

## Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

# Towards a new betrayal of L. Corvalan against the Chilean people

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The leaders of the pro-Soviet "Communist" Party of Chile, that is to say, Corvalan and his people, are preparing a new betrayal against the Chilean people. They have fully bowed to the manoeuvres being carried out under the cloak by the most reactionary and pro-Yankee sectors of Christian Democracy (DC), that is to say, Frei [ 1 ] and his clique, to facilitate the Fascist Military Junta "the painless birth" of an alternative government, which leaves the repressive forces intact and saves them from popular punishment.



For the new government of the United States, the Chilean military dictatorship is a thorn in the side. The assassination of tens of thousands of people, the most brutal torture, the imprisonment, disappearance and exile of hundreds of thousands of Chileans, have been known and condemned worldwide.

Carter, who wants to be a defender of human rights, can hardly defend the government of Pinochet and his cronies. On the other hand - and this is most important - the fascist military junta, in trying to serve the interests of the Yankee

and national monopolies, as well as those of the landowners, has created in Chile the most acute economic crisis of the whole nation's history.

Not only did it deliver most of the businesses that were in the hands of the state to national and foreign capital (quite a few of them before the Allende government), but in addition, it reduced in the most drastic way and brutal living standards of workers and has thrown nearly a quarter of the country's workforce out of work.

All this led to the chain bankruptcy of small, medium and now large commercial, industrial and financial companies, to the benefit of an outrageous concentration of capital in the hands of the most voracious monopolies.

As a result, in addition to the international isolation of the Junta, there is growing internal isolation and increasing rejection, not only from the persecuted sectors (which are legion), but also from large sectors of the middle strata. who suffer from the political and economic dictatorship of big capital. Because of this and despite the bloody repressive measures, the resistance and the desire to overthrow the Junta increase every day.

Not only are they increasing in people's consciousness and in the increasingly open protests, but above all, in the proliferation of clandestine organizations and in the launching of ever more numerous struggles against the government. There are therefore very favourable objective and subjective conditions to give impetus to multiple mass battles which can be crowned by the overthrow of the Junta, by crushing its repressive apparatus.

Yankee imperialism, as well as their fervent servants in Chile, Frei and his acolytes, and even certain sectors of the national monopolists who are favoured directly by the Junta, begin to see this danger.

The acute economic crisis, massive unemployment, brutal overexploitation of workers, all this combined with fierce repression and international isolation, constitute an explosive mixture with incalculable consequences.

How long will they be able to prevent the explosion of hatred they have accumulated, with a regime in which demagoguery itself hardly counts anymore and whose only support remains repression? In fact, the problem today for the Military Junta, which has gone beyond the limits in its genocidal brutality and in

its role as the most ruthless servant of exploitation, is how to change its image and balance repression with demagoguery, without unleashing people's hatred against their executioners.

The high military commands, the monopoly sectors, as well as imperialism and their servants, are afraid that it is too late and they are right, because no one knows better than they what they have done against the people and even against certain sectors which supported the coup.

It is under these conditions that Corvalan and other leaders of the false "Communist" Party, offer their services once again - and without conditions - to save the bourgeois regime, and in particular the repressive armed forces that support it.

Consequential with themselves, they continued after the coup (as did the whole Popular Unity government) to spread confidence and praise the bourgeois armed forces, presenting the events of 1973 as not being the work of only a small handful of "treacherous generals", thus stimulating the manoeuvres intended to save imperialist and reactionary domination, as well as the repressive forces, made by a well-known agent of the Yankees (and recognized as such by the Senate American and influential newspapers in the USA), Eduardo Frei; they sabotage and even openly condemn any underground organization of the resistance intended to overthrow the Junta, dragging behind them their lifelong friends who are in the leadership of the Socialist Party and other forces of the ex-UP,

What are the real reasons for this openly reactionary attitude of the leaders of the "CP"? Are these simply, as some posthumous critics of the Allende government think, mere "ideological errors", "anti-Marxist deviations" from these leaders?

This would be a very generous interpretation towards them which would only promote the illusion that some have had for years, an illusion which claims that it is possible to convince them so that they rectify their "opportunism".

The truth is that the political project of the leadership of P "C" has always been that of installing a new operating system in Chile, under the mask of socialism. In other words, state monopoly capitalism, in which a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, whether in alliance or replacing the old exploiters, takes control of power and government. In short, a system similar to that which we arrived at, by degeneration of socialism, in countries like Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and

other nations which adhere to the Warsaw Pact, with the dependence which follows vis -to Russian social-imperialism.

Obviously, the fact of changing one operating system by another, the fact of changing the exclusive domination of one of the superpowers by the increasing penetration and domination of the other, requires above all and above all, to curb any mobilization revolutionary of the people, any danger that they could crush their enemies and really conquer power.

To change one system of exploitation by another, one imperialist domination by another, it is essential to maintain and inherit the laws and fundamental institutions of the bourgeois state, and in particular the bulk of the reactionary armed forces. Only the stability of the pillars of the current operating system, allows its passage to another, without the people can block the road to this sinister political scam.

In fact, these reactionary projects of the leaders of P "C", inspired by the leaders of Russian social-imperialism, determined all the strategy and tactics ("incomprehensible" for many), which they applied before the government Allende and during the three years during which he governed.

Currently, this strategy and this tactic, have not suffered great changes. Through them, the revisionists wanted to show that it was possible to achieve "socialism" without destroying the bourgeois state and by reforming only its laws and its institutions.

They endeavoured to spread confidence in the reactionary armed forces which already before Frei's election in 1964, were actively preparing a coup, faced with the only possibility of the triumph of Popular Unity. This strategy and this tactic supposed to curb any combative struggle of the masses - we Chileans have witnessed the efforts they made to achieve it - and, in particular, all their intention to arm themselves, as well as an implacable battle against the political tendencies which advocated raising the level of struggles and arming the people.

To achieve all this, they used, and especially during the Allende government, lies, intrigue, infiltration, divisionism and even repression when it was possible for them to use it. It was this strategy and this tactic that made it possible that when there was no longer any doubt that reaction and imperialism were preparing a coup, the leadership of P "C" played all its cards to obtain capitulation.

anticipation of the Chilean people against the putschists, in order to create the conditions for the even more shameful capitulation that they put forward today, when the ferocious crimes that everyone knows have already been committed against our people.

It is because of this strategy and this tactic that they praised the bourgeois armed forces until the very day of the putsch, when they were actively preparing it; it is because of them that they proposed and approved with their votes in Parliament, the Law on the Control of Arms, which enabled the putschist soldiers to prepare their seditious action by disarming and intimidating the workers; it is because of them that they launched, in the last months of the Allende government, the slogan demobilizing: "no to the civil war", which tied hands with the people, but which left them free to the military putschists; it was because of them that they forced the small number of militants of their party who had obtained some weapons to surrender them a few weeks before the coup; it's because of them, finally, [ 2 ] , Jorge Godoy, made an appeal to the people, once the putsch was over, by radio and television, so that they would not offer resistance.

How can there be after these facts and a multitude of others who prove the betrayal of the interests of the people by these communists, people who can trust them and who do not yet discover the reactionary and antipopular project which inspires this policy?

How can there be anyone who doubts that they will still do everything to prevent any resistance and any policy that wants the overthrow of the Junta and that they continue to prevent popular mobilization to save the repressive apparatus and the bourgeois state?

There is, however, in addition to the objective of curbing popular struggles and preserving the bourgeois state, another aspect of the strategy of the leaders of the P "C", which helps to clarify their actions of yesterday and today. Such leaders slavishly obey, as they have shown on countless occasions, the global strategy of the leaders of Russian social-imperialism in its struggle against the other superpower for world domination and exploitation.

Like any dominant bourgeoisie or who aspires to be one, they can claim to conquer power only by counting on the support of a great imperialist power.

However, the strategy of Russian social-imperialism in its dispute for world hegemony with American imperialism, does not take the same form according to the various zones of the world.

Although in Africa and in certain regions of the East they can contest this hegemony by promoting pro-Soviet coups and even by intervening directly (as in Sudan or in Angola), in regions where North American domination exercise with great force as in Europe or Latin America, they are not willing to openly challenge Yankee imperialism.

The establishment in Europe or in Latin America of regimes similar to those of the Warsaw Pact, since it is necessary for that to oppose any popular mobilization and to preserve the bourgeois state, would require, faced with the vigorous intervention of the Yankee imperialism to prevent regimes of this kind (Chile is an example of this), an open intervention of Russian social-imperialism, which it is not in a condition to risk today.

Therefore, Russian social-imperialism employs a triple strategy: strict control of the countries already subject to its domination and which are close to its borders (case of Czechoslovakia); a more open challenge in the USA in areas where its domination is not consolidated; and a strategy of infiltration into government and power, in alliance with pro-Yankee populist [reformist] political sectors in Europe and Latin America, that is to say the "historic compromise".

In this way, while he maintains a relatively solid domination in his sphere of influence, he bites on the Yankee influence in certain areas and tries to share the domination with this imperialism in Europe and in Latin America, weakening also in this way its influence and advancing step by step towards the model of state capitalism.

It goes without saying that according to the strategy of the "historic compromise" widely advocated by the leaders of the Chilean P "C", the triumph of a left coalition in opposition to the DC, seriously worried the Soviet leaders who, very clearly, did not commit themselves, neither on the economic field nor even less military, to defend it. Even more, they guaranteed to the Secretary of State of the USA, William Rogers, that they would not do it (see the Report of the North American Senate on the intervention of the CIA in Chile).

The same Corvalan admitted after being released because of the shameful bargaining between fascism and social-fascism, that it is since the 60s that they advocate in Chile the "historic compromise"

In the service of this joint exploitation pact of Chile, they put their strategy of curbing the struggle of the masses and preserving the bourgeois state, as well as various electoral style pressures, as well as the reforms made during the government Allende or the renewed offers to negotiate these reforms according to the pact with the DC.

Faced with the furious offensive of the reactionary forces to overthrow the Allende government, faced with their systematic sabotage of production and distribution, they slowed down the struggle of the masses which could have blocked the road to these manoeuvres and by taking advantage of the strangulation As the government's growing economy, they tried, with a persistence in favour of a better cause, to take advantage of its bankruptcy in order to impose the Russian strategy and obtain the UP-DC compromise.

It is for this compromise that they have offered on numerous occasions, often without consulting their allies and against their opinion, to go below the program of the UP and to intensify the repression against popular struggles.

These were not, as some have said, program changes intended to make concessions to the middle strata, but rather concessions made directly to monopoly capital, landowners and Yankee imperialism, because is precisely these sectors with which they wanted to ally.

Indeed, the proposals made by the Minister of Economy of the UP, Orlando Millas, member of the Secretariat of P "C", to reduce to just under 50 monopoly companies expropriable; to stop the expropriation of large land properties in the countryside; to comply with the requirements of the Yankee control body called the International Monetary Fund; to compensate the imperialist enterprises expropriated and to favour the creation of mixed enterprises of the State with the Yankee monopolies; as well as repression against the masses, as they did in Concepcion [ 3 ] by assassinating comrade Eladio Caamano, where in the slum of Lo Hermida [ 4 ], can hardly be described as measures in favour of the middle classes. For the same reasons they opposed not only the popular struggles, but also the proposals made by President Allende to obtain a reform of the government through a plebiscite and to his idea of creating civil organizations,

using the law. on Civil Defense, which could coordinate their action with hypothetical anti-putschist sectors of the armed forces, in opposition to the seditious sector.

Their policy was to take advantage of all the difficulties that were suffocating the government, without seeking a real solution, as a means of pressure to impose the "historic compromise".

Unfortunately (for the Soviet plans) the "historic compromise" was rejected not only by the foundations of the UP parties and by many of their leaders, but also, and energetically, by Yankee imperialism and its pawns in Chile. Precisely, once the failure of the Allende government was consumed, after a first year of success (more apparent than real), as a dangerous model of "socialism", the US government firmly maintained its decision to overthrow Allende by means of a coup d'etat, to prevent possible unitary inclinations of its agents of the DC and as pointed out in the Report of the US Senate on the CIA, to prevent "the Chilean tendency to political compromise".

After the coup, the leaders of P "C" continued imperturbably their servile policy in the face of the Soviet strategy, regardless of the suffering it caused to the Chilean people.

In the first period of the dictatorship, their tactic (in the service of their lifelong strategy) consisted in discouraging the organization of any resistance intended to overthrow the Junta.

They did this by publicly opposing the creation of clandestine resistance committees; by systematically hiding the struggles which have made their way, step by step, despite the repression, by highlighting only the tortures, in order to intimidate the people, trying to show that any intention of overthrowing the Junta is doomed to failure, to present the need for compromise.

Through their propaganda, they try to reduce the responsibility of the leaders and members of the reactionary armed forces in repression, to a reduced number of people, and focus their efforts to "end" the Military Junta, not in Chile, but by international manoeuvres which are often carried out on the backs of the Chilean people.



At the same time, they launched a relentless offensive, made up of lies, attacks, divisionist efforts, pressure and corruption against all those - in the ex-UP and outside it - who wanted to overthrow the Junta and oppose training the people - repressed, slaughtered and hungry - to compromise with their executioners.

Frei's new opportunist cabriole, which supported the coup and the Junta when it took office, and which now presents itself as "opponent" to the dictatorship and as "supporter" of democratic rights, great service. At first, in long documents in which they valued Frei's attitude in the midst of very lukewarm criticism, which helped to highlight his role as "opponent" to the Junta, rather than unmasking him, they endeavoured that this one takes them in his spare train to the Junta, even as a tail van.

Frei is not unaware, however, that his ascendancy over relatively large sectors of the masses derives precisely from the anti-communist consciousness he created, presenting as a "model of communism" the social-fascist and exploitative regimes which rampant in the USSR and in other pseudo-socialist nations, a model from which even the revisionist parties of Europe want to move away, for electoral and other reasons.

He is also aware that Yankee imperialism, which could have afforded the luxury of overthrowing Popular Unity in the elections planned for 1976, maintained its putschist policy, precisely to avoid an alliance of the DC with a coalition like the UP, an alliance which implied the possibility of infiltration of pro-Soviet forces into the Chilean government.

It is because of this that Frei and his people firmly rejected any alliance with the P "C" in a possible formula to replace the Junta, in which the revisionists could play a certain role. Faced with this, the leaders of P "C" extended to unbelievable limits their servile spirit and their betrayal of the interests of the Chilean people.

They offered their unconditional support to any possible formula for replacing the current fascist junta. According to all the existing information, faced with the possibility of a military government (which would displace the most known executioners by replacing them with others who managed to hide better) and which would have the civilian support of the DC and other sectors which are ready to collaborate in this farce, the leaders of P "C" have offered to accept their illegality for an indefinite time and to collaborate actively by curbing any mass

struggle and any intention to fight to punish the guilty and to crush their repressive apparatus.

Through this dirty role, they hope to create the conditions for a future Christian-democratic government with which they could negotiate their return to legality and thus materialize the "historic compromise".

In this way, they save (with slight changes) the armed instrument of fascism, they save the bourgeois regime, with all the repressive restrictions that the bourgeois armed forces, imperialism and reactionaries will consider should be maintained; they facilitate a repression concentrated on the patriotic sectors which do not accept this repugnant transaction and which are ready to continue the fight; they guarantee, on the basis of a more demagogic government, the increase in mystification towards the masses as a complement to the repression and, with this, a certain security for foreign investments and therefore the continuation of the invasion of our economy by imperialist capital.

In short, they save imperialism, they save the bourgeois state, they save the armed instrument from fascism, they save big national capital from the danger of their overthrow, and all this for a "dish of lentils", which they are accepted as intermediaries in this monstrous deception with regard to the masses, even if they remain illegal. What they are willing to do outside of power is a sample of what they would be able to do against the people if they were in power.

Not surprisingly, this new betrayal caused great rejection among the bases of all the parties that are not in the service of fascism and among many of their honest leaders.

It produced a rejection reaction in basic sectors of the same P "C". There are also leaders who are ready to bow to this monstrous manoeuvre and who can hide their complicity with it only by masking it with a defeatist phraseology: "It is the only way to move the Junta", "this only then will we be able to return to Chile ", " afterwards we will see what to do ". In short: the sad spectacle of always!

Opportunism on the agenda with the promise that, in the distant strategic future, we will adopt a true revolutionary position. However, if to evade the struggle (or in the case of the revisionist leaders, to open the way to another regime of exploitation), we respond to each political situation with an opportunistic attitude, we will never adopt this revolutionary attitude so promised.

It is in this that precisely consists, according to Lenin, the essence of opportunism, reformism, falsification of Marxism: in the sacrifice of future interests, the interests of the revolution, the interests of the people, for hypothetical immediate interests.

The sinister plans waged by those who serve the policies of each of the two superpowers against the Chilean people, show once again that, despite their fierce rivalry, they can agree (and in fact they always agree) when it is to oppose a revolutionary outcome in which the people play the main role.

This panic in front of the people on the part of the revisionists and the fact that they are the main defeated in the coup, explains the servile capitulation and the dirty project of collaboration through which they are willing to cooperate with the alternative formulas of the Junta, formulas in which it is Yankee imperialism which has the initiative.

We can say with certainty that the shameful exchange of Corvalan by Boukovsky, in which the governments of the USA and the USSR actively intervened, is the expression and the concrete instrument of this unconditional capitulation, through which the leaders of the P "C" want to expiate, to expiate the insolence of the UP for having challenged Yankee domination from an electoral standpoint, by accepting a silent and resigned collaboration, in exchange for the distant hope one day of arriving at the "historic compromise".

Interviewed by a journalist from Le Monde, at the beginning of March 1977, on what is no longer a secret for anyone, namely the acceptance of collaborating illegally with the successors of the current Junta, Corvalan said cynically: "that we are not counting on us to accept a change of situation with the continued illegality of the left parties ... "

And afterwards, showing that his only concern is to hide his compromise and to evade any declaration which expresses the readiness to fight a measure of this kind, he adds: "Faced with such a situation, for which we could not be held responsible, we would go out in the light of day to conquer a de facto legality. "

But no one in Chile is unaware of how the leadership of P "C" "conquered" its legal rights in 1957: through a public denial made by the same Corvalan, of all the principles of Marxism and by patiently showing the facts , their decision to collaborate firmly in the conciliation [ 5 ] .

We are sure, however, that the sufferings of the people will not be in vain. The masses and the honest bases of the anti-fascist parties have drawn conclusions from recent events. The Chilean people did not allow themselves to be passively crushed and, step by step, they strengthened their resistance and multiplied their struggles against oppression and hunger imposed by the dictatorship.

All this confirms that the dirty compromise that is woven on the back of the people will only be signed by a handful of traitors. For the people it will not have the slightest validity and, passing over the Judas who want to sell it again to the reactionary forces, it will continue to fight the Fascist Junta and its replacements, until their overthrow and their crushing, by thus advancing towards a real conquest of power.

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[ 1 ] Eduardo Frei: main leader of the Christian Democrats. He was President of the Republic from 1964 to 1970.

[ 2 ] CUT: Single Central of Workers.

[ 3 ] Concepcion: city in southern Chile. In 1972, a demonstration of the left forces took place in this city. The city prefect, a leader of P "C", sent the repressive forces against the demonstrators causing the death of comrade Eladio Caamano.

[ 4 ] Lo Hermida: shanty town of Santiago, the country's capital. In 1971, the police raided this shanty town, killing a comrade who lived there.

[ 5 ] During the 24th plenary session of the CC of the Chilean P "C", Corvalan said: "We want and we demand our freedom. And solemnly declare that once again free to act in political life, we will not be a threat to any respectable interest. We are in favor of everything being resolved democratically, according to the will of the majority of the country, in the free play of all parties and currents. Today we do not want the substitution of the private property of the Chilean capitalists for collective property. And when tomorrow it will be necessary to advance in this way, we think that it must also be done with the agreement of the majority of Chileans, by the peaceful way and by guaranteeing

the well-being and the rights of the capitalists, that is to say - say by compensating them correctly. "