

By Alberto Moreau

The Chilean revolution is having a great impact on Latin America. Its popularity is spreading in many parts of Europe, Africa and Asia. Chile's stupendous developments since the advent to power of Unidad Popular (People's Unity), a multi-party people's power headed by President Salvador Allende, have opened a historic page in the revolutionary process, a new path of transition to socialism.

This unique achievement, of course, isn't isolated from international events. Chile owes a debt to the Cuban revolution, which opened a new era of national and social liberation for the Latin American continent, and both countries' revolutionary strides were made possible by the existence of the socialist world, the Soviet Union in the first place.

Chile's popular revolution is marching ahead in the struggles to liberate the country from foreign and oligarchic bondage. It is forging an ever growing powerful people's unity with the working class as its spine. It is a people's coalition of parties and movements participating in the decisive sectors of the government from which the monopolies and their spokesmen were removed. Along with this has been the daily unfolding of the dynamic creative ability of the working people engaged in increasing production, in the expansion of agrarian reforms, in the gloriously unselfish voluntary work that on May 16th reached the fabulous number of two million people. This active participation is enhancing the national-patriotic and socialist consciousness on the wide road to democracy, full independence and socialism.

President Salvador Allende, in his May Day address to the nation, said: "Comrade workers, the destiny of the Revolution is in your hands." The young Congresswoman Gladys Marin, secretary of the Young Communist organizations, said: "In the April 4th elections the people ratified the decision to transform society."

The Communist Party has been for decades a powerful force in the forging of the people's unity. Applying the laws of social development to Chilean traditions and to the concrete situation today, it has formulated in its Program the Marxist-Leninist outlook for Chile, which is now becoming a living reality:

"We Communists struggle to unite the majority in the country, victims of the capitalist regime, in order to advance toward the first stage along the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic revolution, and in the course of which to introduce such transformations that will open the road to new relations of production, to socialism."

Chilean democracy is epitomized in people's power under the leadership of Unidad Popular.

But the people who are building a new life for themselves face serious dangers. The enemies of the Revolution are resorting to a two-pronged counter offensive: violence and "ideological" attacks against every progressive step taken by the government and the people.

The cold-blooded murder of the ex-Vice President Edmundo Perez Zujovic, preceded by that of General Rene Schneider, the attempts on the life of President Allende, correspond to a plan intended to cause difficulties for the people's government, to hinder the realization of projects and plans under way, etc. Communist Senator Jorge Montes recently made the following highly significant statement:

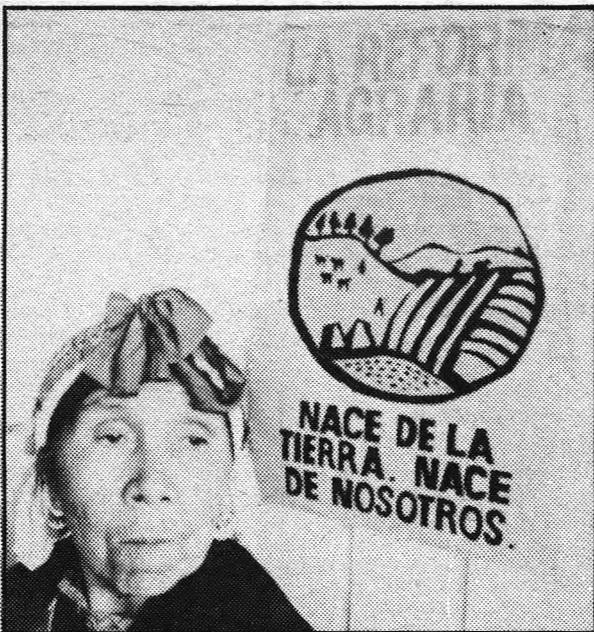
"It is clear that there is continuity from the assassination of General Rene Schneider to that of the ex-Vice President Edmundo Perez Zujovic. Both crimes are part of a vast plan of foreign instigation."

The Communist Party of Chile has condemned the foul crimes and, at the same time, has pointed out that elements of the Right are raising their voices and use the Zujovic assassination as a weapon to cast doubt on the government. This is the real objective of the crime. Seditious is manifesting itself in various ways: sabotage, smuggling of capital out of the country, plots and provocations. On the other hand, there is mounting propaganda denigrating every advance made by the Revolution. There are shouts about "erosion of democracy and legality." In this, the "liberal" New York Times joins the Mercurio of Chile in deriding Marxism, with the Communist Party as a special target.

The truth is, however, that the people have never known such democracy as is now unfolding throughout Chile. The working masses: workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and, yes, small businessmen, are basking in the sunshine of legality, using and extending the existing laws in order to secure the right to work, to strength en freedom, etc. As President Allende says, the people are becoming "the governors of Chile's enterprises."

Is it not democratic to provide free milk to the growing youth? Aren't the measures taken by the government to feed the undernourished youth below the age of 15, in a land where 50% in that age category are under-

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Mapuche Indian peasant of Cautin province, where government has been carrying out land reform, stands before poster which says that "Land reform is born of the land — born of us."

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nourished? Is it not democratic and legal for the Allende Administration to increase wages by 35% and freeze prices, all to the benefit of the working masses?

The New York Times editorial of May 29 joins the chorus of protest against the imaginary curtailment of freedom and democracy. The government actions to increase the salaries of the journalists by 50% is called "economic strangulation" and an infringement on "freedom of the press." The Times takes jabs at the government "dominated by Marxists," implying thereby that Marxism and democracy are incompatible. The facts are that the measures adopted by the U.P. government are legal and democratic and the oligarchy doesn't like them. Democracy for the majority is feared by the minority of exploiters and their ideological spokesmen.

The Nixon Administration is "cool" to the Allende government while the monopolies and their agents are at work plotting. This is ominous. The progressive forces here must be on the alert and demand that Nixon enunciate a policy of non-intervention and assist Chile in solving some of the economic problems created by years of U.S. monopoly domination. The magnitude of this domination can be summed up by the fact that North American mine companies alone have in the last 60 years realized the enormous profit of over \$10 billion! For every \$5 invested, the imperialists extract \$4 in profit.

The taking over of Chile's wealth and making it the property of the people, the extension of democracy and legality make the ruling classes uneasy and uncomfortable. One is reminded of Engels' remarks related to the 1890's elections in Germany when the Socialists received one fourth of the votes in the Reichstag elections. The legality achieved and elimination of the anti-Socialist Laws in Germany weakened the enemy and strengthened the working class. He wrote:

"The irony of world history turns everything upside down. We, the 'revolutionaries,' the 'rebels' are thriving far better on legal methods than on illegal methods of revolt. The Parties of order, as they call themselves, are perishing under legal conditions created by themselves. They cry despairingly with Odilon Barrot: la legalite nous tue (legality is the death of us), whereas we, under this legality, get firm muscles and rosy cheeks and look like eternal life. And if we are not so crazy as to let ourselves be driven into street fighting in order to please them, then nothing else is finally left for them but themselves to break through this legality so fatal to them" (Introduction to Karl Marx's Class Struggles in France).

The exploiters in Chile and their imperialist masters are having these same syndromes as democracy and legality are being used by the people after decades of struggles and sacrifices. The relatively peaceful revolution achieved by parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggles is standing by, alert and vigilant, to defend itself at all costs.

The revolutionary forces have also to contend with some ultra-left elements whose estimate of the revolution is unrealistic. They are resorting to illegal and unauthorized actions such as land seizures, indiscriminate taking over of industries, etc., contrary to the U.P. program. They and some of their supporters here deride democracy and legality now practiced in Chile. For them, violent confrontation is conceived as the sole tactic of the revolution, i.e., armed struggle. Recently, Regis Debray made some observations during his short

stay in Chile. He asserts that bourgeois democracy "in its fall, drags along its opponent." It forces its opponent (the people) to grant the same rights to its enemy (the bourgeoisie); and in "a subtle way it ideologically corrodes the popular movement and its responsible leaders." In essence Debray rejects the historic truth that whatever the achievements of bourgeois democracy they were won by the people through blood and struggles. They were not the gift handed down by the ruling classes. In Chile today, the extension of democracy is laying the solid foundation for socialist democracy. Lenin was very clear on this question:

"It would be a fundamental mistake to suppose that the struggle for democracy can divert the proletariat from the socialist revolution, or obscure it, or overshadow it, etc. On the contrary, just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy" (The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination).

We submit that the ultra-left theoretical and practical distortion of democracy ill equips the fighters for true independence and socialism in Chile and diverts us here in the struggle to stay the hand of U.S. monopolies and their political spokesmen.

Unfortunately, Bob Kaufman in the People's World of April 17 reflects some of this thinking. The so-called debate initiated by Debray is not and cannot be a "debate within the revolution," as Bob Kaufman writes. As already stated, it is a hindrance to the consolidation and further advance of the Chilean Revolution. The land seizures outside the Agrarian Reform Law, under which the peasants themselves are assisting in implementation, have been criticized by President Allende. They are unnecessary and prejudicial, he says. The government is proceeding to carry out the agrarian reforms according to plan. But it is ill-advised to pass in silence MIR's (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) call for going "beyond the bounds of bourgeois legality." Bob Kaufman fails to see the passing over from the existing Agrarian Reform Law, which Frei did not fully carry out, to the more advanced forms already in preparation as provided for in the U.P. program. Bob Kaufman writes:

"Nevertheless, the debate over the land seizures has dramatized a debate over how much legality, the Constitutional procedures set up by Chilean capitalism to govern its system, helps or hinders the struggle to transform Chile into a socialist society."

Really, if one injects this undialectical disconnection of an existing law developing into advanced forms, then doubts will naturally arise in the minds of North American partisans of Chilean developments. These developments should be supported. Fortunately Chile is not travelling along the road outlined by Kaufman.

Frankly, the real national debate in Chile is in the realm of the forms of transition to a new society. In the economic field, steps have and are being taken in order to go beyond the capitalist structures. The iron ore and such basic enterprises as Purina, Lana Austral, Yarur, cement, textiles, etc., have been nationalized and are passing into the area of "socialist property" (Allende). Most important, copper will, in the course of this year, be definitely nationalized. There is already under way a Constitutional amendment before Congress legalizing the nationalization of copper. As Allende so eloquently put it: "Copper is Chile's cash and the soil is its bread." The banks have been taken over and the flight of capital has been arrested. The basic U.P. program is being implemented with caution and responsibility in accordance with Chilean reality.

Three economic areas are set: State, private and mixed property. The onward march toward these goals and their full deployment necessitates a new Constitution, a People's Assembly (single instead of bi-cameral); the direct participation in the government and in production by the working people. President Allende reiterated the need to replace capitalist legality by socialist legality. The class character of the government has changed. It represents the interests of the people. Chile is recovering its patrimony. Its destiny is linked to the inevitable historic qualitative changes dictated by the new epoch we live in: the abolition of exploitation of man by man and, in the process, the emergence of a new man.

The hand of friendship with the people of the United States is extended by the Chilean people through their chosen representative. In his First Presidential Message to Congress, companero Allende outlined the premises for good neighborly relations with the United States:

"It is the purpose of this Government to maintain relations of friendship and cooperation with the United States. We are creating the conditions for the understanding of our reality. . . . We think this realistic and objective course will be met by the people and the government of the United States."

The forces of good will, peace and justice, especially the anti-imperialists in this country, should see to it that the extended hand of the Unidad Popular be met with equal friendship and zeal.