or polemical character; that is, they argue a viewpoint and a political approach to the events unfolding in Chile that reflect the world outlook of Workers World Party.

Since the last of these articles was written, the fascist junta has deepened its onslaught against the workers and peasants of Chile. The dissolution of the trade unions, the posting of a military guard at every plant gate, the bombing of workers' quarters, and the immediate economic assault on the standard of living of the poor leaves no doubt that what is happening in Chile is all-out class warfare. The dictatorship of the capitalist class has been revealed in its most naked and brutal form. This alone makes a study of this terrible setback a must for every serious worker militant and for every person who is struggling for an end to class oppression and exploitation.

This material is presented in the spirit of solidarity and comradeship with all who are now resisting the fascist repression in Chile. Many of the points raised in this pamphlet may now, *after* the coup, seem obvious. But this has not prevented many workers' parties from continuing to follow basically the same line as that carried out with such tragic results in Chile.

This pamphlet is dedicated to the struggle to revive revolutionary Marxism, so that our comrades in Chile will not have died in vain.

THE FASCIST TAKEOVER

**Articles reprinted from
WORKERS WORLD
of September 21, 1973**

Chile workers battle U.S.-backed junta

P. Meisner

September 21, 1973

SEPTEMBER 18—The forces of global counterrevolution have just struck a severe blow against Chile's oppressed masses. And all the futile claims of the U.S. imperialist press and Nixon's Watergate government can in no way hide the blood-stained hand of the CIA, Pentagon, and State Department for their role in master-minding this long-planned, highly organized imperialist and fascist conspiracy.

As of this writing, however, a truly decisive victory for the counter-revolutionary junta has not materialized. The workers, peasants, and their organizations, such as the MIR, are fighting heroic battles against the powerful Chilean military throughout Chile. The large port city of Valparaiso has been cut off from outside communication because of a strong

urban guerrilla resistance still raging today. It is also evident that armed revolutionaries have gone underground, with the aid of workers and peasants in poor or working class communities, and are preparing for a long struggle against the fascist junta.

The Chilean generals began their fascist terror by murdering Allende, on the first day of the coup, Tuesday, September 11. There were reports from Brazil on the coup and the planned execution of Allende some 12 hours before the coup actually started. Not only does this confirm other reports that Allende did not commit suicide, but it also raises the question of the role of the Brazilian fascist generals in helping to plan the Chilean coup.

The Chilean generals then began

rounding up thousands of supporters of the Allende regime and executing them on the spot. Many Chileans, including leaders of the Chilean Socialist and Communist parties, have been arrested and are still imprisoned on naval ships off the coast of Valparaiso. One doctor in Santiago reported that at least 5,000 were dead in Santiago alone and that another 1,000 were wounded. Also, the lives of some 10,000 political exiles (from the Bolivian, Uruguayan, and Brazilian dictatorships) living in Chile are in extreme danger.

NOT A "MIDDLE CLASS" REBELLION

Contrary to the imperialist press's lies and deceptive reporting in characterizing Allende's downfall as the result of a "middle class" rebellion, the truth is that the coup was planned for a long time by a conspiracy of the Chilean big bourgeoisie, the Chilean military, and U.S. imperialism.

The Chilean middle class only served as shock troops and as an early political barometer for this conspiracy, which was carried out with minimum dissension within the various factions of the Chilean capitalist class and military. The Latin American correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* only hinted at the real nature of the coup in his September 17 dispatch:

"The rebellion (coup) was clearly not a sudden affair, but rather a well-coordinated effort involving all of the (military) services. . . . The military conspiracy was too far advanced. There is considerable speculation . . . that the military met with the Christian Democrats on September 9 or 10, eliciting their blessing for the coup."

The Chilean bourgeoisie, torn apart by hostile factions just three years ago, was able to reunite into one powerful class camp, but not because of any new mass appeal. (The Popular Unity coalition cut into the bourgeois parliamentary majority

as late as March of this year with a congressional popular vote of 44 percent compared to the 36 percent Allende received when elected in 1970.)

It took U.S. monopolies, such as Kennecott, ITT, and Anaconda, less than 24 hours after the coup to declare their "willingness" to return to Chile and replunder the Chilean people and their natural resources. State Department officials have been screaming almost every day that the U.S. was not "involved," but then admitted to having prior knowledge of the coup, as much as 24 hours in advance. But there is strong evidence showing how Washington was up to its neck in organizing the Chilean counterrevolution.

First of all, direct U.S. military aid never ceased, even after the break between the Nixon administration and Allende's government. The Pentagon not only retained but increased its penetration within Chile's armed forces, and especially within the Chilean navy.

U.S. naval ships were actually in Chilean waters, ready for naval "maneuvers," as the coup exploded. (The first military move by junta forces on September 11 was in Valparaiso, the naval center for Chile.) The Chilean navy's brass is probably the most thoroughly U.S.-trained section of the Chilean armed forces. On August 22, just 20 days before the coup, Allende met with Chile's national security council, which included three admirals, and walked out of the meeting shouting:

"I know I am at war with the Navy!"

Allende had obviously been threatened with a coup, which confirms other reports that the Chilean admirals were the most belligerent in wanting Allende overthrown. The close ties and collaboration between the Pentagon and Chilean navy were further exposed by the remarks of one reactionary in Chile:

"The (Chilean) navy has American

instructors and is solidly anti-communist."

While it is common knowledge that ITT and the CIA tried to overthrow Allende even before his inauguration, the facts about the recent activities within Chile of the CIA, Pentagon, National Security Council (Kissinger), ITT, Kennecott, Anaconda, and the rest of the imperialist establishment are not well known.

What is known, though, is that the U.S. Ambassador to Chile, Nathaniel P. Davis, an "anti-communism" specialist with experience ranging from the U.S. foreign service in Moscow, Prague, and Bulgaria, to the embassies in Caracas (where with E. Howard Hunt he helped organize the Bay of Pigs in 1960-61), Guatemala (as ambassador and organizer of a "pacification" program in that country), and finally to the Peace(!) Corps in Chile, was appointed by Nixon in 1971 mainly to take charge of the effort to overthrow Allende.

On September 8, three days before the coup, Davis flew to Washington to meet with Kissinger. Two days later, September 10, he was back in Chile, and the next morning Allende's government was overthrown.

U.S. "COUP TEAM"

It is also known that a "coup team" of at least 10 known CIA agents has been in Chile since Allende's election in 1970. The 10 are Arnold M. Isaacs, Frederick Latrash, John B. Tipton, Raymond A. Warren, Donald H. Winters, James E. Anderson, Deane Hinton, Daniel N. Arzac, Joseph F. McManus, and Keith W. Wheelock. "Coup teams" were

used before by the CIA in the coups in Guatemala (1954), Brazil (1964), Bolivia (1971), and Uruguay (1973).

And, while ITT was being exposed in the U.S. press for its initial attempts at overthrowing Allende, Davis quietly picked up where ITT left off. In March 1972, Davis wrote a secret memo to the State Department that said that Chile was not yet on the brink of a showdown and that Allende would have to become "so overwhelming, and discontent so great, that military intervention is so overwhelmingly invited."

From the date of that memo, Davis, the CIA, the Pentagon, and the entire Nixon government did everything to assist the Chilean bosses and their military in organizing that "discontent." By August of this year, the Allende regime was so weak, rocked by two long truck owners' "strikes," a crippling U.S. economic blockade, nationwide capitalist sabotage, and fascist street attacks, that it brought the Chilean military into the cabinet for the second time, with the hope (or rather, illusion) of using the military as a brake against the capitalist counterrevolution.

But exactly the opposite happened. The military was given the right by Allende to conduct "searches" on workers' homes and factories, allegedly to seize weapons, but actually giving the military a free hand in arresting hundreds of workers and revolutionaries, even murdering some, and in paving the way for a repression against the left.

And despite all of the conciliation made by Allende's government, the plans for the coup had already been hatched and nothing short of total surrender would satisfy the Chilean bourgeoisie.

The lessons of Chile

Sam Marcy

September 21, 1973

The following is a summary, prepared by this paper, of remarks made by Sam Marcy, the chairman of Workers World Party, to a joint meeting of the National Field Staff of the party and the City Committee of the New York local. The talk was given on September 12—about 18 hours after the first news of the military coup in Chile.

First of all, we must express our solidarity with all who are fighting in Chile against the fascist military coup, which is financed and organized by the U.S. imperialists. In the struggle against the fascist military and U.S. imperialism we have consistently shown our support of the Allende government in demonstrations and propaganda.

Although at the present time (Sept. 12) there is no decisive victory for the counter-revolution, it is nevertheless possible to understand the broad outlines of the events

and to clarify the tasks of our party.

While carrying out the struggle here with the deepest-felt sympathy for all victims of the coup, it is also the responsibility of the working class leaders to explain to the advanced elements the disastrous consequences of the policies of Allende and the parties in the Popular Unity coalition, particularly the Communist Party.

These policies can be summarized as follows.

PEACEFUL TRANSITION

After Allende took office through a bourgeois election, it was claimed by sections of the UP coalition that the working class had already, or could in the future, come to power peacefully, without revolutionary violence or civil war.

We are for a peaceful transition to

socialism—if it can be proven that it is possible: We are not dogmatic adherents of violence. But in over 100 years of experience of the class struggle by the proletariat, beginning with the Paris Commune, there has not been one instance where the bourgeoisie relinquished power peacefully. And it should be remembered that the bourgeoisie itself nowhere came to power without an armed struggle.

When Allende took office (not state power!), the reformist parties sowed illusions among the oppressed that it was possible to avoid the sacrifices necessary for revolution. But Marxism is not just a dream of socialism—it is the realistic appraisal of centuries of class struggle.

The bourgeois pacifist ideology of peaceful transition was exploded by the Russian Revolution. There it was proven that the road to workers' power lay in being able to counter the organized violence of the bourgeoisie.

But after the defeat of the German working class by Hitler in 1933, the old discredited theory was revived by Stalin. Before the triumph of fascism, Stalin had pursued an ultra-left position, refusing to call for a united front of the working class parties against the fascists on the grounds that the "Social Fascists" (Social Democrats) were as bad as the Hitlerites. The triumph of fascism led to such panic in the Communist parties that the line was completely reversed, and the so-called "popular front" was urged on the workers of France and Spain.

In the popular front, the workers' parties entered into a coalition with the "democratic" section of the bourgeoisie—the first time such a tactic was ever adopted by the Communist movement. This political alliance with one section of the bourgeoisie against the fascist wing was presented to the workers as their only hope—and as a means for the peaceful transition to socialism because of the "split" in the ruling class.

However, the popular front subordinated the workers' demands to the unity of the coalition, and in the end only paved the way for the workers' defeat, as has now happened again in Chile.

AN ELECTORAL MAJORITY

Another fatal assumption made in Chile by the UP was that the working class must win an absolute parliamentary majority in order to rule.

At best, an election is a barometer of the consciousness of the working class. It is utopian to assume that the legal and electoral machinery developed to facilitate capitalist rule will be the instrument for the working class to assume power. (In Chile, only 2½ million people voted in the last presidential election out of a population of nearly 10 million.)

While Allende took office on plurality (36 percent of the vote), it became clear in subsequent struggles that the workers and peasants were solidly behind the socialist program of the workers' parties. The Christian Democrats and the other bourgeois parties, on the contrary, represented only the interests of the biggest landowners and capitalists. They swung over large sections of the petty bourgeoisie after the workers' parties failed to act in a revolutionary manner to resolve the crisis.

COALITION WITH BOURGEOISIE

The Allende government represented a coalition between representatives of the working class and of the bourgeoisie.

A coalition of parties representing the dispossessed classes is valid in the struggle for socialism—such as a coalition of workers' and peasants' organizations. Thus the alliance of the workers' parties (the Communist Party, Socialist Party, and smaller groups) in the Popular Unity coalition could serve to advance their class interests.

But it is another thing when the

workers' representatives ally themselves with representatives of the bourgeoisie in the cabinet—regardless of whether they are appointed by a socialist president or a bourgeois president. The assumption made in such a coalition is that the bourgeoisie will aid in the transition to socialism and facilitate the course of the revolution.

Since Allende based himself on parliamentary relationships rather than class relationships he felt obligated to take the bourgeoisie (and eventually its military arm) into the cabinet. In such a situation, one class or the other must surrender its interests in order to maintain the coalition. In the wake of the coup, it is clear which class's interests were surrendered.

This is to be distinguished from the addition of a bourgeois representative to a workers' government after it has seized state power, such as occurred in the early days of the People's Republic of China. In that case, the capitalist representatives wielded no independent class power and symbolized the humane attitude taken by the government to individuals sympathetic to the revolution.

SABOTAGE OF THE ECONOMY

It was assumed that because the bourgeoisie was a part of the government, it would not sabotage its own economic system.

Yet this was one of the prime tactics of the Chilean capitalists, with much backing, we can be sure, from U.S. imperialism. They went so far as to cripple the economy with the truck-owners' strike, blow up power and communications lines, and spur on inflation, all in order to tire out the masses.

The only answer the workers have to such sabotage is the complete overthrow of the bourgeois state, the expropriation of the means of production (not only those directly in foreign hands), and the institution of the planned economy.

THE "NEUTRAL" MILITARY

Again and again it was argued by the reformists that the Chilean military would remain "neutral" in the class struggle because of its long history of adherence to the Constitution.

As long as class relations are stable within a country, there is no need for the military to intervene. That is the reason for the 40-odd years of constitutional government in Chile (which is really not so long). But the military is trained and nurtured in the spirit of class war. What else does the military brass have to do—especially the retired officers? It should be the ABCs for Marxists and Leninists to understand the class character of the bourgeois state. (Before Hitler took power in Germany, it had been argued that so many of the police were Social Democrats and Communists they could never be used to suppress the workers.)

ROLE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

The Popular Unity relied on the petty bourgeoisie to side with the workers and peasants.

History has shown that the petty bourgeoisie always vacillates in times of grave class struggle, and will side with the class that is strongest. The petty bourgeoisie has no separate destiny, but is in between the two great class camps.

Whether the truck owners should even be considered petty bourgeois is questionable. In a poor country like Chile, to own a truck is to control a substantial amount of property. Certainly they were supported in every way during the strike by the bourgeoisie.

ROLE OF THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

The left miscalculated the role of the national bourgeoisie.

The national bourgeoisie in an under-

developed country can play a progressive role in relation to imperialism—being for the nationalization of U.S. property, for instance. But it does so only in its own interests. As an exploiting class, it desires to free the national resources from foreign hands in order to exploit them itself. There has never been a bourgeoisie which can play a progressive role in relation to the demands of the working class. They will fight the workers and peasants to the death over the means of production.

The fact that the national bourgeoisie is poorer than the imperialists does not make it progressive at home. As Marx pointed out, often a small owner has to exploit the workers more and the class antagonisms in a small sweatshop may be even more acute.

THE USSR AND CHINA

The Communist parties of China and the Soviet Union failed to give revolutionary guidance in the face of these disastrous policies.

There was no helpful criticism or guidance forthcoming from the fraternal parties of the Soviet Union or China, even though history had shown many times in the past the disastrous consequences of such policies. The Bolsheviks considered it their

duty to explain again and again the revolutionary lessons of their experience for the benefit of the workers in other countries. Until a few years ago, the Chinese leadership also urged the revival of revolutionary tactics and exposed reformist, revisionist ideology.

With the detente, however, both these powerful socialist countries have promised Nixon not to interfere in the "internal affairs" of countries under the domination of imperialism. Real Communists should reject this shibboleth, which permits the imperialists free rein in their economic and military subversion of the oppressed, while it binds the socialist countries to a narrow, national outlook. To accept the doctrine of "noninterference in the internal affairs" of capitalist countries is to formally renounce proletarian internationalism and leave each working class on its own in the struggle against imperialism and capitalist domination.

The revolutionary cadres in Chile must rebuild, reconstitute themselves, and create a transition to socialism built on reality, on the armed working class. We look forward and pledge ourselves to building a movement in solidarity with the resistance movement in Chile. In the heartland of the imperialist culprits, that is our duty.

Vultures celebrate

It has been reported that both Anaconda Copper and ITT, the two U.S. corporations with the largest holdings in Chile, celebrated the overthrow of the Allende government last week. Anaconda gave its Washington employees the day off; ITT had a champagne party in its executive offices in New York City.

These two blood-sucking giants have much to celebrate. They expect to renew their exploitation of the Chilean working class at even greater intensity, for the orders returning their property were undoubtedly written out well before the coup. Anaconda and ITT stock have soared since the coup.

The old fallacy of 'peaceful transition'

Fred Goldstein

September 21, 1973

The Popular Unity Government in Chile has been brutally crushed by the joint efforts of U.S. imperialism and the Chilean bourgeoisie.

In the course of this counter-revolutionary assault, the working class and peasantry of Chile and their leaders have suffered a severe and damaging setback.

How deep and how long-lasting the effects of this defeat will be is not known. But without question an enormously favorable situation for the proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism in Chile has been drastically reversed.

How could such a drastic setback take place in Chile where everything was so favorable? How could such a strong, class-

conscious, organized, and combat-willing proletariat be overtaken by a coup and driven onto the defensive in the class struggle? Surely this question deserves an answer.

The answer is that their leaders, Allende, the CP, and the SP failed to prepare them for revolution and they were thus unprepared to successfully resist the counterrevolution.

WORKERS WERE READY TO FIGHT

In what sense were the workers unprepared? Surely they did not lack the will to fight. Even at present, under the most difficult conditions, workers are laying down their lives in the attempt to slow down

the junta. The reports of resistance show that the workers sought arms and readied themselves for the struggle as best they could.

This is a far cry from the attitude of their leaders who tirelessly propagated the false and fatal illusion of peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. The tactical implementation of this false theory was to leave the bourgeois military and police intact, to ignore the inevitable violent resistance of the ruling class, and to reduce the supremely important military side of the socialist revolution to a question of stationary defense guards (and this only at the eleventh hour).

ELECTORAL ILLUSIONS

Electoral measures were elevated to the highest level of importance. For example, the March election in which the UP coalition raised its parliamentary vote from 36 to 44 percent was falsely interpreted by the Allende government as bringing it a measure of security and legitimacy in the eyes of the bourgeoisie. It is now admitted by the ruling class that it was this electoral victory which decided the bourgeoisie irrevocably in favor of military counter-revolution.

In truth, the CP and SP leaders were emphasizing parliamentary and economic measures while the economy was still a bourgeois system and long after having the backing of a decisive section of the working class to open up an all-out struggle to overturn the bourgeois system. The whole thinking of the leaders should have been on the paramount question in all revolutions—the seizure of state power, the destruction of the bourgeois police and military.

The spontaneous activity of the workers and peasants throughout the three years of the UP was to seize factories and estates, to set up organs of local power wherever possible, to arm themselves with any

weapons available, rifles, pitchforks, pikes, clubs, etc. Based upon their direct experiences under the lash of the bosses and the landlords, the masses tried, individually and in groups, to prepare themselves for class war.

Allende and the CP and SP leaders in the government met every new upsurge with assurances to the workers that the constitution would prevail, that socialism would advance along the legal, peaceful road, and with stern measures against the MIR and other revolutionary militants who took the armed struggle seriously.

As between the class instincts of the workers, and the revisionist theory of peaceful transition propagated by the leaders, it was the workers' instincts in a revolutionary situation which proved wholly valid.

REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE: THE HISTORICAL RECORD

Everywhere on earth that socialism exists it was established only after a violent struggle to smash the bourgeois armed forces—in the USSR, China, Cuba, Vietnam, Korea, or Eastern Europe. There are no exceptions.

Everywhere that the struggle to smash the bourgeois power has been ignored during a revolutionary upsurge the workers have been set back and capitalism has prevailed—in Germany and throughout Europe in the nineteen thirties and in France and Italy after World War II. There are no exceptions.

History shows no deviation from the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on the question of revolutionary violence being absolutely necessary in the struggle to establish a new social system.

REVISIONIST "SPECIAL CONDITIONS"

In justifying their abandonment of Marxism on this most crucial of all questions, the CP drew upon world

revisionist ideology which asserts that there can exist "special conditions" in which peaceful transition to socialism can take place. The current defeat is now explained by implying that the "special conditions" which made support for the peaceful transition correct have been undermined by the CIA and Pentagon intervention in Chile.

In the first place, even if these wholly utopian "special conditions" had existed in Chile which would have permitted a peaceful transfer of class power in the absence of U.S. intervention, it should have been regarded as an axiom by all working class leaders that U.S. imperialism would intervene in typical violent, conspiratorial, and bloody fashion. The U.S. engineered two coups, one in "parliamentary" Uruguay and one in Bolivia, while Allende was in office, not to mention the countless coups carried out by the U.S. in Latin America just in the last decade. Without resort to any sophisticated theoretical arguments, it should have been regarded as elementary that Wall Street would try to secure its \$1 billion plus investment in the exploitation of Chile and to stop any development towards socialism in its own backyard.

But suppose by some quirk of history the U.S. had not been able to support the counterrevolution in Chile. Would this have changed the law of the class struggle as taught by Marx and Lenin?

Certainly without U.S. backing the

Chilean bourgeoisie would have been weaker. But would the parasites who have been living off the lifeblood of the Chilean masses have stepped off the stage of history at the stroke of the parliamentary pen—especially while they still had their army and police under their undisputed control?

BEHIND THE SETBACK: SOVIET CP POLITICS

The leadership of the Chilean CP, the principal party of the workers and the main base of support for Allende's reformist program, completely ignored the fundamentals of Marxism and the danger signals all around them not because they sought defeat. They did it because of a long tradition of following the revisionist policies of the conservative leadership of the Soviet CP.

But the class collaborationist politics of the privileged bureaucracy which governs the socialist base in the USSR are wholly unsuited to the revolutionary masses suffering under the yoke of the exploiters. Their needs call for proletarian revolution. If Chile proves anything it proves this.

The Chilean workers have paid a terrible price to learn this lesson but it is certain that they have learned it well and are now regrouping their forces to prepare new assaults upon the ruling class.

All power to the revolutionary workers and peasants of Chile.

Compliments of the CIA

Time, Sept. 24:

While most of the country survived on short rations, the truckers seemed unusually well equipped for a lengthy holdout. Recently, Time correspondent Rudolph Rauch visited a group of truckers camped near Santiago who were enjoying a	lavish communal meal of steak, vegetables, wine, and empanadas (meat pies). "Where does the money for that come from?" he inquired. "From the CIA," the truckers answered laughingly. In Washington, the CIA denied the allegation.
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Why the military has never been 'neutral'

Naomi Cohen

September 21, 1973

In 1972, President Salvador Allende of Chile told an American reporter that he did not believe a civil war was possible "because there are no troops on either side. We have an Army and police that are professional forces obedient to the Constitution, and while I keep within the bounds of the law, those forces will be with me."

Today these words sound tragically ironic, since it was the military which broke its own bourgeois law (with the applause and backing of the "democratic" capitalist parties) and toppled the Allende government, in an attempt to drown in blood the socialist aspirations of the masses of people who elected Allende president.

The idea that Chile's military was somehow different, apolitical, and above

staging a coup was not only a theme of the bourgeois press in this country for three years, but even more dangerous, was also foisted upon the people of Chile by the leaders of the Popular Unity (UP) coalition, and in particular by the Chilean CP. This fundamental error left the workers and peasants, who were so devoted to the government precisely because they thought it was going to build socialism for them, unprepared for the savage repression now being unleashed by the Chilean capitalist class through its most trusted and political arm—the military.

EVIDENCE OF THE IMPENDING COUP

The history of Allende's three years in office point to the constant danger of

military intervention. Even before Allende was inaugurated, the head of the army, Gen. Schneider, was assassinated in an attempt by some elements in the military to prevent the UP coalition from taking office. As a result of that assassination attempt, one retired officer, Gen. Viaux, was jailed and the heads of the Navy, Air Force, and National Police were implicated and forced into retirement. In December of 1971, the head of the Military School in Santiago, Col. Labbe, was forced to retire for plotting a putsch, and in September of 1972, Army Gen. Canales was forced into early retirement for urging a coup against Allende.

By June 29 of this year, an abortive coup attempt did take place. But the UP's failure to use this attempted coup to crush the military plotters altogether and set up a people's militia only emboldened the military further. While Allende was trying to appease the bourgeoisie by bringing generals into the cabinet, the military was launching a widespread repression. Under the guise of searching for arms they began to raid worker-controlled factories and the homes of leftists.

According to *The New York Times* of September 16, the arms control law "was applied exclusively against leftist strongholds in agrarian areas." Three weeks before the coup the army, "ostensibly searching for weapons, held control of major roads in and out of Chile's leading cities." Other reports indicate that after the June coup attempt the military began a full-scale campaign of terror arresting leftist workers, students, and rebellious sailors.

MARXISM VS. REVISIONISM ON THE STATE

It was clear to everyone that a coup had been in the making in Chile for a long time. And it was equally clear that if Chile's

military had stayed out of civilian politics for 40-odd years, it was only because the class struggle hadn't been intense enough to warrant their intervention. The regular bourgeois politicians were running the system well enough without calling in the generals to strong-arm the population.

The mistaken assessment of the military's role in Chile was merely the classic position of social-democratic workers' leaders who have abandoned the most fundamental principles of Marxism on the nature of the state. It was to polemicize against just such leaders that Lenin wrote *The State and Revolution* in 1917 as he was preparing the Bolshevik party to seize power in Russia.

"The state," wrote Lenin at that time, "is the product and the manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. . . . The liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class."

Compare Lenin's assessment of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms and the necessity of destroying the old state apparatus with the assessment of the situation in Chile by the *Daily World*, organ of the CPUSA and ideological counterpart in this country to the Chilean CP. On January 13, 1973, the *Daily World* assured us:

"The armed forces have kept out of politics during most of Chilean history. . . . The military institutions pride themselves on their professionalism, apoliticism, and loyalty to Chile's constitutional tradition." (All this is by way of apologizing for the fact that the Chilean CP, which politically dominated the UP coalition, were advocates of taking several generals into the cabinet to resolve the crisis brought on by a strike of truck owners and other bourgeois counter-revolutionary elements in October of 1972.) This brilliant strategy, claims the DW

reporter, "reconfirmed the support of the armed forces for the duly constituted government."

After the first proletarian revolution in history, which set up the Paris Commune in 1871, Marx drew the vital lessons of that struggle for the working class. "It was a Revolution against the State itself," he wrote in *The Civil War in France*. "It was not a Revolution to transfer it (the state) from one fraction of the ruling class to the other, but a Revolution to break down this horrid machinery of class domination itself." To illustrate this Marx cited the fact that the standing army was abolished and replaced by a people's militia which, according to a Commune proclamation, "defends the citizens against the power (the government) instead of a permanent army that defends the government against the citizens."

PEOPLE'S ARMY NEEDED

In Chile there were some attempts to organize the workers and peasants for the inevitable battle with the capitalist class and its military apparatus, particularly by the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). And as the crisis deepened, armed workers began to seize factories and patrol their own districts out of sheer self-defense. The CP's response to this, however, was to vilify the MIR and blame the mounting rightwing terror on them. Up to the very end, the CP and the Central Organization of

Trade Unions (CUT) which it dominated only called on the workers to be vigilant against the counterrevolution, failing to give them a program for defeating the imminent counterrevolution.

Every military in history has been a highly political arm of the class it serves whether it was the ancient Roman army, which defended slavery, the feudal armies of the Middle Ages, which upheld feudal property relations, or the modern bourgeois army, whose sole reason for existing is to safeguard the private property of the capitalist class. To think that such an army would stand by while a workers' government somehow snuck in socialism through the back door was a fatal mistake.

The only kind of army that could have defended the interests of the workers and peasants would have been an army of the people themselves—like the one set up by the Paris Commune—a workers' and peasants' militia whose only loyalty was to the oppressed and exploited classes.

The building of such an army can only be done by a revolutionary party which bases itself on the class truth of Marx and Lenin, not on the illusions of class collaboration. As news of the resistance leaks out of Chile, it appears that many Chilean workers and peasants now understand the urgent necessity for such a militia. Although they are now fighting from a weakened, defensive position, such a people's army is surely being built in Chile today to carry out the struggle tomorrow.

Fascist coup incites worldwide outrage

Tom Mitchell

September 21, 1973

Millions upon millions of people throughout the world and across the U.S. have demonstrated opposition to the fascist coup in Chile.

Perhaps the largest single demonstration came in Buenos Aires, where the memory of the 1955 coup against Juan Peron is very much alive, and upwards of 250,000 demonstrators mobilized. In Mexico City 100,000 angry supporters of the Chilean workers and peasants burned U.S. flags, as did 5,000 demonstrators in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Cuba forced the UN Security Council to meet and denounced the U.S. for its complicity in the long-prepared coup.

There were no reported demonstrations

in Brazil, Bolivia, or Uruguay, all of which have recently been taken over by U.S.-backed military dictatorships.

The International Telephone and Telegraph Company, which was exposed last year for its counterrevolutionary plotting in consort with the CIA, was the target of firebombs in Venezuela and Switzerland.

In Rome and in Paris, where the Communist parties have hopes of peaceful transition to socialism through elections like the Chilean Popular Unity coalition, several hundred thousand protested.

The press of the Soviet Union reported that protest meetings took place all across the USSR with workers angrily denouncing

the readiness of the ruling class to drown their "democracy" in blood when it suits their purposes.

In the U.S. there have been demonstrations in most major cities sponsored by a variety of organizations and coalitions, and more demonstrations have been announced. All told, more than 5,000 people have taken to the streets in Boston, New

York, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Memphis, Indianapolis, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, and other cities.

Members of Youth Against War & Fascism participated in many of these actions under banners calling for the U.S. to get out of Chile and for the workers and peasants to come to power.

GIs speak out

We of the Fort Bragg G.I. Union and 82nd Airborne Division condemn the murder of President Salvador Allende and the overthrow of the popularly elected government of Chile. We

categorically state that we refuse to participate in any U.S. military intervention.

In solidarity,

Fort Bragg G.I. Union and
Troops of the 82nd Airborne Division

Vietnam links coup to detente

September 16 (Agence France Presse):

The North Vietnamese had an editorial today in the newspaper Nam Dan describing the counterrevolutionary putsch in Chile as a new product of the Nixon-Kissinger world strategy. Rejecting the theory that the application of the Nixon doctrine would replace the age of wars by that of negotiations, the newspaper termed as temporary the detente policy that Nixon and his consorts claimed to be conducting with

certain countries. Washington was only trying to gain breathing space in order to regroup its forces in order to oppose the world revolutionary movement with even greater ferocity and to oppress small countries by force so as to maintain the neocolonialist yoke in Asia, Africa, and South America. In this light, the U.S. has not hesitated to bomb Cambodia, give considerable aid to the Laotian extreme right, and organize a coup in Chile.



VICTORY AT THE POLLS AND THE GATHERING COUNTERREVOLUTION

**Articles reprinted from
WORKERS WORLD,
September 30, 1970 to
August 24, 1973**

Election in Chile:

Masses vote socialist; U.S. urges coup

Deirdre Griswold

September 30, 1970

Developments in Chile since the electoral victory of Salvador Allende for the presidency pose sharply the question: Can socialism be achieved at the polls? And the New York Times, which speaks so authoritatively for U.S. imperialism, has already given its answer.

Mr. Allende, a Marxist, won a plurality as the candidate of the Socialist and Communist parties. His victory shows a deep desire by the proletariat to throw out the Chilean bourgeoisie and its imperialist masters in the United States who suck the blood of the workers and peasants and to transform society in a socialist direction. This is underscored by the fact that support for Allende by the Cuban revolutionaries became a major factor in the election. The masses showed their enthusiasm for Cuba, and thus for socialist revolution, in their votes for Allende.

The choice of the president, however, is not in the hands of the masses, according to the "democratic" Chilean constitution. It goes to the Congress on October 24, which can elect runner-up and right-winger Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez. The critical Congressional votes are controlled

by the Christian Democratic party which, as its name implies, is not exactly a hotbed of radicalism.

The New York Times, in a recent editorial, praised the Christian Democrats for demanding from Allende a commitment to "preserve Chile's democratic system" before they will cast him their votes. In other words, unless Allende promises to leave the bourgeois state intact, the "Democrats" will undemocratically scuttle the man with the largest popular vote—in the name, of course, of saving democracy.

Times urges a coup

The Times went on to say that if Dr. Allende, after taking office, "tried to withdraw from his commitment — by purging the judiciary, politicizing the schools or canceling elections — Chile's armed forces then would have a legitimate excuse for intervening in defense of the Constitution."

The Times knows the difference between taking office and taking state power. The whole history of the development of so-called "democratic" institutions — that is, democracy for the ruling class — has been to make sure that representatives of the exploited and oppressed classes could never take state power without an armed struggle. And many socialists or communists who have been elected by popular vote against the overwhelming opposition of the bourgeois media have then been prevented from even taking office, let alone power.

However, the Times is reluctantly willing to accept Allende in the office of president if there is a guarantee that it will be nothing more than that. In Cuba, the Times, in the person of its editor Herbert Matthews, was willing to accept Fidel Castro when they thought that he would not really carry out the measures necessary to fulfill his program of land reform, health, education and a decent living for the masses. When, however, the revolutionary government set up a new state apparatus, purged the corrupt Batistiano judges and military, carried out mass trials of the sadistic police and summarily executed the worst torturers, the U.S., including the Times, cried "anarchy." They knew that this uprooting of the old state apparatus was a necessary prelude to the economic measures that would develop the revolution, i.e., the expropriation of U.S. and domestic capital.

Having learned from the Cuban experience, the Times is already urging a military takeover if Allende does anything hinting of taking power into his hands. They wouldn't allow Allende the same measures that Nixon has used since taking office.

"Purging the judiciary." What is that? Even another bourgeois party will often put its own men into judgeships

— as Nixon has done with Warren Burger and Harry Blackmun. "Politicizing the schools." The Times here is in an alliance with Attorney General Pig Mitchell against the "stupid bastards who are ruining our educational institutions." As for canceling elections, hasn't Spiro Agnew already discussed just this possibility with his boss?

U.S. fifth column

The New York Times is openly saying that if Allende attempts to carry out his program—which heavily emphasizes ending imperialist exploitation—he should be overthrown! And coming from the United States, which has built a Fifth Column in every military establishment in South America through "donated" weapons and training, this is no idle threat. It should also be noted that this threatened intervention in the internal affairs of Chile is being made by the paper that speaks for the "liberal" imperialists, so it isn't hard to figure out what kind of plotting must be going on among the more openly hawkish members of the U.S. government.

A long time ago, Frederick Engels in writing about the state said: "Universal suffrage is...the measure of the maturity of the working class; in the State of today it cannot and never will be anything more."

Every Marxist should understand that, in this age of the pervasive domination of U.S. imperialism, the question of whether socialism can be achieved through the ballot without an armed struggle cannot be answered on the basis of the national characteristics of the class struggle. It is imperialism that will decide the answer to this question insofar as it can take on further military adventures while engaged in counter-revolutionary wars elsewhere.

What must be the reply of the revolutionary masses and their leaders? Che Guevara put it so plainly: Two, three—many Vietnams! The Chilean workers and peasants have shown the world that they want socialism. But electing Allende can only be considered a moral victory. The real struggle lies ahead in defending what was expressed at the polls. With the U.S. embroiled in Southeast Asia, and the Palestinian liberation struggle gaining momentum each day, now is the opportunity to seize the time in Chile!

Assassination of General Schneider in Chile

A death warning from Nixon to Allende

Fred Goldstein

October 30, 1970

The President-elect of Chile is a hunted man in his own country.

Salvatore Allende was just formally elected by a joint session of the Chilean Congress. Yet the new president of the country was unable to attend the session of Congress at which he was elected. Great celebrations were planned. They had to be cancelled. On the day of his election the highest political officer in the country had to stay home under guard and confine himself to a television interview with the nation. There is martial law in Chile.

Why this climate of fear? Allende is on Washington's death list! Wall Street let it be known long ago that they want Allende out. The arrogant, predatory nature of the U.S. imperialists is so flagrant that they have sent their CIA bloodhounds to track down the President of a country like a hunted animal.

Allende has not even taken office and already the commander-in-chief of the armed forces has been assassinated. Why? Because he refused to

prevent Allende from taking office. Last week, when Allende was visiting his rightwing opponent in the election, Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez, a bomb was set off in a large bus terminal near Alessandri's home. Over a dozen such rightwing bombings have taken place recently in Chile.

U.S. intervention

One retired Army major has been arrested on charges of being in a conspiracy to assassinate Allende. Reports have come through that U.S.-trained Cuban counterrevolutionaries are infiltrating the country. Senator Aniceto Rodriguez, Secretary General of the Socialist Party (Allende's party), has openly accused the CIA of being behind the conspirators.

Leaders of other countries have been hunted in the past. For example, Lyndon Johnson (and his entire administration for that matter) was unable to travel to any city or college campus without being attacked and reviled. But that was because Johnson, Rusk and Co. were hated by the people as war criminals. Richard Nixon, Agnew and Mitchell also have to sneak around the country, withholding advance notice of their appearances. Nixon especially slinks about making unannounced helicopter trips, speaking only at military academies and the like or to pre-picked crowds of reactionaries. Nixon is afraid to appear before the people because he is afraid of protest demonstrations against war, racism, inflation, unemployment. He is afraid because the people—that is, everybody but businessmen, racists and warmongers—despise him and he knows it.

U.S. capital threatened

Allende's problems are the exact opposite of Nixon's. He has the overwhelming support of the people. He has promised them socialism; he has promised to take the copper mines from the giant U.S. corporations and give them back to the workers. He has promised to take the land from the handful of feudal lords and give it to the land-starved peasants. He has promised to establish relations with Premier Fidel Castro in Cuba, and above all, he has denounced Yankee imperialism which has robbed Chile of its resources and exploited its labor for almost a century.

Whether or not Allende can institute socialism is a question whose answer will be determined by the living struggle. But U.S. big business is not going to sit by and watch to see if Allende tries to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat

and then overthrow him. It is enough for the Rockefellers, the Morgans, the Mellons and Co. that he has denounced U.S. imperialism, that merely by expounding his program he is pushing forward the seething anti-Yankee tide which is sweeping through Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and all of Latin America.

The U.S. government wants Allende's head if for no other reason than that he will strengthen the Cuban revolution by opening up a commercial and diplomatic path from Cuba to the Latin continent. They also fear that he will recognize the People's Republic of China and that Chile will thereby become a bridge between the revolutionary people of Asia and Latin America.

In short, Allende and his Popular Front Government in Chile, by its very existence, is undermining the multi-billion dollar Latin American empire of U.S. finance capital.

The assassination of General Schneider Cherau was a death warning to Allende from Washington. While Nixon and Agnew are openly talking "law and order" at home they are secretly trying to bring "law and order" to Chile by political assassination and plots to overthrow the government.

Organize and arm the people

The CIA and the Pentagon want to add Allende's name to the list of Mossadegh in Iran, Arbenz in Guatemala, Lumumba in the Congo, Goulart in Brazil, Nkrumah in Ghana, Sukarno in Indonesia, all of whom were overthrown by the U.S. in the post-WW II period.

The assassination is a warning signal which must not be ignored. It certainly aroused the indignation of the Chilean masses. It is the masses who brought Allende to office by electing him and it will only be the masses who can keep him from being overthrown. Taking office is different from taking power. For Allende to be in power the masses will have to seize power. For this task they must be armed.

The workers and the peasants voted for communism, for taking the mines, the mills and the lands from the rich. They will be ready to fight and to die for their own liberation. The imperialists and their stooges in Chile are armed to the teeth and ready to resort to any measure to bring about the counterrevolution. The only force capable of holding back the reaction in the long run, the only

force capable of entering into combat to the death with the latifundists, the comprador bourgeoisie, the military conspirators and all the rest of the hirelings of Washington, is the people—organized and armed.



“The people, consciousness, and arms” are the ingredients for revolution, says MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

Chile squatters sign of capitalist decay

P. Meisner

November 13, 1970

Just before his inauguration as President of Chile, Salvador Allende commented that "although bourgeois democracy had reached a high level (in Chile), no government has solved the problems of housing, employment and education." The utter bankruptcy of the capitalist regime, as Allende pointed out, is perfectly exemplified in the deepening housing crisis. As a result of the inability of the capitalist ruling class to provide housing for the people, some 85,000 Chileans have seized land and set up huge squatters' camps. This fact alone is testimony to the disintegration of a system that cannot serve even the most elementary needs of the mass of people.

The militant squatters' movement, although not much publicized here, has been an important factor in the revolutionary turn of events in Chile. In fact, the downfall of the Frei Christian Democratic government may have been due in part to its reaction to Chile's squatters just a year ago.

Last year, Chilean police attempted to evict squatters from a camp near the city of Puerto Montt in southern Chile. The squatters resisted and policemen killed nine squatters and wounded over 30. But the massacre back-

fired for the Frei regime. Many Chileans called Frei's police "butchers" after the Puerto Montt murders.

Politically, the damage to the Christian Democratic Party's popular support had been done. Frei's cabinet ministries were shuffled immediately after the Puerto Montt events and Frei was forced to take a more cautious attitude towards the squatters' movement from then on.

The "homeless ones"

One startling example of the failure of Christian Democrats to deal with the related problems of land and housing for the people was the case of a development of one-family houses in Santiago. This token housing project was left unoccupied for three years after the houses were finished. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Chileans were living in hovels. The Frei government has consistently capitulated to Chile's landowning capitalist class and their imperialist backers in Wall Street. While the Chilean rulers paid out more than \$100 million for land nationalized from wealthy landowners, the government failed to settle any substantial number of poor families on this land!

Thus, a popular squatters' movement was the outgrowth of the Christian Democratic betrayal of Chile's homeless. Squatters' camps have been organized in the past year by the Socialist Party, Communist Party, and the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR).

A few months ago, 1,200 squatter families set up a camp in an open field (owned by the government) in Santiago with a revolutionary militia wearing red armbands to defend the site against rightwing and police attack. The camp was called the Che Guevara encampment, one of at least 15 camps organized this year by the Revolutionary Junta of Homeless Ones—or more familiarly known as "Sin Casa" (the Homeless).

In Las Barrancas, a suburban slum of Santiago, Frei government officials were discriminating against poor squatters in the settling of families in new public housing. So the squatters moved into a field destined for new housing with their backs loaded with kitchen utensils, clothing, and odds and ends of material for making tents and shanties. Young revolutionary men and women surrounded the field armed with clubs and submachine guns to fight off any police assault on the camp.

Capitalism brought misery

The housing crisis in Chile is, of course, directly connected with all other economic problems in Chile, which are the result of decades of capitalist and imperialist exploitation of the Chilean masses. Unemployment in Santiago is estimated to be over 20 per cent, according to the New York Times. Illiteracy and lack of educational facilities

is still widespread throughout all of Chile. Squatter families have been living on \$11 to \$13 a month. And it is estimated that 600,000 Chilean children are mentally retarded because of insufficient protein in their diet.

These are the miserable conditions that over 100 years of "bourgeois democracy" have brought to the Chilean workers and peasants, and they have told the world that they've had enough of capitalist rule. Only a workers' republic will speak to the needs of the homeless, the poor, the wretched of the earth.



The Revolutionary Peasant Union says "no" to exploitation! These peasants defend the land they have taken back from the rich latifundistas.

The lesson of Chile's nationalization

Emily Hanlon

July 30, 1971

On July 11, the Chilean Congress voted unanimously to immediately nationalize the properties of the three U.S. copper giants, Kennecott, Anaconda and the Cerro Corporation. Nationalization has been a ready threat to the copper companies ever since Salvador Allende Gossens was elected President eight months ago. Allende considers himself a Marxist and views nationalization as an important part of the building of socialism in Chile. Allende won the votes of the workers on a platform that declared the wealth of the country the property of the Chilean workers and peasants who have built it and not the foreign investors who have exploited it — the copper companies have been taking profits out of Chile to the tune of \$80 million a year!

More recently, Allende has been leading the attack on the copper interests in order to build up public opinion against substantial compensation

for the copper companies. In order to emphasize this, the government has been running advertisements in the Chilean papers showing pictures of shack dwellers and naked, undernourished children under a caption reading, "This would not have happened if the copper had been ours." It is clear that if Chile were to pay the U.S. copper robbers anything close to the \$700 million they say they have invested, there would be little left with which to develop the Chilean economy.

Report reveals robbery by U.S.

A recent report prepared for the Chilean government by a Soviet mission and a French consultant company, Sofremines, has detailed the ruthlessness of the U.S. companies, especially since Allende became president. Anaconda, for example, had moved to make the quickest profits from the Chuquicamata mine, the world's largest open-pit copper mine, by removing high grade ore while leaving behind an enormous amount of slag and by permitting equipment to become obsolete.

Under former President Eduardo Frei Montalva, a friend of the copper barons, Chile had acquired a 51 per cent share of the three companies—a fact which the U.S. interests like to point to as proof of their good faith. But the Frei government paid Anaconda \$175 million to acquire the majority control on a book value of only \$181 million!

There are some revolutionary groups within Chile who oppose any compensation and are calling for outright expropriation of U.S. interests, since nationalization with compensation, although progressive, is essentially still recognizing the property rights of the bourgeoisie. Expropriation without compensation is the act of a revolutionary government that has the armed support of the masses of the people, that has worked out the class contradictions within the country sufficiently so that it can tell the imperialists to go to hell. Outright expropriation is the recognition that imperialism cannot be nibbled away at—as Lenin said, "When one makes a revolution, one cannot mark time; one must go forward—or go back."

The Bolshevik way

It was for these reasons that the Bolsheviks' program, even before the 1917 Russian Revolution, demanded land reform without compensation. The Bolsheviks acted upon this immediately after the October victory, along with the expropriation of the factories by the workers, the banks and all the interests of the ruling class.

It was for these reasons that Fidel answered the U.S. elimination of the Cuban sugar quota—which the U.S. and, to a certain extent, even the Cubans, thought might be fatal to the newborn revolution—with the statement, "They will take away our quota pound by pound and we will take away their sugar mills one by one." Along with expropriations came the slogan, "Sin cuota, pero sin amo"—"Without a quota, but without a master."

In Cuba, as in all the other countries that have made a socialist revolution, taking the property that "belonged" to the expropriators was an absolutely necessary prerequisite for socialist construction. But in order to do this, the people had to be armed and prepared to defend themselves against a reactionary counterattack.

History has shown again and again that the ruling class will use terrible violence before it will relinquish its property and social position. What seems to be the hard way—organization of the masses for armed struggle—is in reality the only way.

* * *

(Since the above was written, the head of the Chilean Socialist Party has called for "nationalization without compensation," and for a plebiscite to dissolve Congress and elect a new people's assembly. The Revolutionary Left Movement also calls for expropriation of the copper mines, and has organized farm seizures and occupation of factories by the workers.)

Chile resists U.S. pressure, expropriates copper

Ellen Pierce

October 18, 1971

Officials of the U.S. Treasury Department recently refused to help Chile finance the purchase of airliners, saying this was the first application of a new policy towards countries which had nationalized U.S. industries. Actually, this form of blackmail is not new at all. And while it is intended to throttle the efforts of Chile to free itself from U.S. domination, this policy reflects not Washington's strength but its present inability to send gunboats or Marines at the slightest mention of nationalization.

COPPER GIANTS NATIONALIZED

Three giant U.S. corporations controlled 80 percent of total Chilean copper production (copper accounts for 80 percent of

Chile's export earnings) until they were nationalized in July: Kennecott, Anaconda, and Cerro. Profits on this copper were tremendous; in 1969 Anaconda's rate of return on its Chilean investments was 39.5 percent and Kennecott's was 24.1 percent. This accounted for 79.2 and 21.4 percent of the total worldwide profits of the two companies, respectively. In the history of Latin American nationalizations, only the assets expropriated by the Cuban Revolution surpassed the value of these copper mines.

Over the past 60 years, copper, nitrate, and iron extracted from Chilean soil by Chilean workers brought earnings of \$10.8 billion to U.S. companies—more than the total gross national product achieved during

the entire existence of Chile. But U.S. corporations have the nerve to ask for "compensation" for the nationalization of their property.

The Allende government is now settling accounts with these robbers. Compensation will be paid, they say—minus outstanding taxes, depreciation, deductions for depletion and excess profits. In the case of three of the mines involved, \$774 million in excess profits has been deducted from a book value of \$629 million, leaving the companies owing the people of Chile \$145 million.

U.S. COMPANIES CRY FOUL

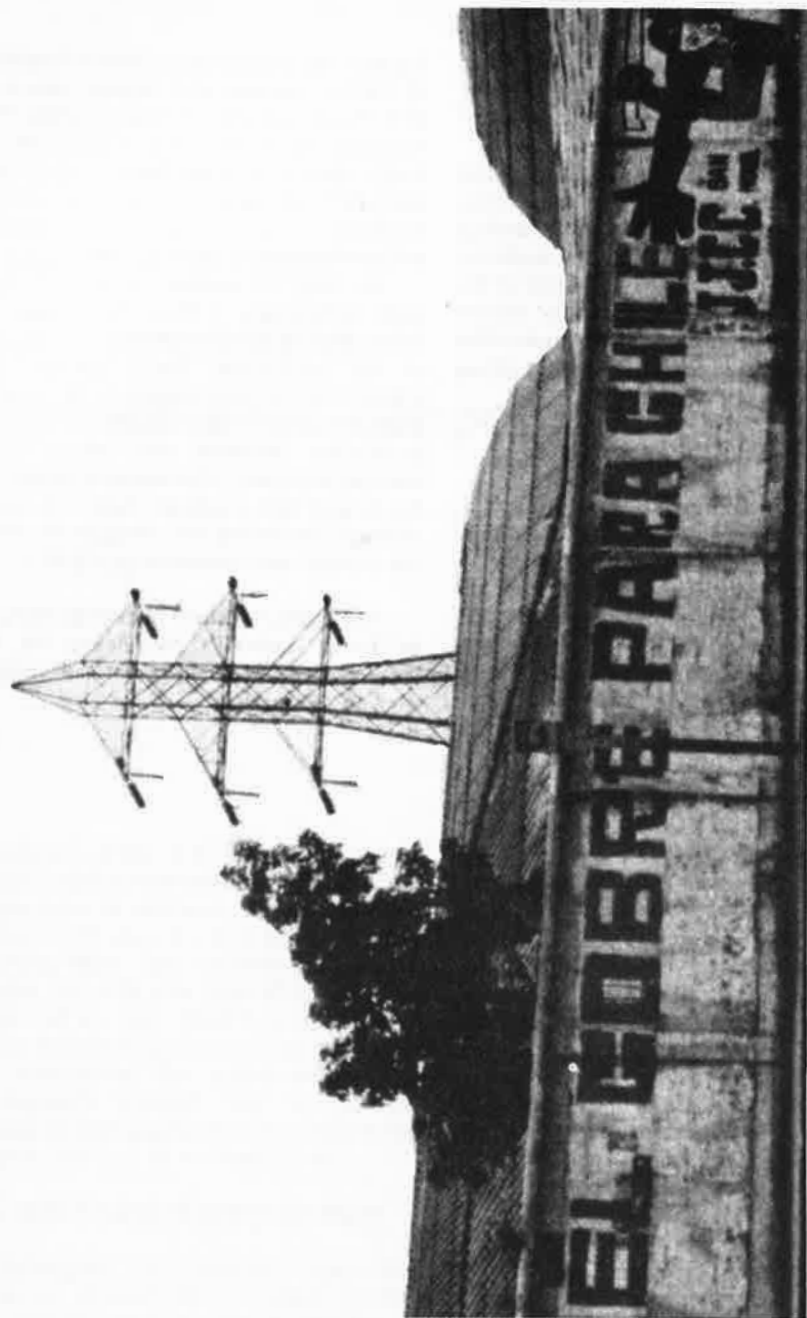
The copper companies are crying foul, indignantly accusing Chile of undermining international "law and order." However, they will be compensated by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a U.S. government agency that insures corporations investing abroad and pays them out of the pockets of American workers.

The copper corporations have been the

biggest, but not the only Yankee exploiters of Chile's natural and human resources. ITT, Ford, General Tire Corporation, First National City Bank, Bank of America, and many other U.S. firms have, or had, large and profitable operations in Chile. And the workers have initiated several nationalizations of their bosses' plants.

On May 24, workers seized 14 textile mills in Santiago. A Ford Motor plant was taken over by workers to prevent the layoff of 400 employees. These actions were followed by the government taking over the administration of the factories to maintain production. Workers also seized Chile's brewing monopoly, Cervecerias Unidas, and the largest tire producer, both U.S.-owned, and are continuing the struggle to control the destiny and resources of Chile.

The NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America) Newsletter for September 1971 is the source of the statistics used in this article.



"Copper for Chile." Throughout the country, slogans appeared supporting the government's confiscation of U.S.-owned mines.

U.S. fomenting counterrevolution in Chile

P. Meisner

December 15, 1971

There can be no doubt in any progressive person's mind by now that U.S. imperialism is backing the Chilean bourgeoisie in its recent mobilization for a counterrevolution against the Allende government. What may be seriously underestimated, however, is the breadth and scope of this highly organized bloc of bourgeois-imperialist reaction.

The Chilean capitalist class, despite its long political experience, is not organizing the counterrevolutionary upsurge without the active collaboration of Wall Street and Washington. The so-called "March of the Empty Pots" of middle and upper class women held on Dec-

ember 1 was well timed to coincide with U.S. maneuvers aimed at dismantling the popular Allende regime.

On the next day, December 2, the two giant U.S. copper companies, Anaconda and Kennecott, began legal appeals before Chilean courts to press Allende for high compensation awards for the nationalized copper mines. Also on the same day, the White House disclosed that Nixon and his Latin American "advisor" Robert Finch, who had just returned from a "goodwill" mission to Latin America, felt confident that the present government of Chile "won't last long."

BOURGEOIS ARMY A THREAT

The Nixon Administration, through its Pentagon and CIA tentacles, still has close ties and deep connections within the Chilean military, which was left intact as a bourgeois army after Allende's taking office. The CIA and its lackeys inside the Chilean armed forces are still prime suspects in the assassination of Chilean army commander General Rene Schneider, two days before Allende's election on October 25, 1970. It was also no accident that a U.S. naval ship was coming to Chile for a visit just at that time. General Schneider was considered a moderate who would abide by the election results even if Allende were elected.

Perhaps even more significant than the December 1 demonstration was a rally held the next night in Santiago's Caupolicán Stadium of over 5,000 shopkeepers, merchants, rich farmers, bankers, industrialists, and other businessmen denouncing Allende's measures against "free enterprise." Behind both the rightwing demonstration and rally were the Christian Democratic and National Parties, the largest bourgeois parties in Chile.

The timing of the counterrevolutionary mobilization also has a lot to do with Allende's plans to dissolve the Chilean legislature, where the bourgeois parties hold a majority opposition. Allende could then call for a national plebiscite and replace the legislature with a People's Assembly.

The Allende government's response to the counterrevolutionary mobilization has been, so far, complete reliance on the Chilean army,

national police, and local police. The bourgeois character of those institutions has not been changed by the electoral victory of Allende's leftwing coalition.

One carabineer (of the national police), as quoted by the New York Times correspondent in Santiago, quietly told one participant in the reactionary demonstration of December 1:

"Keep it up, we are with you."

FIDEL ADVISES - MOBILIZE MASSES

It was also reported that the carabineers unleashed some tear gas cannisters on militants of the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) as well as on the rightwing demonstrators. With the Allende regime relying on the bourgeois military to defend its government rather than by arming the masses, i.e., workers' militias and a people's army, visiting Prime Minister of Cuba Fidel Castro was prompted to make the following observations just before leaving Chile:

"The possibility of counterrevolution exists here because of weaknesses in the ideological struggle, in the mobilization of the masses and in the unification of the revolutionary forces.

"The question here is whether the popular forces will learn faster from the revolutionary process than the reactionaries."

Here is where Castro is drawing the lesson of the Cuban Revolution as a valuable guide for the Chilean revolution. The reactionary forces in Cuba never had the opportunity to regain the offensive since the Cuban revolutionary forces completely destroyed Batista's bour-

geois army and police and replaced it with a revolutionary workers' and peasants' army to defend the victorious Revolution.

With U.S. imperialism retreating in every corner of the globe from the blows of peoples' struggles, the revolutionary forces supporting

President Allende now have the opportunity of handing Washington and Wall Street a decisive defeat. Workers, peasants, and the oppressed all over the world are now looking to the progressive forces of Chile to mobilize and turn back the wave of counterrevolution and score a victory.



These young women help build New Havana, one of the workers' neighborhoods to be so cruelly assaulted by the fascist stormtroopers.

Which class will rule?

Time is running out in Chile

Naomi Cohen

March 2, 1972

Ever since the election of President Allende in 1970, revolutionaries all over the world have been watching Chile closely in the hope that the proletariat will be able to successfully seize power. It is generally recognized that nowhere in the world has the proletariat come to power by the kind of parliamentary road that the Popular Unity (PU) regime in Chile is taking. Nevertheless, it was hoped that the working class and peasantry would be able to organize for the inevitable confrontation between the classes.

The hour of decision now seems to be approaching in Chile. The question that is being posed with greater and greater urgency is: which course will Chile take—revolution or counterrevolution?

As of now the PU coalition of socialist, communist, and left bourgeois parties that back

Allende only holds office. The bourgeoisie—with its control of the army, police, courts, legislature, the press, and most industry—still holds political power and is doing everything it can to sabotage the work of the PU. This pressure, along with the economic squeeze being applied by Washington and Wall Street for repayment of debts to nationalized U.S. copper companies, is confronting Allende with a situation in which hesitation to act may be fatal.

The national director of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) summed up the situation by warning recently, "To not organize, to not mobilize, to not fight is to open the door to fascism." (MIR, a militant organization that is not part of the PU government, supports the Allende regime against the rightwing, but has criticized it for trying to conciliate with the Christian Democrats, the largest bourgeois party in Chile.)

RIGHTWING GOES ON OFFENSIVE

Just a few days after the U.S. press published remarks by Nixon aides Klein and Finch to the effect that in their opinion the Allende government "won't last long," a counterrevolutionary offensive began in Chile. On Dec. 1, some 5,000 upper class women staged a march supposedly to protest food shortages as well as the visit of Premier Fidel Castro from Cuba. This was followed on Dec. 16 by a large rally of anti-government forces organized by the Christian Democrats.

In the meantime, rightwing representatives in the legislature began proceedings to impeach Interior Minister Jose Gonzalez Toha on the pretext that he refused to break up leftist armed groups. Then, on Dec. 22, the Christian Democrats pushed through a constitutional amendment that would require the government to get parliamentary approval for any nationalizations and would void all nationalizations since Oct. 14.

This amendment must go to Allende to be passed but the fact that it was voted in the legislature illustrates the grave difficulty the PU

government is having in relying on the congress to pass its programs. In addition, the congress is now blocking Allende's 1972 budget. This will result in the collapse of many government programs like construction of new housing and a program that provided all children with a daily allotment of milk.

While many of the economic ills of the country are due to capitalist sabotage and slow strangulation of programs in the congress, the Allende government is nevertheless held accountable by the people for both the successes and the failures of the regime. Thus, the longer these conditions persist the more likelihood of disillusionment with the government.

In any case, a confrontation in the sharpening class war seems to be rapidly approaching. The contradictions inherent in the struggle for socialism within the framework of a bourgeois state apparatus are bound to burst out. This heightened class struggle is reflected in much of the literature coming out of Chile today.

WORKERS DEMONSTRATE FOR POWER

A correspondent for the Guardian, Stephen Torgoff, reported in the Jan. 19 issue that a workers' demonstration of 25,000 surrounded the national congress building on Jan. 7 to protest the vote to remove Toha. "First garbage collectors surrounded the building with their trucks," Torgoff wrote. "Then, led by construction workers, marchers converged on the congress from various directions. Most were members of Allende's Socialist party, the Christian Marxists (MAPU) and the non-government Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR)."

The demonstrators were calling for a dissolution of congress and were chanting "All power to the working class." PU officials vainly pleaded with the crowd to disperse. Hundreds of special riot police, armed with machine guns and other equipment, cordoned off the building.

Finally, at 2 a.m. Allende called the crowd to the presidential palace and told the people that the government would fight the attack on

Toha to the supreme court. "However," continues Torgoff, "when he declared that the constitution and the law were the strongest weapons of the working class and government, the crowd interrupted him repeatedly, chanting 'Bolivia—Bolivia!' referring to the recent overthrow of Bolivian President Jose Torres."

Allende's hesitation to take action outside of the bourgeois constitution and law—in an effort to win over wavering middle class elements—may instead alienate the masses of workers and peasants who want to see some concrete solutions to their poverty and land hunger. The danger in such a course was illustrated last January in the contest for two congressional seats. The Jan. 16 election was looked upon as an important test of strength between the Allende government and the opposition. Thus, when the PU candidates were defeated, the rightwing opposition was emboldened by their parliamentary victory.

The Allende administration tried to minimize this defeat. Nevertheless, it had played right into the hands of the opposition by stressing the importance of the parliamentary struggle in the first place. U.S. imperialism, of course, noted with satisfaction this setback. Just three days after the election, Nixon announced that the U.S. was going to take a tougher stand against countries that nationalized U.S. property without compensation. He threatened to stop all foreign aid and hold up international loans to countries that carried out such expropriations.

Allende's reluctance to act outside of bourgeois law is also noted in an article by Paul Sweezy in *Monthly Review* of January, 1972. Sweezy quotes an analysis of the regime by Hector Benavides, a leftwing member of Allende's Chilean Socialist Party who points out that the PU is playing a "consolidationist" role. By this he means that the PU coalition is holding back "the people's advance toward socialism and returning to the traditional, sluggish rhythms that characterized reformist 'advances' in Chile during the past thirty years." So far, points out Benavides, the changes ef-

fectured by the regime have taken place "within the capitalist system. If the process stops at this point, it is the capitalist system which will be consolidated."

FIDEL CITES HISTORY

As the crisis deepens in Chile the PU seems to be depending more and more on attracting so-called progressive elements in the bourgeois Christian Democratic party. The CP in particular has opened up a campaign of vilification of the MIR, blaming them for alienating "middle sectors" of the population and charging them with "sectarian extremism." MIR has answered by pointing out that the CP policy is debilitating the "revolutionary mobilization of the masses" by its conciliatory policy toward the Christian Democrats.

Fidel Castro aptly pointed out in his final speech in Santiago in December that "every social system thinks itself eternal until history sets it straight. Throughout history, every social system that has been attacked has defended itself and has defended itself with violence. No social system has dissolved itself of its own free will. No social system has resigned in favor of the revolutionaries."

History has shown that revolutions are a violent struggle of the classes. If Chile makes the socialist revolution by parliamentary methods, it will be the exception, not the rule. But as of now, the socialist revolution has not been made. In fact, the class forces are squaring off for what may be the decisive battle. Revolutionaries hope that the Chilean workers and peasants will be organized sufficiently to answer any counterrevolutionary attack with a strong and victorious seizure of power.

ITT, CIA plot counterrevolution as

Chilean left faces severe test

M. Margolies

March 31, 1972

A major economic and political crisis has been developing in Chile. So much so that the Socialist and Communist parties are said to have issued documents criticizing the Allende administration and the lack of "popular mobilization" to back up the government's socialist objectives. It should not be forgotten, though, that both parties are integral political parts of the Popular Unity coalition government of Allende.

According to a special report to the New York Times, they have both warned that the recent political defeats of the government are being exploited by the bourgeois Christian Democratic and Nationalist parties as part of a plot to overthrow the government.

A report to the Central Committee of the CP said that it was "a matter of life and death" to prevent a further increase in inflation. The cost of living rose 6.5 percent last month, the

highest monthly figure in years. During the first two months of this year the cost of living went up 10 percent, compared with an increase of 22 percent during all of last year. The government has actually increased the currency by 110 percent. However, the CP's reformist and "consolidationist" line is geared only to make the present Chilean economy run more efficiently. Nowhere does the CP leadership deal with the most critical question facing Chile's workers and peasants: the seizure of state power.

The Socialist Party Central Committee's document said that the economic base of the anti-Marxist political forces in capitalist enterprises "must be destroyed" by encouraging workers to seize factories whose expropriation has been blocked by the Chilean Congress. The document said, "The masses, the unions, the revolutionary parties can and should go beyond the legal limitations on the Government, employing all forms of struggle." The SP document obviously reflects the more left wing faction of that Party, as its criticism of the Allende government is obviously from the opposite direction from that of the CP.

At the same time that some sections of the Popular Unity coalition government seem to be taking a tougher stand in the face of increasing threats from the right wing, President Allende is himself trying to walk a tightrope between the left and the opposition. The New York Times of March 23 reported that Allende sent his Minister of Interior to Nuble province to investigate land seizures carried out by "Maoist militants." This move was interpreted as a concession to right-wing pressure to stop the seizures.

Starting March 21, after the CP and SP documents were released, Jack Anderson, a columnist for many major capitalist newspapers, provided evidence of an early counterrevolutionary plot against Allende -- that of the CIA and at least one major U.S. corporation, International Telephone and Telegraph. Beginning in September 1970, they were working to cause a major economic crisis in Chile to prepare the way for a military coup.

(ITT is the company in the news recently for secretly offering hundreds of thousands of dollars to Nixon's party convention. In 1970, it had offered Nixon to "assist financially in sums up to seven figures" to prevent Allende's election.)

ITT Director John McCone, himself a former CIA head, received a confidential report on October 9, 1970 from William Merriam, the vice president in charge of ITT's Washington office. "Today I had lunch with our contact at the McLean office (CIA). . . . Approaches continue to be made to select members of the Armed Forces in an attempt to have them lead some sort of uprising—no success to date. . . ."

Earlier, on September 29, 1970, ITT vice-president E.J. Gerrity had sent a confidential telex to ITT president Harold S. Geneen, outlining part of the plot:

"1. Banks should not renew credit or should delay in doing so.

"2. Companies should drag their feet in sending money, making deliveries, in shipping spare parts, etc.

"3. Savings and loan companies there are in trouble. If pressure were applied they would have to shut their doors, thereby creating pressure.

"4. We should withdraw all technical help and should not promise any technical assistance in the future. Companies in a position to do so should close their doors.

"5. A list of companies was provided, and it was suggested that we approach them as indicated. I was told that of all the companies involved, ours alone had been responsive and understood the problem. The visitor (ed. note: the CIA's William Broe, according to Jack Anderson) added that money was not a problem. He indicated that certain steps were being taken but that he was looking for additional help aimed at inducing economic collapse."

ITT, which has at least \$200 million invested in Chile and makes about 25 percent profit, is not alone in fighting to keep the bourgeoisie in power. On March 2, Workers World pointed to the significance of Fidel Castro's last speech in Santiago, Chile in December: "Every social

system thinks itself eternal until history sets it straight. Throughout history, every social system that has been attacked has defended itself and has defended itself with violence. No social system has dissolved itself of its own free will. No social system has resigned in favor of the revolutionaries."

Workers World went on to say, "History has shown that revolutions are a violent struggle of the classes. If Chile makes the socialist revolution by parliamentary methods, it will be the exception, not the rule. But as of now, the socialist revolution has not been made. In fact, the class forces are squaring off for what may be the decisive battle. Revolutionaries hope that the Chilean workers and peasants will be organized sufficiently to answer any counter-revolutionary attack with a strong and victorious seizure of power."

The most recent events in Chile, along with the disclosure of the CIA-ITT plots, confirm Workers World's analysis. Imperialism, in alliance with the Chilean bourgeoisie, is conspiring against the Allende regime. A decisive answer from the left is needed.

Allende takes dangerous step to the right

P. Meisner

June 30, 1972

The most recent developments in Chile have probably drawn the attention of hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, students, and revolutionaries from every corner of the globe. What is of greatest concern in that South American country is that the potentially most revolutionary situation in the world, with the exception of perhaps Vietnam, may very well be turned back by the bourgeois counterrevolution.

By replacing six Cabinet ministers on June 17, Dr. Salvador Allende, President of Chile under the Popular Unity government, is taking another dangerous step towards conciliation with the powerful opposition bourgeois forces, which are fully backed by U.S. imperialism. While the Allende government has accomplished much to rid itself of imperialist economic domination

and also much to advance the political and economic position of Chile's oppressed classes, it has turned its back on mobilizing the masses for the inevitable class showdown between Chile's working class and capitalist class. And all of those gains may go down the drain if the present trend towards capitalist consolidation continues, a trend which has destroyed many a popular front government in the past.

The Cabinet shakeup is the immediate reflection of a political and economic crisis that has brought on a 40 percent annual rate of inflation for the first 5 months of 1972, an international imperialist squeeze on Chile's huge foreign debt, rising unemployment, the growth of black markets, and the loss of several key by-elections to opposition bourgeois candidates. Rather than attack these critical problems from the viewpoint that they are the result of a more than century-old oppressive system, namely capitalism, and therefore require the liquidation and overthrow of that system, the Allende government appears to be turning to methods of rehabilitating the capitalist system from within the system itself. This has already included the use of the capitalist army and police against revolutionary forces critical of the Allende government from the left.

ROLE OF THE CHILEAN CP

What must be disturbing to all revolutionary communists throughout the world is that the strongest political force behind the move towards capitulation within the Popular Unity government is the Chilean Communist Party (PC), for several decades now a leading exponent of revisionist ideology in Latin America, and already responsible for ordering in the reactionary national police for repressive acts against revolutionary workers, peasants, and followers of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR).

The leading role of the PC in the Cabinet shakeup was enthusiastically applauded by no less than the imperialist "liberal" mouthpiece, the New York Times, which said in a revealing

editorial last week entitled, "Moderate Shift in Chile":

"President Allende has moved to resolve a severe crisis within his Popular Unity coalition in Chile by rejecting the radical counsel of his own Socialist Party and adopting the more moderate and conciliatory approach urged by the Communists....

"The Communists hurl such epithets as 'infantile' and 'elitist' at the MIR and condemn its illegal seizures of farms and factories. They urge consolidation, rather than rapid extension, of the Allende Government's economic and social programs, negotiations on constitutional reform with the opposition Christian Democrats and a working relationship with private business....

"This decision may force the President to crack down hard on the MIR in areas where it has built formidable strength....It should always be the objective of Chile's now-united democratic opposition not to force Dr. Allende out of office but to make his Government play by well-established rules."

It must be a shock to many to see the New York Times openly back so-called Communists, but imperialist diplomats and journalists are always quick to find out, no matter what the label, who is revolutionary and who isn't.

GAINS AND LOSSES

Despite the powerful united opposition of the Christian Democratic and National Parties, the two largest capitalist parties in Chile, and the conciliation to it by the Allende regime, some impressive gains have been scored by the year-and-a-half-old Popular Unity government. The huge copper mines of the U.S. monopolies of Kennecott, Anaconda, and Braden have been nationalized, along with most utilities and other large industries.

The Chilean ITT operation has been seized; the large fishing companies have been bought by the government and the government has gained more control in the coal mines; and generally, Chile's foreign trade has become a state monopoly.

Allende has redistributed much land and granted substantial initial wage increases, but these were based on a first-year prosperity, as much of the invested capital of the Chilean bourgeoisie was left intact at first, thereby resulting in an initial increase in productivity.

But the Chilean capitalists and their masters in Washington and Wall Street have in the last six months put a tremendous economic squeeze on the Allende regime. The U.S. has manipulated the price of copper downward on the world market, cut off U.S. aid to Chile, and demanded immediate payment of Chile's foreign debt — all of which has made imports much more expensive for Chileans, industrial and automotive parts harder to get, and industrialization and productivity recede.

Also, the Chilean capitalists began to pull their invested capital out of Chilean industries, organize black markets, and in general, began a national campaign of political and economic disruption. This, to a large extent, accounts for the renewed rampant inflation in Chile. And already, some of the most directly affected workers and peasants are beginning to express demoralization and are leaning again to the counterrevolutionary Christian Democrats who are carefully preparing for the right moment to topple the Allende government.

POPULAR FRONT FAILURE

The Popular Unity government, as all previous popular front governments, was destined to come to the present political and economic crisis because it opposed from the beginning the mobilizing of the masses to prepare them for seizure of state power, in order to destroy the capitalist apparatus and install a workers' state whose institutions would defend, not block, the transformation of Chile into a socialist society. As part of an election agreement, Allende had pledged to the Christian Democrats in September 1970 that no people's armed militias would ever be formed under his administration.

The threat of counterrevolutionary disaster can also be traced to Allende's promise to the

Chilean capitalist class that he would never go beyond the bounds of bourgeois law, which is designed in the long run to preserve the capitalist system. The Allende Administration still has not carried out land distribution as far as is necessary and as far as the masses want it to go — primarily due to Allende and the PC's obedience to bourgeois property laws.

The economic crisis could have been alleviated to a certain extent had the government expropriated rather than nationalized most of the monopolies, the difference being the huge sums of compensation still enriching the bourgeoisie but impoverishing the poor and oppressed of Chile. Also, politically, Allende has backed down on his promise to the Chilean proletariat to dissolve the present bourgeois-controlled Congress and form a People's Assembly which could at least give the peasants and workers an institution of dual power.

POPULAR UNITY SPLIT

The present crisis in Chilean society also reflects a developing split within the Popular Unity coalition. It appears that the majority of the Socialist Party (PS) sees the counterrevolution coming and has called for, according to a recent PS Central Committee document, "the masses, the unions, the revolutionary parties to go beyond the legal limitations of the Government, employing all forms of struggle." The document also said that the economic base of anti-Marxist political forces in capitalist enterprises "must be destroyed by encouraging workers to seize factories whose expropriation has been blocked by the Chilean Congress."

The PC, and Allende, who represents the more moderate wing of the PS, take the opposite position. They call for consolidation of gains already made and a conciliation with Chilean capitalists and "play by well-established rules," as the New York Times calls it, which are actually capitalist "rules." What the revisionists won't admit is that the Chilean bourgeoisie, with imperialist backing, has blackmailed Allende into holding off on more

socialist measures, to "crack down" on the revolutionary forces, and stabilize the present crisis by adopting Christian Democratic policies.

But even as Allende keeps straddling the fence between the capitalist class and the working class, he will never be reliable enough for the Chilean bourgeoisie and their imperialist bosses in Washington, whose Chilean connections and relations remain virtually untouched as long as capitalism still rules Chile. (It should be remembered that the Mexican revolution over 50 years ago also nationalized the banks, the mines, and the oil, but the Mexican bourgeoisie was never overthrown and eventually returned those enterprises back to the U.S. monopolies.)

Thus, the Chilean capitalist class will be compelled to overthrow Allende, unless the Popular Unity government, the MIR, and all revolutionary forces within Chile prevent it in time by rejecting the revisionist PC capitulationist program and help to lead the workers and peasants of Chile towards an armed struggle aimed at defeating the counterrevolution and bring on the victory of the socialist revolution.

'Consolidation' vs. revolution

P. Meisner

July 17, 1972

The problems facing revolutionary workers and peasants in Chile continue to mount. The question being raised more sharply than ever is: Can the popular front government of Allende break from its present course and orient the masses toward the seizure of state power before it is consumed by further crises in the still-capitalist economy? So far, the supposedly Marxist Allende has followed the path of greater collaboration with the bourgeois in order to stave off the showdown.

While the Christian Democrats virtually split in Allende's face last week by breaking off negotiations on the nationalizing of several private Chilean banks and newsprint plants,

the government nevertheless sent out the reactionary Chilean military to break up a powerful strike of Santiago railway workers and bus drivers. Allende appointed top army generals to take over the government-owned railways and the 18 privately owned bus lines and had at least 12 strike leaders arrested.

The crisis has also brought on a growing split in the progressive forces in Chile both inside the Popular Unity coalition and outside of it. The recent cabinet shuffle by Allende (see last issue of WORKERS WORLD) reflected the conservative program of the Chilean Communist Party (PC) and the moderate wing of the Chilean Socialist Party (PS)

led by Allende. The PC argues that the present crisis is largely due to "management" errors in the economic sector, while the left wing of the PS and the Revolutionary Movement of the Left (MIR), a critical supporter of the Popular Unity government, warn that unless the masses organize themselves outside the bounds of Chilean bourgeois legality, the capitalist counterrevolution will definitely triumph in Chile and reverse all of the economic gains achieved under the Allende administration.

The split may very well determine the fate of the socialist revolution in Chile, since the present road of the Popular Unity government can only give more time for the Chilean landlords and capitalists to sabotage the economy of the Allende regime. The latter is the direct result of the "consolidationist" policy largely formulated by the revisionist PC.

On the other hand, many Chilean workers and peasants are becoming more impatient and disillusioned with the class conciliationist government of Allende, which allows the Chilean capitalist class to raise prices astronomically and organize black markets, allows landowners and reactionary police to retake land seized by peasants and squatters, and allows the bourgeois military to function as chief strike-breaker.

The conclusion many revolutionaries in Chile, including the MIR and its mass following in the peasant movement and trade unions, must have already reached is that time is running short for Chile's workers and peasants to organize and arm themselves, with or without the support of the Popular Unity forces, so as to defeat the coming bourgeois counterrevolution and bring victory to the Chilean proletarian socialist revolution.

Counterrevolution gathers force as

Chilean crisis deepens

P. Meisner

October 20, 1972

OCTOBER 15 — The Allende government in Chile is at this moment facing its most severe crisis since taking office in December 1970. The threat of a counterrevolution in Chile today is more real than ever before. A nationwide shutdown against the government, despite a state of emergency, by Chilean capitalists and store owners is crippling food and fuel distribution throughout most of the country.

The present crisis, sparked by a shutdown by the Confederation of Truck Owners, began on October 10, after negotiations were broken off with the government over the charging of higher cargo rates and the establishment of a state

regulatory trucking agency in southern Chile. Many owners and drivers were arrested for shutting down and for blockading major roadways. News dispatches, however, indicate that many truck drivers who are not owners have opposed the shutdown and support the government.

Two days later, on October 12, the Chilean Chamber of Commerce and the Business and Small Industry Confederation told their 150,000 members to support the truck owners and close down their businesses. Allende immediately declared a state of emergency in 13 provinces around Santiago and a day later extended it to four

more provinces in southern Chile. At least 80 percent of Chile's population resides in those 17 provinces.

U.S. AIDS COUNTERREVOLUTION

The bourgeois and landlord classes of Chile have also been aided by U.S. imperialism in its attempt to overthrow the Popular Unity coalition (UP) government of Allende. While the Chilean capitalists continue to disrupt the economy from the inside, Washington and Wall Street are squeezing Chile's economy from the outside.

First, the U.S. monopolies that still have investments in Chile, as well as those that have lost them under the Allende Administration, have made the World Bank refuse Chile any new loans. More recently, the U.S. Kennecott Copper Corporation got a French court to order the seizure of a shipment of Chilean copper going to a French company. These are definite signs that Washington is organizing an economic blockade around Chile, as Chilean officials have charged, as it did against Revolutionary Cuba 12 years ago.

What must be discouraging to the Chilean workers and peasants, however, is the response, so far, by the UP government to the counterrevolutionary onslaught. Trade unionists and other militants have organized "Councils of Supply and Prices" in poor communities to meet the present distribution crisis and to report shopkeepers who have refused to open their stores. Violent clashes have already taken place between workers and fascist gangs trying to force the closing down of all stores.

BOURGEOIS LEGALITY vs. REVOLUTION

Living under the threat of counterrevolution for almost a year now, the Chilean working class feels in its bones the need to confront and ultimately destroy the

economic power (i.e., class power) of the Chilean bourgeoisie by revolutionary methods, since the methods of capitalist legality have obviously failed. Moreover, the administration of bourgeois law by the Allende government has hardly prevented the Chilean ruling classes from organizing extra-legal, fascist mobilizations.

So far, the UP government has opposed any revolutionary advances on the part of the Chilean masses. Allende warned of the possibility of civil war arising out of the present crisis, but he has called on government supporters to refrain from any revolutionary actions — such as the occupation of factories, utilities, or actions against fascist gangs normally handled by the police — which could be interpreted as a "provocation" and cause "the army to stand against the Government."

Last December, during his visit to Chile, Fidel Castro warned Allende that relying on the Chilean military to defend his government was a grave mistake. He told Allende that the armed forces had not yet acted against the UP government because Allende had stayed within the bounds of Chile's capitalist constitution. Fidel further said, in his farewell speech in Santiago, that only the mobilization of the masses could save the socialist gains made under the Allende regime and advance the Chilean socialist revolution.

These words of wisdom and warning, from an experienced revolutionary, spell out the course the Chilean proletariat and peasantry must take. There is no doubt that the workers and peasants are ready for the revolutionary road. But will the leaders of the UP continue to straddle the fence between Chile's contending social classes and doom themselves as well as the proletariat to the impending counterrevolution? Or will it turn towards proletarian revolution — before it is too late?

Interview with Miguel Enriquez

MIR's view of struggle in Chile

November 3, 1972

Below are excerpts from an interview with Miguel Enriquez, the 28-year-old Secretary General of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left in Chile (MIR), published in the Aug. 25 issue of Chile Hoy (Chile Today), a progressive and independent Chilean weekly, and translated by Pierre Meisner of WW. The interview appeared before the latest counter-revolutionary mobilization against the Allende government, but focuses on key political and ideological questions, such as the MIR's position on the Popular Unity coalition government (UP), its differences with the revisionist Chilean Communist Party (PC), the call for a People's Assembly, and the general question of how

the proletariat can win state power.

The most recent news from Chile is that the entire Allende cabinet has resigned under counterrevolutionary pressure. A nationwide shutdown begun on Oct. 10 by truck owners and supported by shopkeepers, businessmen, and professionals is still in effect throughout most of Chile. It now appears that Allende will allow several army generals to enter the Cabinet, a move favored by the Chilean capitalist parties. The latter are building toward a showdown next March when they hope to capture enough seats in the congressional elections to force an impeachment of Allende. Only this development seems to have delayed an attempt at

violent counterrevolution by the Chilean bourgeoisie and its allies in Washington and Wall Street.

Miguel Enriquez: We have said that the government of the UP opened up new conditions, more advanced than the existing general conditions would have allowed. In the first place, the UP had the most routine repression stopped by reforming the state apparatus to some extent, and starting with this it opened up a tremendous potential for the mobilization of the masses, a tremendous potential for initiative from them, and it also involved many sectors in the political struggle.

For this reason we have called for the defense of the stability of the government, a position advanced by us since Sept. 4, 1970. This defense of the stability of the government does not imply our support for every one of its political acts, or every one of its political leaders, but it means standing unconditionally in defense of its stability and existence.

Chile Hoy: The PC accuses the MIR of trying to isolate itself from the rest of the political parties of the UP. Do you think that the revolutionary process in Chile can do without the PC?

M.E.: It is absurd to ask whether we can do without one political tendency. Besides, the MIR has no interest in excluding any tendency; the MIR is really interested in confronting and exposing their politics.

It is not a question of fighting the PC, the organization itself, but a question of basically struggling against a definite political line. There are two political lines which are pitted against each other, one revolutionary and the other reformist. The struggle is not over the existence of the PC, but over the content and orientation of the PC's ideology. We will fight unconditionally

for this, and we feel that any concession made in this struggle can only help to politically disarm those doing it.

C.H.: The MIR always insists that the program of the UP is not theirs. Hasn't the MIR confused its maximum program with its minimum program? Are you now committed to a revolutionary program which must necessarily modify the UP's program?

WHAT IS THE RULING CLASS?

M.E.: The basic problem must be seen in the light of MIR's programmatic conception and that of various elements within the UP. We have stated, in the first place, that the course of a revolution must lead to the destruction and replacement of definite systems of exploitation, and this involves dealing blows to the ruling class as a whole. Ruling classes not only comprise owners of the means of production, but represent a complex social and political system that must be combatted in all its aspects simultaneously. Part of the UP government has developed a specific political policy that protects certain sectors of the ruling classes.

In defining its enemies, the UP commits the mistake of only attacking certain sectors of the ruling class, not attacking it as a whole nor as an enemy class.

From the point of view of what constitutes the basic class forces and their allies, the strategy the UP uses suffers from two types of errors. The first comes from an erroneous conception about who constitutes the enemies of the masses.

To brand only certain sectors of the agricultural bourgeoisie as enemies, while protecting the rest of the bourgeoisie, the UP prevents the countryside poor, the agricultural proletariat, the underemployed, and the poor farmers from

joining in the struggle. The UP refuses to use this great potential force that it represents.

The UP has only organized parts of the urban proletariat of the large industries. The rest of the workers of large, medium, and small industries are not mobilized.

The second error arises out of the essentially European strategy with which the UP analyzes the basic driving class forces: it ignores and gives no leadership to large sections of the urban poor with whom the industrial proletariat can and must unequivocally develop a permanent alliance.

C.H.: What is your position on the slogan, "Destroying the Congress is on the order of the day?"

CONGRESS VS. WORKERS' COUNCILS

M.E.: It is one thing to call for the destruction of Congress and another thing to be able to do it at the present time. Our objective is to destroy the apparatus of the bourgeois state; the MIR has not called for the destruction of the Congress today.

The dissolution of the Congress is a strategic objective. This slogan unifies the struggle of the masses. The fact that it can't be done today doesn't mean that the destruction of the state is not a good

agitational slogan, or that nothing should be done today.

It is possible and necessary to raise this formula as the Socialist Party (PS) and the Christian Left Party (IC) have also done and call for workers' and peasants' councils.

The reformists have slandered the call for a People's Assembly, saying that the MIR wants to dissolve the Congress now. This formulation is so stupid, as if there existed a polemic within the NLF leadership in Vietnam on whether to dissolve the U.S. military or whether to fight against it. The objective is to create political conditions which will later project themselves into workers' and peasants' councils.

C.H.: What would be the concrete tasks of workers' and peasants' councils?

M.E.: Fundamentally, to unite and bring the people together as one force, raising a program that includes the demands of all its diverse sectors. This should be the approach towards the ideological confrontation within the left. If ideological polemics take place among the masses, in such councils, the situation will change radically. It will lead to the reversal of the present correlation of forces within the left, here as well as throughout the world. This is our perspective and it is the only valid political program for Chile.

U.S., Chilean reaction seek to reverse workers' gains

Deirdre Griswold

November 17, 1972

In 1970, in a three-way electoral contest, Salvador Allende became the President of Chile. A professed Marxist, Allende was the candidate of the Popular Unity coalition, which included the Chilean Socialist and Communist parties.

In recent weeks, the press in the U.S. has written about a so-called "strike" of truckers in Chile, and the general tone of propaganda here has been to convince the American people that Chilean workers have had a taste of socialism, don't like it, and are in revolt against the government along with the middle and upper classes. These reports stress the fact that many goods are in short supply, there has been inflation, and small owners are resisting government takeovers of their businesses.

What is fact and what is fiction? Is Chile

a socialist country? Who make up the opposition to the progressive measures taken by the Allende government? And if the U.S. is so concerned about conditions in Chile, what are they doing about it?

The first thing to remember about the U.S. press and politicians is that they always talk in the name of the people but act in the interests of the corporations. They do this at home as well as abroad. When Nixon wants more money for his murderous war machine, he says it's in the security interests of the "nation," all the people — but he's actually acting to help out Lockheed, Boeing, and a whole class of bank owners and industrialists.

"STRIKE" WAS REALLY A LOCKOUT

So the press here talks about truck

drivers on "strike" in Chile—but it was really the owners who united in a lockout in a political demonstration against the government. The government didn't fall because the majority of the workers did support it against the right-wing and kept the economy running despite the lack of truck deliveries.

This manifestation by the reaction is part of an international campaign to reverse Chile's move to the left. The greatest pressure is being put on Chile by U.S. corporations and their indirect agencies. While they express "concern" for Chilean workers, they are trying to cripple the economy. This takes a number of forms.

First of all, Chile became a one-product country in the many years of U.S. domination before 1970. Copper was, and remains, Chile's main export item (earning 80 percent of export income), and provided millions of dollars of profit for the Anaconda and Kennecott copper companies, both U.S.-owned. Chile nationalized both these companies, paying them the sum at which they had been evaluated for taxes, minus any "excess" profits made over the years. (The excess profits were calculated by comparing the rate of profit these companies made off their Chilean holdings with that of their U.S. mines.) But the companies were furious at this. They had had a good thing going in Chile, and weren't about to give it up, no matter how fair or legal the way in which they were expropriated. And so they have been making it very hard for Chile to sell its copper on the world market.

U.S. EMBARGO ON CHILEAN COPPER

A ship full of Chilean copper was embargoed in a Dutch port a few weeks ago after an order from Kennecott claiming the cargo. However, Dutch dockworkers refused Kennecott's order to unload the ship in a show of solidarity with their Chilean brothers. Western markets for Chile's main

export item have been shrinking under pressure from the U.S., and last year the world price of copper fell 23 percent, costing Chile \$200 million in foreign exchange. (While it is not easy to prove that such a fall in price is the result of U.S. manipulation of the market, similar "accidents" favorable to imperialism have occurred when other countries depending upon one or two main exports began moving leftward—notably when the price of rubber fell drastically before the overthrow of the Sukarno government in Indonesia.)

Allende in 1970 inherited one of the most debt-ridden economies in the world. Decades in which U.S. corporations had sucked out Chile's mineral wealth had left the country in terrible shape, and it depended on loans from U.S.-dominated financial institutions (at substantial interest rates) to undertake any capital projects. But these loans were quickly shut off after Chile began taking over its own natural resources, and recent efforts to get a loan from the World Bank (headed by none other than Robert McNamara!) were turned down. So much for any U.S. concern about helping the Chilean workers!

A HISTORIC DECISION LIES AHEAD

Despite the election victory of the Popular Unity coalition, however, Chile's workers have a long struggle ahead before they can control the state itself and really begin to construct socialism. Through a system of interlocking directorates, 10 main "clans" of wealthy families and individuals controlled most of Chile's wealth in 1970 (except for what was owned outright by U.S. firms). While some of their enterprises have since been nationalized, they still comprise the most influential section of a controlling capitalist class that exercises its power through the two bourgeois parties in the Parliament and through the various state

organs — police, courts, army — that run social life.

The current strength of this ruling class can be gauged by the fact that, in order to end the truckers' lockout, Allende took into his Cabinet four members of the military, including a leading general in the key post of Interior Minister. While the Chilean army does not have quite the same semi-fascist history as the U.S. Pentagon, it is nevertheless an institution nurtured under capitalism whose existence in class society — and this is true in every country — is to preserve the existing class relations.

As the army is brought more and more into play as a force of "social order," it puts the spotlight on the fact that there are no workers' organizations in Chile at the present time preparing to assume that role — except for a few leftist groups whose program for building a workers' militia is denounced by the parties in Allende's coalition.

Thus a terrible state of tension and contradiction exists in Chile today between

the progressive measures taken by the Allende government and the reactionary class that is still basically in power. The longer this situation exists without the working class parties taking decisive steps to prepare the masses to seize the reins of power and break the power of the bosses, the more opportunities there will be for the owners of property to sabotage the economy. They hope in this way to sap the masses' enthusiasm for any socialist measures.

The ability of a socialist economy to vastly improve the life of the working people is not on trial in Chile, for Chile is not yet a socialist country. What is being tested is the political strategy for bringing the working class to power. Socialism as an economic system has proven its superiority to the older orders in many countries around the world. If Chile's workers and peasants are able to keep the initiative in the revolutionary process and decisively defeat both U.S. and homegrown reaction, they will undoubtedly prove it once again.

Allende denounces U.S. monopolies at UN

P. Meisner

December 15, 1972

NEW YORK, Dec. 4 — Chilean President Salvador Allende arrived here today and delivered a 90-minute address to the UN's General Assembly, denouncing the imperialist activities of U.S. monopolies in Chile. He specifically pointed to the actions of the Kennecott Copper Corporation and ITT, both of which have been trying to strangle the economy and government of Chile.

Allende's visit to the UN comes at a time when counter-revolutionary forces in Chile and their backers in Washington and Wall Street seem to be mounting their greatest offensive against the Popular Unity government led by Allende.

U.S. BLOCKADES CHILEAN COPPER

The Kennecott and Anaconda copper corporations, both of which have had their properties in Chile nationalized, are currently engaged in an economic blockade of copper sales abroad by the Allende government. Kennecott recently had Chilean shipments of copper seized by French government authorities and is awaiting a decision in a French court on the giant monopoly's contention that the seizure is a justified method for Kennecott to obtain "just compensation" for its nationalized properties. (The Organization of Copper Exporting Countries — which includes Chile, Peru, Zaire, and Zambia — has retaliated against Kennecott by suspending all business transactions with the company until it stops all its acts of economic

aggression against Chile.)

Other large U.S. corporations along with Kennecott have also succeeded in cutting off all Chilean loans and credits, since the big U.S. banks dominate virtually all international and regional banking institutions around the world.

The U.S. imperialist offensive against the Allende regime has been conspicuously accompanied by a bourgeois counter-revolutionary offensive within Chile. Allende recently had to give in to most of the demands of truckowners who, with the support of most of the Chilean bourgeoisie, organized a nationwide shutdown of businesses, forcing Allende to call a state of emergency in almost all of Chile's provinces. The most serious political consequence was a shakeup in the cabinet in which Chilean army generals were brought into a new cabinet to make concessions to the rebellious bourgeoisie.

ALLENDE HITS ITT

While Allende, during his UN speech, broadened his attack against the U.S. monopolies to include all colonial and semicolonial nations as victims of imperialist exploitation, he failed to point the finger at and expose the U.S. government as

the spokesman and representative of those corporations. Nevertheless, his denunciation of ITT's role in Chile was strong and unequivocal:

"The ITT, a gigantic corporation whose capital is bigger than the national budgets of several Latin American countries put together, and bigger even than that of some of the industrialized countries, launched a sinister plan to prevent me from acceding to the presidency just as soon as the people's triumph in the September, 1970 election became known.

"Before the conscience of the world I accuse the ITT of attempting to bring about civil war in my country. That is what we call imperialist action."

Allende's scathing attack on the U.S. monopolies brought an immediate response from George Bush, U.S. Ambassador to the UN. Bush hurriedly called for a press conference after Allende's speech and uttered the quote of the day when he stated:

"We don't think of ourselves as imperialists."

Bush's cynicism was at its worst when he told the press that "the investment of American capital abroad was not intended to exploit foreign countries, but rather was of mutual benefit to the investor and to the people of the country in which the investment was made."

150 protest U.S. intervention in Chile

NEW YORK, Dec. 4 — Over 150 people today demonstrated at the UN against U.S. imperialist activities in Chile. The demonstrators also showed their solidarity with visiting President Salvador Allende,

his government, and the Chilean people in their struggle to rid Chile of U.S. imperialist plunder. Allende was inside the UN delivering a strong attack against U.S. monopoly exploitation in Chile, while a

picket line was formed at 44th Street and First Avenue, one block from the U.S. Mission to the UN.

The demonstration was called by the Ad Hoc Committee for Non-Intervention in Chile, which is composed of the North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition (NAAIC), the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP-MPI), and Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF). NAAIC is an umbrella organization that includes radical groups such as the Venceremos Brigade, NACLA, Friends of Haiti, and others.

From 44th Street, the pickets marched in front of the U.S. Mission to the UN,

chanting loud anti-imperialist slogans, and then proceeded to 47th Street and First Avenue, where a rally was held. The speakers included Angela Davis, Ramon Arbona of the PSP, Jarvis Tyner of YWLL, and Jaime Veve of YAWF. The last exposed the U.S. intervention in Chile and the use of the UN by the U.S. as an "imperialist circus" and as a cover for U.S. aggression, such as in the Congo and Korea. While Jaime Veve addressed the crowd, he stood in front of a huge YAWF banner, which read, "Chile's Copper for Chile's People — U.S. Hands Off!" The demonstrators then marched over to the Kennecott offices on 42nd Street to protest the actions of the giant corporation against Chile.

Editorial

Pentagon aiding Chilean military

December 15, 1972

Yet another fact has surfaced to prove that the Nixon regime is making every attempt to provoke the overthrow of the Allende Popular Unity government of Chile. This latest information was provided by anonymous Administration sources to *New York Times* Washington correspondent Tad Szulc.

While halting all economic aid to Chile, the U.S. has over the past year quietly continued to give about \$10,000,000 in military equipment to the Chilean army. This includes at least one C-130 transport plane, tanks, armored personnel carriers, and trucks. This surreptitious military aid is in conflict with Nixon's stated policy that no direct assistance would be given to countries failing to pay "adequate" compensation for nationalized U.S. properties.

Why this generosity to the military while, at the same time, the U.S. is refusing previously promised credits to help Chile finance food imports and economic projects?

There is a sinister precedent that should certainly help explain the move. Before President Sukarno of Indonesia was toppled in a military coup in 1965, his left-nationalist government was the constant target of U.S. propaganda and economic sabotage. But nevertheless the U.S. kept handing over millions of

dollars to the Indonesian generals. Nearly \$64,000,000 in military-grant aid from the United States passed through their hands in the years 1959-1965.

When questioned in 1967 about this by Senator Sparkman, Secretary McNamara said, "I think in retrospect that the aid was well-justified." "You think it paid dividends?" "I do, sir."

The "dividends" these two imperialists were discussing were the massacres that followed Sukarno's overthrow in which upwards of a million Indonesians were murdered by the army, and which paved the way for massive U.S. economic penetration of Indonesia.

Now, Szulc reports, certain diplomatic quarters in Washington are suggesting that Nixon's military aid to Chile is designed to court the Chilean armed forces in the hope that they will overthrow the Allende government.

(Chile this week announced that it will receive economic credits from the Soviet Union, which has also promised to help Chile in factory construction, aid to agriculture, fisheries, and mining. This came after the World Bank and the U.S. Export-Import Bank cut off all loans.)

The pressures that imperialism is bringing to bear on Chile are enormous. But it has been shown that even the smallest country can defend itself against imperialism if the people are armed physically and politically. The Cuban people have held off the U.S. in over 13 years of economic subversion, sabotage, and direct invasion — but Cuba has been the *only* Latin American country to do so.

The Chilean military can be a serious threat to the leftward developments in that country — only if the people are unarmed. For every gun that Wall Street gives to its class allies, Chile's allies and leaders must see to it that the workers and peasants have direct control over an equal, if not superior, arsenal.

Question of state power remains as

Left gains in Chile election

P. Meisner

March 16, 1973

The Allende government in Chile has survived the latest assault launched by the rightwing opposition in the March 4 parliamentary elections. The Popular Unity coalition (UP) gained 43.4 percent of the vote, a substantial improvement over Allende's 36.6 percent in 1970. This held the reactionary opposition's majority to 54.6 percent, far short of the two-thirds majority needed to impeach Allende. The UP now has 63 Deputies (9 more than in 1970) out of a total of 150, and 20 Senators (2 more than in 1970) out of a total of 50.

However, the UP is still a minority in the Chilean Congress. Consequently, the opposition is demanding that Allende roll back his socialist measures, claiming that the opposition's majority should be accepted

as a plebiscite on Allende's policies. This claim, of course, has no legal or constitutional basis whatsoever.

But many elements of the bourgeois opposition vowed that the challenge to Allende's government would not be limited to parliamentary means. This can only mean that a counter-revolutionary mobilization is again imminent, and it may be the most desperate and violent attempt yet, since Allende doesn't come up for reelection until 1976.

By any standard, the electoral results must be viewed as a victory for the UP. But while these results show that the Chilean left has gained more mass support, they cannot be divorced from the far-reaching effects of the 26-day shutdown by truck owners,

shopkeepers, businessmen, and professionals in October 1972. The shutdown (called a "strike" by its organizers) was aimed at either bringing down the Allende government altogether or making it completely capitulate to the demands of the Chilean capitalist class.

WORKERS INTERVENED

Food and fuel distribution was crippled temporarily, but the intervention of the workers taught them an historic lesson—that they can take the productive and distributive powers into their own hands without relying on the capitalist bosses. Progovernment truck drivers defied rightwing threats and delivered essential food and fuel. Workers' committees were organized to see that a sufficient number of shutdown stores be reopened.

Workers made sure to keep all factories operating and not shut down in sympathy with the truck owners. Student brigades helped in unloading and distributing food and grains. Many of the conditions for a proletarian seizure of power were present. But a revolutionary response was not to come from the UP, dominated by the revisionist Communist Party (PC) and the moderate wing of the Socialist Party (PS).

Instead of relying on the revolutionary initiative of the workers, students, and peasants to resolve the crisis, Allende turned back to the bourgeois status quo. All charges were dropped against the "strikers"; all vehicles and property seized were returned to their owners; state regulation of trucking was dropped; and the wholesalers' combine (CODINA) was returned to private ownership.

Allende also passed a gun-control law demanded by the rightwing opposition parties to prevent any armed mobilization organized by the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), a critical sup-

porter of the UP government. The law gave the capitalist military all legal control of arms in Chile.

But the most disastrous capitulation was the cabinet shakeup which brought three generals from the armed forces into key cabinet posts, including the powerful position of Minister of the Interior. The PC called it a "deft maneuver," but PS leader, Senator Carlos Altamirano, said it was "a victory for the reactionaries." And just a few weeks ago, General Viaux's 20-year prison sentence was reduced to two years, allowing the fascist general to be immediately released. Viaux had been convicted for his role in an attempted coup against the Allende government in 1970, which failed, but led to the assassination of the head of the Armed Forces, General Rene Schneider.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS

The October crisis was both a political and economic crisis. In the first year of Allende's administration, the Chilean bourgeoisie seemed to quietly accept the new government, despite 30 percent wage increases granted to most workers and the redistribution of much land to poor peasants.

But in 1972, Chilean capitalists began to withdraw a lot of their invested capital from many businesses and consciously started to sabotage the economy, so as to discredit the radical Allende government. Black markets were organized by the same businessmen—many press photos revealed basements of bourgeois homes stocked with goods in heavy demand.

The Chilean reactionaries' attack on the economy was also aided by Washington's and Wall Street's economic blockade of Chile. The giant U.S. Kennecott Copper corporation had shipments of Chilean

copper seized in France on fraudulent claims of compensation. The U.S. also prevented Chile from getting any new loans from the U.S.-dominated World Bank. Wall Street manipulated copper prices downward (by 20 percent) on the world market, thereby drastically reducing Chile's export income. This combined powerful economic blockade and sabotage, however, have not been able to topple the UP government.

WHICH ROAD FOR CHILE?

Even after these elections, the fundamental question for the Chilean proletariat still remains: which road, revolution or counter-revolution? The elections have only perpetuated a stalemate in the class struggle in Chile. They have not resolved the question as to which class and social system will rule Chile. And the Chilean left is seriously divided at this very moment on how socialism can triumph in Chile before the bourgeois counter-revolution can bring on fascist rule.

The Chilean PC and the moderate wing of the PS, led by Allende, are still dominant in the UP government and are pursuing a policy of "peaceful transition to socialism," relying on the bourgeois army to protect the UP government. The PC has gone even further to the right by proposing an alliance between the UP and the Christian Democratic Party, the stronger and more moderate of the two main capitalist parties.

The PC also proposed a bill that would return many nationalized properties to private hands, thus asking the UP to accommodate itself still further to the Chilean bourgeoisie. Working class reaction was immediate and powerful. Interfactory committees staged huge marches and demanded that the worker-run industries be left intact. Combined with pressure from the leftwing of the PS and other parties of the

UP, the workers defeated the pro-restoration PC bill. PS leader Altamirano stated:

"Returning the industries to former owners would represent a giant step backwards, both in terms of the material bases necessary for socialism and in terms of worker mobilization."

One of the most significant errors committed by the UP government was not to hold a referendum calling for the abolition of the bourgeois Congress and for replacing it with a People's Assembly. Allende admitted this political error at a factory visit with workers in Santiago on January 18. Allende said that the referendum would certainly have won, at a time when the government was in the midst of economic successes.

ROLE OF MIR

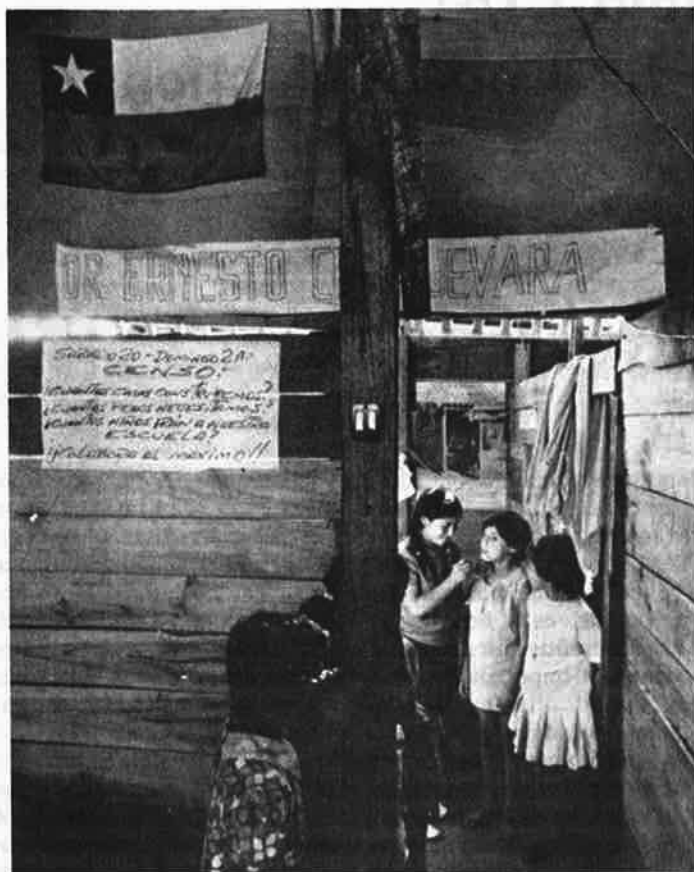
Perhaps the biggest barricade to the capitalist counter-revolution is the militant activities of the MIR. The MIR gave critical support to UP candidates, but has all along, since Allende's election, warned that the Chilean bourgeoisie will never yield peacefully. The MIR believes in the inevitable armed struggle of Chile's workers and peasants, not only to win the socialist revolution, but even to save the present Allende regime. Back in 1970, the MIR called for a People's Assembly. They have also advocated the retention of all forms of organization developed by Chilean workers and peasants during the October crisis, which, as has been said, were dismantled by Allende.

The MIR organized the Revolutionary Peasant Movement (MCR) in the countryside during the Frei regime. Since Allende's election in 1970, the MCR has seized land for landless peasants and homeless squatters, moving far beyond the legal bourgeois limits observed by the UP government. The MCR has occupied more than 50 farms covering some 50,000 acres of

land. Consequently, many of the super-oppressed Mapuche Indians have also joined the MCR. The MIR is very strong in the student movement as well, and it has made significant inroads into the labor movement by winning several union elections.

Along with the leftwing of the PS (ac-

cused by the revisionist PC of "courting the MIR") and two other parties in the UP, the MIR constitutes a real revolutionary threat to capitalist and imperialist reaction—while Allende and the Chilean Communist Party must eventually decide on whether to continue to rely on Chile's capitalist armed forces or turn to the revolutionary masses.



The "Che Guevara" health center in New Havana expressed both the Chilean people's hopes for socialist reconstruction and their profound poverty.

Testimony uncovers a case study in imperialism

ITT told CIA: Let's fix Chile's elections!

Deirdre Griswold

March 30, 1973

Imperialism is a big and often misused word. Whole books have been written to explain what it means.

Over the last few weeks, the testimony of some high government officials and top corporation executives before a congressional subcommittee has helped flesh out the concept of imperialism—what it is and what it does.

As the story unfolded of how ITT tried to prevent a leftist government from taking office in Chile in 1971, it became startlingly clear once again how immediate and direct are the methods by which the huge corporations and banks plot the foreign policy of the U.S. government—and then call in the appropriate agencies to carry it out.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been hearing the testimony of ITT officials—like Chairman Harold S. Geneen, Director John A. McCone, and Vice President William R. Merriam—as well as the stories of CIA agents and the former U.S. Ambassador to Chile. (These roles tend to get mixed up, as in the case of McCone, a present director of ITT who used to be the director of the CIA!)

ITT was nationalized by the Chilean government after the Popular Unity Coalition, headed by Salvador Allende, took office. Since Allende had promised the people that he would nationalize the U.S. firms that had been sucking out Chile's wealth, the company knew what to expect

and plotted ahead of time to keep a right-wing, pro-U.S. government in office.

"HELLO, CIA? THIS IS ITT"

So what did the ITT do? It called up the CIA—yes, just like that—and the two outfits got together to figure out how they could sabotage the election. According to Merriam, there must have been 25 meetings with the CIA over a period of several months and a couple of visits by Merriam himself to the State Department as well as to Kissinger.

The result was a program of economic pressures and threats on the Chilean economy, an expenditure of \$400,000 in Chile to try to swing the election the way the U.S. corporations wanted it, and efforts to line up the Chilean military—in case all else failed.

These attempts to prevent the nationalization of U.S. properties in Chile did fail. ITT, Kennecott Copper, and Anaconda Copper were taken over by the Popular Unity government. (Chile has also shown that while it is willing to pay compensation for the property, it will only pay the amount at which these facilities were evaluated for tax purposes, which was very low, and from that sum must be deducted the excess profits made in Chile over what these companies made from their U.S. properties during the same period. Needless to say, this leaves a balance sheet in which Chile owes these parasites just about nothing.)

The remarkable thing about the testimony now coming out on these machinations is not that imperialism pulls such dirty tricks. It has already been admitted more or less openly that the oil companies worked with the CIA to overthrow the progressive Mossadegh government in Iran in 1953, that the sugar interests got Ellsworth Bunker appointed special assistant to the president to handle the in-

vasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965, and so on.

What deserves attention is that a rupture within the ruling class is being aired now, so soon after the event. Some of the testimony concerned a "deal" which ITT allegedly offered the Allende government, in which ITT would receive full compensation after being nationalized, thereby supposedly winning over "world public opinion." And then Chile could expropriate Kennecott and Anaconda, presumably without U.S. government interference.

What this really meant was that ITT, which has been very close to Nixon, thought it would offer Chile a hands-off promise by the U.S. government, as long as ITT's interests were covered—even if this meant screwing other U.S. corporations. Chile didn't fall for this.

ITT'S EXPLOSIVE GROWTH

ITT grew from a profit base of \$30 million a year to \$406 million in the years 1960-1971, largely through acquisitions. Today it is the ninth largest U.S. corporation.

Such phenomenal growth, and the use of its political connections at the expense of other financial groupings, has obviously angered and alarmed other powerful sections of the imperialist ruling class. Something similar to the Chile venture happened on a domestic scale when ITT contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Nixon campaign, in return for a settlement with the Justice Department of its antitrust suits.

It is one function of the capitalist government to arbitrate between different groupings and interests within the ruling class. They have learned through long experience that if one faction is allowed to benefit too much at the expense of the others, the resulting instability can be

disastrous to the existence of the capitalist class as a whole.

The present congressional investigations by the Foreign Relations Committee on the Chile events and by a House subcommittee on ITT's bribery of the Nixon administration so it could continue to be a "trust"—that is, continue to gobble up other companies through mergers and acquisitions—reflect these fears of the

ruling class itself.

But, as in any crisis of the system, when these thieves fall out, the working class can begin to come into its own. Right now, this means that we can get a glimpse at the inner workings of the system. And while they talk about how to patch it up, our class must study the weaknesses in order to uproot capitalism completely.

Chile urgently needs workers' militia

Deirdre Griswold

July 13, 1973

Sections of the Chilean Army that for so long had been regarded as "apolitical" rebelled against the leftist government of President Allende on June 29, but were quickly defeated by loyalist forces.

This attempted coup, although it did not succeed, explodes many myths about Chilean "exceptionalism" and raises more sharply the immediate task of arming the workers and peasants in defense of the revolution.

Chile's long history as a bourgeois democratic regime with a stable parliament has been cited as evidence that Chile need not go through the kind of violent struggle to crush the state machinery that has characterized all previous social revolutions. Despite Lenin's teachings on the state — that it basically consists of bodies of armed men and its ultimate func-

tion is to carry out organized violence on behalf of the ruling class—the Chilean Communist Party has not advocated a struggle to arm the oppressed masses, but instead has relied on the supposed loyalty of the army and police to the constitutional government to combat counter-revolutionary pressures.

The working masses themselves, however, are increasingly demanding arms as the pressure from the right grows. This should be the item with first priority on Allende's agenda, yet neither the President nor the radical parties which make up the Popular Unity coalition appears to be taking this question seriously.

Allende's reaction to the coup, on the contrary, was to invite into the cabinet elements in the military who had remained loyal. They refused. Thus the effect of the coup attempt, while it did not succeed in

overthrowing the government, has been to push Allende further into the arms of the bourgeois military, whose ultimate loyalty will be to the class that has nurtured and trained them.

While every historical development has its own unique features, there are many ominous similarities between the situation now developing in Chile and the position of Sukarno in Indonesia prior to the 1965 coup which resulted in the decimation of all leftist and progressive organizations in a horrible bloodbath.

In Indonesia, as in Chile today, there had been a steady leftward development, with workers seizing some factories and the peasants moving to take the land. In the background, however, encouraging and financing a group of rightwing plotters was U.S. imperialism.

The masses in Indonesia, which had the largest Communist Party in the world outside the socialist countries, were militant but unarmed. Sukarno finally announced in the summer of 1965 that he intended to form a people's militia with help from People's China. But his intentions were never carried out. The military struck on October 1 and seized power with little organized resistance.

FASCISTS CALL FOR "ANOTHER JAKARTA"

While the rightwing in Chile today has met with a defeat, there is no doubt as to its intentions. The Fatherland and Freedom movement openly calls for a military government, and recently painted the slogan "Another Jakarta for sure" on many walls in Chile's capital—a reference to the Indonesian massacres.

The long-run strategy of the reaction in Chile has been to cripple the economy and exhaust the masses. This has led to such paradoxical results as the highly conservative newspaper *El Mercurio* heaping

lavish praise on the striking copper miners. Anyone familiar with the back-to-work tone adopted by even the most liberal capitalist papers in the U.S. toward every major strike knows how phony this sounds.

The reason for such rightwing backing of the strike is not, of course, sympathy for the miners' grievances (their wages have been deeply eroded by inflation) but the hope that by crippling such a vital element of the economy they'll be able to bring down the Popular Unity coalition.

The workers voted to go back to work two days after the attempted coup. But as long as the bourgeoisie continues to control vital sections of the economy and, even more important, as long as the old state mechanism remains, whatever progressive measures the Allende regime takes will be eroded by the counterrevolutionary sabotage.

WHICH EXAMPLE WILL CHILE FOLLOW?

There are many examples of progressive, anti-imperialist governments in Latin America that have been overthrown in the last twenty years by a combination of domestic and U.S. fascists: Brazil, Santo Domingo, Guatemala, Bolivia, Argentina are but a few.

But there is another example in which the people decisively ousted imperialism and rooted out the repressive capitalist regime. That was in Cuba, and the armed struggle that accomplished the revolution began exactly 20 years ago in the attack on the Moncada garrison.

Chile is not Cuba, and there are many important differences which must be reflected in the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary movement. But the most basic lessons of the Cuban Revolution—and of every socialist revolution—show that the people must be armed to withstand the counterrevolutionary attacks that are sure to come.

Rightwing launches new offensive in Chile

P. Meisner

August 3, 1973

AUGUST 1—The events in Chile during the last month, and even in the last few days, show that the Chilean bourgeoisie (aided by U.S. imperialism) is readying its plans for a full-scale, violent counter-revolution.

The Chilean capitalist class has already scrapped much of Chile's constitutional legality. On June 29, a small section of the Chilean army rebelled against the Allende government. Only after the attempted coup failed did the so-called moderate bourgeois Christian Democratic Party call it a coup plotted by "extremist elements" (that is, the extreme right).

There was no doubt in anyone's mind, however, that the Christian Democrats at least quietly supported the attempt, for had it been successful, the Christian Democrats

would surely have been the dominant force in any new rightwing government.

But the attempted coup is obviously only the beginning of the counterrevolutionary offensive. On July 26, the National Truck Owners' Confederation declared a nationwide shutdown, immobilizing some 70,000 trucks throughout Chile. The last truck shutdown, in October 1972, resulted in the first big crisis and challenge for the Allende government, but the timing of the present shutdown was more carefully coordinated with other rightwing mobilizations.

The day following the truck owners' lockout, fascist gunmen assassinated Allende's chief military aide. The Allende government was shaken and immediately responded with a conciliatory appeal to the

Christian Democrats, the largest of the Chilean capitalist parties, rather than with a call to the Chilean masses for a revolutionary response.

The scheduled talks (still taking place as of this writing) between Allende and the Christian Democrats are the culmination of the political line advanced for some time now by the Chilean Communist Party (PC). The PC leadership called for a class reconciliation policy during last October's crisis (that is, of inviting the Christian Democrats into the Allende government).

At that time, Allende relied on the capitalist military, as he is now doing again, to protect the government, rather than on the armed and political might of Chile's workers and peasants.

WORKERS MOBILIZED

In last October's crisis, and again at the present time (and apparently whenever the right launches a major attack against the Popular Unity government), the workers have seized control of dozens and dozens of factories. Also vigilance committees have been organized in working class communities against rightwing attacks. The government has returned some of these factories to their private owners, but many are still in the hands of the workers.

Armed defense of the seized factories is spreading throughout Chile, indicating that the Chilean workers want a genuine socialist revolution and are striving to defend the gains already achieved under the Allende regime.

The crucial question now is: How long can the workers maintain control of any factories without organizing armed workers' militias that can defend them not

only against the fascist goons hired by the bosses, but against the more formidable power of the armed forces?

In answering this life-and-death question, Allende shows how he may be leading the Chilean proletariat to disaster. Allende said recently:

"We must organize ourselves and create popular power, but not power that is independent of the government, which is the workers fundamental lever to advance the revolutionary process."

"RELY ON THE PEOPLE"

Millions of Chilean workers and peasants know in their bones that they must be independently armed and organized if they are to win socialism in Chile. One worker was quoted in the Chilean press, just after the abortive July 29 coup, as saying:

"We support the government, of course, but we demand that it take the offensive, relying on the people, not the military."

The Popular Unity government has committed itself to a policy of "avoid civil war at all costs." But the class battle lines are being clearly formed now and point to an imminent and major class confrontation. The issue in Chile is no longer whether a socialist "government" (in a capitalist state) can bring about socialism peacefully.

That road has already been closed by Chilean capitalism and U.S. imperialism—as it has been in every capitalist country around the globe.

The issue now is whether there is still time for the Chilean working class and peasantry to mobilize against the rightwing onslaught. There is no longer any middle ground for Allende—there is only one of two roads open for Chile now: revolution or counterrevolution.

MIR calls for counter-offensive in Chile

August 24, 1973

Below are excerpts from an interview with Miguel Enriquez, the 29-year-old Secretary General of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). It was published in the July 27 issue of Chile Hoy (Chile Today), an independent leftwing Chilean weekly. The translation from the Spanish was prepared by Workers World.

Miguel Enriquez: The coup adventure of the military grouping of the PN (National Party), aborted on Friday, June 29, sparked a response which witnessed an enormous strength on the part of the working class and the people, and which also expressed itself in the attitude of lower echelon officers, rank-and-file troops, and anti-coup upper echelon officers of the Armed Forces (FFAA). This made the openly pro-coup elements within the PN, the PDC (Christian Democratic Party), and the FFAA retreat

and subordinate themselves to the sectors that, under the Frei leadership, initiated a different tactic: the tactic of the status quo. The tactic of the military status quo and of political and institutional blackmail against the (Allende) government is aimed at confusing, dividing, and demoralizing the working class and its vanguard. The military intends to gradually reinforce the content of the status quo, to force the government into a capitulation that will rehabilitate certain old structures, eventually to destroy that government, and to crush and repress the workers and the left.

These reactionary politics remove the prospect of a coup as an accomplished fact in the eyes of the masses and the left, making it appear that the class of the bosses is merely making political demands, thereby confusing and disarming sections of

the left.

Thus, while on one hand the masses are being radicalized and significant sections of the left are taking a more radical political line resisting the capitulation, on the other hand conditions are being created for other sectors—those that vacillate and the recalcitrant reformists—to attempt once again the policy of class conciliation. Today, under the banners of “normalization” of production and country, of “dialogue” and minimum consensus, the proponents of implementing a policy of class conciliation as a political solution to the current situation intend to create conditions for a dialogue. They are proposing the return of the large factories seized by the workers, which would allow repressive measures against workers who are organized into industrial cordons and commando groups and would allow the police to dispossess seized factories, thus opening up charges against revolutionary organizations and provoking repression against them. But, at the same time, the working class, the people, and the most radical elements of the left continue to fight for the tactic of the counter-offensive, planning a common action to carry out in practice.

Chile Hoy: But according to your analysis of this critical juncture, can there be another solution?

M.E.: The recalcitrant reformists, which include the centrists, base their political positions on two premises: they believe that even if the situation is “difficult,” it will tend to “normalize” itself, and second, that there is no other force strong enough to organize a counter-offensive. In spite of these premises, false in every way, they conclude that the fundamental task is to win time, take a step backwards so that later we can take two steps forward, that is, make a truce, or breather.

In reality, the civilian and military elements that want a coup have not been dispersed; on the contrary, they are openly strengthening themselves with absolute impunity. The tactic of the status quo and

political blackmail is already developing, is resulting in unnecessary concessions to the ruling classes, and is strengthening their positions. The working class and the people, although in the last week they have continued to raise to a higher level the tactic of the counter-offensive, have also suffered significant setbacks as a consequence of the politics of “truce” or “breather” which, since the 29th has pushed the reformist and vacillating sections of the government and the UP (Popular Unity coalition) into disposessions, police searches, and the return of seized factories. The situation is much more critical than in all previous crises, in terms of the measures taken by the ruling class. This time, massive social and political confrontation in the streets and even within the jails are taking place. Two distinct social and political blocks have established themselves and taken their positions, threatening and preparing for each other. It is not possible to pretend to return to the previous “stability.” . . . The only tactic that can allow the building of progressive forces consists of developing, right now, a powerful revolutionary and popular counter-offensive. A delaying tactic which can gain time can be correct, but only in certain situations and only if it doesn't lead to the weakening of our own forces—and this is not the kind of situation that exists now.

The correlation of forces that developed immediately after the abortive coup is the best we have had in the last few years. The correlation of forces is still in our favor, and it is possible, if the correct tactic is used, to strengthen our forces still more and at a rapid pace. Never before has mass activity and the radicalization of the working class developed as it has in the last few weeks. . . . The weaknesses of the working class and the people do not originate from the present correlation of forces because this correlation is favorable. They developed from the defensist and vacillating tactics that weaken the people: trying to “gain time” ends up by giving time to the bosses to

organize themselves, strengthen themselves, so that the popular offensive is dropped, and the government isolated and forced to capitulate and to turn against the working class and the people.

Ch.H.: You have emphasized the organizing of communal commandos. What role do you see for these mass organizations?

M.E.: It has been two years since we first pushed for the development of certain forms of mass organization, which in challenging the bourgeois order would create embryonic forms of dual power—the only path which will allow the growing revolutionary forces to reach their full potential. At the beginning this did not take concrete form on a mass level. But, at the end of 1972 in face of the bosses' aggressions, the mass movement and large segments of the left were conscious of the necessity to organize their own power, and they organized it from within the rank-and-file, creating the forms now known as Popular Power.

We conceived these organizations of Popular Power as being basically organized as the communal commandos. The commandos try to organically unite the people—to unite the working class with the rest of the exploited classes, so that in this way the working class can effectively exercise its role as vanguard and provide leadership in the life of the people, among the squatters, students and peasants.

In creating Popular Power, two false positions have appeared. There are those who have either explicitly or implicitly opposed Popular Power—with a sectarian attitude or with the intention of maintaining bureaucratic hegemony or monolithism in the mass movement. They have strengthened their opposition to the communal commandos, maintaining that the latter create "parallel syndicalist power" and insisting that the CUT (Trade Union Confederation) is sufficient for organizing and representing the interests of the people. (The CUT has not chosen to organize an

effective national center for communal organizations; the CUT, in its objectives, its nature, and its structure, does not organize squatters, peasants, or students).

The other false position has, in practice, consisted of restraining the development of Popular Power and the development of the industrial cordons. It only approves of the existing levels of working class organization and refuses to incorporate other oppressed strata of the population. This tactic keeps the people divided and backward, and makes it more difficult to unite them.

Ch.H.: What is your opinion of the dialogue that is opening up with the Christian Democrats?

M.E.: Under the guise of a dialogue designed to bring peace to the country, those pushing it are in reality proposing that workers, although they have sufficient strength, give up the realization of their goals. Just recently, they have established the conditions for this dialogue. They have returned seized factories, tolerated police dispossessions of certain seized factories, issued decrees to suppress street demonstrations of workers; they insisted that a dialogue be held with the bosses before holding a dialogue with the workers at the Vicuna MacKenna cordon, preferring to order its repression; they have slandered the MIR in the local administrations of Iquique and Concepcion, maliciously attacking the leaders of the Communist Youth of the MIR. In reality, this dialogue is aimed at a minimum consensus, hiding a tremendous capitulation to the demands of the ruling classes. The Christian Democratic Party is a bourgeois and reactionary party. A dialogue with its leadership only disarms the workers. If this capitulation materializes, its consequences will be extremely grave: it will divide the left, the working class, and the people—and, moreover, the reactionary offensive will not be paralyzed, but will have achieved its tactical objective of weakening and dividing the camp of the workers. It will have

regained new strength and will come down on the workers and the government with all the reactionary violence of the pro-coup forces.

But if the dialogue were for the purpose of stalling for time in order to paralyze the reactionary offensive, then it could succeed in launching a tremendous revolutionary and popular counter-offensive that would paralyze the pro-coup forces and win over

the Christian Democratic workers. And without surrendering the objectives of the working class and the people, it would allow the masses to act, to struggle, and to follow the revolutionary program, to fight for the democratization of the armed forces, and develop and strengthen popular power. All these conditions would then lead to new conditions necessary for putting a true workers' government into power.

Editorial

The eleventh hour in Chile

August 24, 1973

The forces of counterrevolution in Chile are growing stronger by the hour. Not so secretly egged on and supported by the U.S. government through the CIA and of course ITT, they are coming out more and more openly and bidding for political supremacy.

First demanding new elections (and fortunately not getting them), then forcing President Allende to accept the top militarists of the country into his cabinet, they are still not satisfied.

Eduardo Frei Montalva, ex-president of Chile and leader of the reactionary Christian Democratic opposition, is demanding that the Cabinet generals be given "the necessary powers" to restore capitalist order completely and liquidate the remains of the socialist measures instituted by the beleaguered Allende regime.

Meanwhile, the so-called "strike" of truck owners has tied up the transportation of the whole country for a month. And now the shopkeepers, physicians, airline pilots, engineers, and technical and professional organizations are going on "strike" too.

Furthermore, on August 21, hundreds of fascist youths took to the streets and dared to demonstrate outside the national headquarters of the Communist Party and get into a street fight with the representatives of the majority of the working class!

In this situation, the Chilean CP is calling upon the workers to "be vigilant" rather than to accept the evidence of their already vigilant eyes.

They are exposing foreign conspiracies at a time the workers are all too well aware of the conspiracies and want to know what to

do to defeat them.

They are allowing fascists and counter-revolutionaries to have the streets, when it is no longer a question of exposing them, but of kicking them off the streets.

No U.S. capitalist government would ever allow a workers' strike to tie up the country if it had the slightest power to prevent it. Aside from wanting to destroy labor's power, the capitalist government is also determined to keep its economy going.

Yet Allende's government has allowed a relatively small group of bourgeois and petty bourgeois truck owners, and now doctors, engineers, etc., to tie up the country much more effectively than U.S. transport workers have ever done. (Obviously he could end the "strike" by expropriating the trucks and putting real workers to work driving them.)

That was what Karl Marx had in mind

when he said over a hundred years ago that to get socialism it was necessary to remove the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

So the eleventh hour has now struck for Chile. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat it must inevitably go to the unrestrained brutal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This would mean terrible reprisals against the workers.

The last word, of course, has not been said, even now. The Chilean workers can yet stop these foul enemies of humanity in their tracks. They are ready, willing, and able to defeat the machinations of U.S. imperialism.

But to do so they need a resolute leadership and a program for unleashing their own class power and crushing the class power of the U.S.-backed counterrevolution.





Opposite page: New York City, December 4, 1972, during Allende's visit to UN.
This page: September 15, 1973.



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Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite!

Join us in the fight for socialism!

Workers World Party is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party inside the belly of the imperialist beast. We are a multinational, multigenerational and multigendered organization that not only aims to abolish capitalism, but to build a socialist society because it's the only way forward!

Capitalism and imperialism threaten the peoples of the world and the planet itself in the neverending quest for ever-greater profits.

Capitalism means war and austerity, racism and repression, attacks on immigrants, misogyny, LGBTQ2+ oppression and mistreatment of people with disabilities. It means joblessness, increasing homelessness and impoverishment and lack of hope for the future. No social problems can be solved under capitalism.

The U.S. is the richest country in the world, yet no one has a guaranteed right to shelter, food, water, health care, education or anything else—unless they can pay for it. Wages are lower than ever, and youth are saddled with seemingly insurmountable student debt, if they even make it to college. Black, Brown

and Indigenous youth and trans people are gunned down by cops and bigots on a regular basis.

The ruthless ruling class today seeks to wipe out decades of gains and benefits won by hard-fought struggles by people's movements. The super-rich and their political representatives have intensified their attacks on the multinational, multigender and multigenerational working class. It is time to point the blame at—and challenge—the capitalist system.

WWP fights for socialism because the working class produces all wealth in society, and this wealth should remain in their hands, not be stolen in the form of capitalist profits. The wealth workers create should be socially owned and its distribution planned to satisfy and guarantee basic human needs.

Since 1959, Workers World Party has been out in the streets defending the workers and oppressed here and worldwide. If you're interested in Marxism, socialism and fighting for a socialist future, please contact a WWP branch near you. □

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Chile 1970-1973

The articles from Workers World newspaper that appear in this pamphlet, first published in 1973, are reprinted without omissions or additions, and carry their original headlines. They begin chronologically with the first article to appear in WW after the election victory of the Popular Unity coalition led by Salvador Allende in 1970, and end with a collection of articles from the first issue of the paper to come out after the fascist takeover. They are arranged in this pamphlet, however, with the postcoup articles first.

Some appeared as editorials in our paper, and are so designated. However, nearly all are of an editorial or polemical character; that is, they argue a viewpoint and a political approach to the events as they unfolded in Chile that reflect the world outlook of Workers World Party.

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