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## Resistance in Chile



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Four Years After the Fascist Putsch:

## Unity and Struggle – Only Road to Defeat Fascism



Already four years of military dictatorship. Four years have passed since the establishment of a system of terror and oppression, which has led our country to economic disaster, to pauperization and to the superexploitation of the people to the benefit of the national oligarchy and especially foreign capital, U.S. imperialism.

Although these long years of obscurantism and repression have been extremely hard for our people, they have learnt how to draw valuable lessons for their struggle against fascism. The Chilean people did not let themselves be intimidated by the brutality of the military fascists and fought them under clandestine conditions, by all means in their power. This is even clearer since last year, during which we could see the general rise of the struggles against tyranny. The extent of these struggles broke through the restrictions of the censorship and they became known on the national as well as international scale.

As examples we can cite the innumerable workers' struggles in the different sectors of production, the peasant struggles for the defence of their lands and their previous gains, the hunger strike successfully waged by the women members of the families of the missing prisoners, the students' struggles against self-financing and for the non-payment of tuition fees, etc.

The Fascist Military Junta dealt with this situation with renewed repressive measures and by strengthening those that already existed such as: the state of seige, the curfew and many other exceptional laws. None of this has been an obstacle to the development of the Resistance, which daily sees the number of clandestine committees develop all over the country and the number of patriots decided to fight against fascism increasing.

On the other hand, on the international level, the military dictatorship saw itself confronted by an immense campaign of denunciation and condemnations — as much from international organizations such as the UN and the Organization of American States (OAS), as from world labour organizations, of student organizations, those of jurists, etc. . . . and by progressive world public opinion.

This situation has put the military fascists in a bad situation. As a result, the contradictions between the members of the Junta have begun to manifest themselves more openly; the reactionary civil sectors which supported them have begun to discreetly move away, to seek, with their North American bosses, a system to exchange for the military dictatorship.

This procedure which is already underway corresponds to the new plans of U.S. imperialism and to its strategy in regards to our country. The fruits of this new imperialist politics are President Carter's "criticisms" of Pinochet for not respecting human rights and the condemnation, at the OAS, of the fascist regime by the U.S. government. These "calls to order" provoked a series of manoeuvres on Pinochet's part such as the announcement of "new institutional lines" and the recent agreement to "dissolve" its sinister private police, the DINA, to replace it with a so-called "National Information Centre" but this change does not convince anyone because it is only a matter of a change in name for the same organ of repression.

Imperialism estimates that the openly fascist stage has served its purpose and that it is time to give the system a "face lift" by throwing Pinochet aside and installing a fascizing regime led by civilians with military at their orders. In this manner they think to give a slightly more "democratic" image to our country.

However, while the yankee government pursues its exchange manoeuvres, it does not stop helping the dictator Pinochet economically and politically. In fact, Pinochet has managed to assure himself a position of strength within the armed forces, and he counts on the support of all the repressive apparatus which he created to assure himself state power. In the face of that, imperialism is moving its pawns prudently, exacerbating the internal contradictions and protecting its back in order to be able to remove Pinochet without producing friction within the armed forces. As a result, the eviction of Pinochet is subjected to the correct execution of these plans; and these plans can be retarded, if that serves the interests of imperialism.

This problem which today preoccupies the U.S. government and its national lackeys, has already been duly analyzed by the Chilean Resistance and people, and the conclusions drawn are very clear. It is solely a matter of the manoeuvres on the part of imperialism and its lackeys to continue to oppress and plunder our country.

These manoeuvres on the part of imperialism and its lackeys, which are normal for the defence of their interests, would not be of an extreme seriousness if they were solely the acts of the reactionary sectors, which traditionally held power in our country; what is serious is that the leadership of certain parties which participated in the Popular Unity government see this manoeuvre as an "alternative" to replace the dictatorship.

This is the result of the line implemented by the factions which oppose the Fascist Military Junta, which was characterized by the passivity, trying to separate the people from the radical struggle waiting for the deals between the reactionaries and the military to slip into the trend which, according to them, will "open the doors to democracy": that is to say, accept the laws of the bourgeois game, by forgetting the bloody experience of the failure of the "peaceful means" and by making a tabula rasa of the suffering of the Chilean people under fascism.

Faced with that, the People's Front of Chile, which has since its creation encouraged all the struggles of the Resistance, raises today, with more force than ever, the only alternative which the Chilean people have to bar the route of the dictatorship — that is, the unity of all the patriots which are available to fight resolutely and by all possible means against tyranny.

The tactic of beating about the bush and of hope placed in the reactionaries will not lead those who are advocating them to anything but new defeats. The Chilean people, aspiring to fight against their oppressors, will courageously pursue the road which will lead it to victory, by consolidating each day its clandestine organizations and fighting as one man in the Resistance.

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## Only the Struggle of the People Will Overthrow Fascism

Chilean political life presents a disturbing panorama as a result of the existence of diverse political trends inside Chile and abroad. These trends present themselves as representatives of the people. They employ a more or less common language, which at first sight appears to be a similar objective — the downfall of the Junta. However, things are much more complex in reality.

On the one hand the leaders of certain parties, which had formed Popular Unity, base their strategy on seeking a compromise with the reactionary sections who today are "in opposition", especially the most reactionary sections of Christian Democracy. This has led them to openly call upon Christian Democracy as a whole to form a large "Anti-Fascist United Front". In this way, they have "forgotten" and hidden important and vital points in the struggle to overthrow fascism. For them, the Resistance does not exist, the effective clandestine struggle being waged by the people does not count. They believe that by showing themselves to be "democrats and pacifists" they will convince Frei and his allies.

While some people outside the country wish to "overthrow" fascism by compromises, the people are living with their tragedy and oppression, struggling in different ways in the Resistance, attempting to develop a genuine anti-fascist front which includes all patriots, regardless of their party affiliation and excludes people like Frei and his cronies who supported the coup d'état.

But Christian Democracy seems unresponsive to these appeals. Recently, it has brought the most reactionary, fascist and pro-U.S. elements to its leadership. These elements have taken up a more "open and aggressive" policy. Foreseeing the fall of Pinochet,

they consider that they will then be called upon to play an important role. Everything indicates that imperialism, with Carter's "new" policy towards our country, has given them the green light.

This is the only way that we can explain the recent declarations that the new Christian Democracy (CD) leaders made to the international press. They stated that: "Pinochet and the Junta are our enemies, but we are not enemies of the military." "We are convinced that there is no possibility of the opposition taking up the functions of government, nor does it have the capability to do so — we must be realistic, for the soldiers will not return to their barracks" and any solution will have to "be acceptable to the military."

This clearly means that they support, and are supported by, a section of the army which — relying on the most fascist elements of the CD for its "democratic" facade — sees itself taking control of the government upon the downfall of Pinochet. With such a perspective, they would have no need, as they have repeatedly pointed out, of the cooperation of the Popular Unity (PU) leaders.

What is even more serious is that these new "saviours" of Chile have let it be known that some parties of the PU would go along with them and in the event that their military "allies" would not allow certain parties to regain legal status, they would carry out consultations with those concerned.

We therefore ask: Will the people accept this masquerade? We are certain they will not!

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## People's Armed Struggle to Overthrow the Dictatorship

The People's Front of Chile supports the path of people's armed struggle to overthrow the dictatorship. This constitutes an important political decision by the most militant fighting forces of the Chilean Resistance, which will not only ensure the overthrow of the Junta, but will also ensure that we maintain a correct perspective in the struggle for the liberation of our people.

The dictatorship was born in blood, it has lived in blood and maintains itself by force of arms. This is nothing new: before the coup d'état, the armed forces, in defence of U.S. imperialism and the domestic reactionaries, murdered more than 10,000 workers, peasants and students in the course of various massacres carried out in this century.

Can we then believe that it will be possible to overthrow the dictatorship and smash fascism by convincing the Junta, or by some so-called "peaceful" road?

It is true that the present dictatorship may be exchanged for another anti-people and repressive government, but this will not represent the destruction of fascism nor the achievement of democracy for our people.

Only armed struggle will enable us to destroy fascism and the forces that support it and to establish a new democratic and popular government. It is not a question of having "dialogues" or "agreements" behind the backs of the people: total emancipation will only be brought about by the armed people.

The bitter Chilean experience shows that an unarmed people is a defeated people. On the contrary, the people of Indochina — to recall one recent example — have shown us that when the people

are united, organized and armed, they will be victorious and invincible.

We firmly uphold that the methods of struggle that are employed have a definite relation to the goals that are being achieved. Thus the most reactionary sections of CD use what we can call "conspiracy" as their principal method of "struggle". Since they do not represent the interests of the people, they cannot mobilize them on a consistent basis, nor, of course, can they arm them. This is why they are opposed to militant struggle by the masses, to the Resistance Committees, etc... and concentrate their efforts on backroom political manoeuvres.

The kind of armed struggle promoted by the People's Front is not terrorist struggle nor the "foquismo" of small groups isolated from the masses, but is instead armed struggle in which the people participate, which combines all forms of struggle, from the most simple to the most complex — armed and unarmed struggle, legal and clandestine struggle, in the cities and in the countryside, etc. — keeping in mind, however, that armed struggle is the highest form of struggle and that everything must be oriented to preparing armed struggle and carrying it out.

It should thus be clear that **the liberation of the Chilean people depends primarily on our own struggle — no one else is going to "liberate" us.** International solidarity is very important, but not decisive.

**THE ARMED PEOPLE WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!**

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# Conversation with a Young Leader of the People's Front

Often, our Canadian friends ask us questions about Chile: What is going on? Is it true that there is a Resistance? And if it is, how come we hear almost nothing about it? Our friends comment that one can often read in the newspapers news on the prisoners, testimony of tortures they undergo; however they are surprised that nobody talks about the Resistance. When we answer them that there actually is a Resistance organized against the Chilean dictatorship, we are asked what are its concrete forms of action.

In order to answer all these questions, one month ago we interviewed Pedro, a young leader of the People's Front of Chile, who came to Europe secretly. We did not want to publish this interview until we were sure he was back in Chile.

About twenty years old, thin, and of average height, Pedro smiles easily and has the distinctive features of the Chileans born in the central zone of the country. During the whole conversation, Pedro answered fast, trying to give concrete examples which can illustrate how the line proposed by the People's Front is developed.

**Question:** What is the attitude of the various social classes towards the Chilean dictatorship?

**Pedro:** We can assert today that most of the population of the country, maybe 80 percent of the Chileans, are against the dictatorship. Everybody agrees. We can see it clearly in the so typically Chilean response of making jokes, telling stories, black humour . . . There have never been so many jokes about Pinochet, his generals, in which the military are always ridiculous. They are told everywhere, in every circle. So, of course, the concrete response of people is related to their class origin, with the level of consciousness and the political formation of each . . . Overall, one can say that the petty bourgeoisie complains a lot and is expecting a solution from above. From that viewpoint, it is not very active, because it nurtures illusions: Carter, an agreement with Christian-Democracy and the Americans . . . do you realize that? On the contrary, among the working class, you find a clearer response, an attitude of struggle . . . I don't know if you understand me: it is they who have suffered the most! This not only means the dead and those who are in jail, but there is unemployment and daily misery like never before in Chile. The military are hated and the people are organizing everywhere.

**Q.** Are there underground organizations?

**P.** Sure! They are everywhere. It is the very conditions of repression which led us, little by little, to a flexible form of organization, in which each cell of Resistance is decentralized and independent in its concrete actions while following a common orientation with the overall Resistance.

**Q.** What relations are there between the People's Front and the Resistance Committees?

**P.** The People's Front is organized on the basis of the Resistance Committees. What is a Resistance Committee? It is a small organization born within the masses, made up of a small number of people, six at the most, generally four or five. What is its activity? They must first of all organize propaganda and support and encourage all the forms of struggle against the dictatorship.

**Q.** When one reads the various underground newspapers of the Resistance, from each front of the masses, one sees that there is much insistence on the propaganda and the necessity of publishing and distributing those newspapers. Why?

**P.** It is because of the living conditions under the dictatorship: the press is completely censored, it publishes only the information that the military want us to know, in the way they want us to learn it, incomplete, false, etc., so the correct information, the spreading of the news of everything that happens have become a primary task. When you know about, for instance, the strike in the paper industry of Puente Alto\* or that of the leather workers in Santiago, at the same time you learn new forms of struggle and you realize that it is possible to struggle, and that even under the dictatorship the masses can organize themselves successfully; the mistakes made must also be known in order to try and avoid them. Finally, everywhere the people dare to act, the international solidarity as well encourages us to continue and deepen our struggle.

**Q.** Who makes up these Resistance Committees?

**P.** It is very large, there are militants from various political parties as well as people who were never activists in a party. We are grouped around the common objectives of the People's Front: the struggle against the dictatorship and the struggle for the immediate and longer term economic and political demands. These demands

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## The Alternative of the Resistance and the Reactionary Manoeuvres

Pinochet is once again showing his weakness by the use of strong-arm tactics. He has just extended the emergency measures which have been in force since 1973, and he has outlawed the Christian Democratic Party. He is panicking in the face of the Resistance and the struggles of the people which he has been unable to halt despite the repression. This repression has earned him international condemnation, completely isolating his government. The UN Human Rights Commission has just condemned it once again, with even the U.S. government voting to do so. The policy he has followed has led to a decrease in the national revenue, pushing it back to the level of eight years ago. All of this has opened up the concrete possibility of overthrowing the Junta.

This is the situation being faced by the new U.S. government which styles itself as a "defender of human rights": it does not want to inherit the fascist government which is going to fall like a piece of rotting fruit. Above all, it wants to prevent the people from taking into their own hands the task of overthrowing the dictatorship and completely destroying its repressive apparatus. In order to do this, it must pull on the chain, flushing away the excrement Pinochet and his gang, and replacing them by a new type of dictatorship which combines repression and demagoguery. The Frei wing of Christian Democracy (CD) has stated: "Pinochet and the members of the Junta are our enemies, but we are not enemies of the military" Thus "only" the members of the Junta supposedly carried out the

coup d'état, the repression, torture and crimes. This is a farce which no one except a traitor to the people can accept. While the members of the Junta bear the main responsibility, their instrument has been the reactionary army and behind them are the economic interests which supported the coup d'état, including Frei. The replacement of the Junta officers by other officers who are less compromised with the Junta or by civilians in their service would be a swindle which the people cannot accept.

Frei and Carter want to avoid the tempest whose seeds they have sown. What seems strange is that several so-called leaders of the left support such manoeuvres. They are even ready to assist with them, playing from underground the role of firemen who throw water on the flames of the people's revolt.

We might ask: why? Why are they sabotaging the anti-fascist Resistance in this way, putting themselves on the side of the exploiters? Is it because they are afraid that the people will wipe the fascists out?

But as the honest patriots in Popular Unity, in the CD etc., come to understand what lies hidden behind these manoeuvres, we will be able to create, on the political front, a genuine unity aimed at overthrowing the dictatorship and smashing up its instruments of repression.

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represent the interests of the broad masses, it is very easy to form a cell of militants around those objectives. In fact, the Resistance Committees have become the core, the engine of the anti-fascist struggle in Chile.

**Q.** Can you tell us about the activities developed by a Resistance Committee?

**P.** We encourage all forms of struggle; in the factories for instance, there are boycotts of production, slowdowns; the "pobladores", mainly the women, organize themselves to solve their common problems, to stand firm in front of the authorities. The simple fact that they are capable of organizing themselves embarrasses the military: they see that they cannot succeed in destroying the masses' solidarity or their ability to organize. The students also have specific demands, because now university is not free any more, it is very expensive and selective. This is a battle front. The teachers also have Resistance activities. Each Resistance Committee is organized in a work place or in a "Poblacion"; the activities depend on their own problems. Recently, there have emerged numerous Resistance Committees within the various university institutions and among the teachers. Each Resistance Committee prints its clandestine newspaper. In the last term of 1976, some new ones appeared: *Liberation*, which represents all the Resistance Committees of the Oriente Faculty\*\*; other committees publish *Freedom*; the teachers have started to distribute *Unity*; there is also *Peasant Resistance*; each factory publishes its own newspaper, be it only one page, but for them, it is their underground newspaper which informs them about the demands that concern them directly. Finally, there is *Resistance*, the newspaper of the People's Front, which has a national scope.

**Q.** Can you give us concrete examples of the action of a Resistance Committee?

**P.** Of course! There are many ... I will first tell you what happened at the "Rema Rittig" plant, in the Cordon Macul.\*\*\* Under the Popular Unity government, this plant had been nationalized. So the Junta tried right away to sell it back, but could not find a buyer. So the "brains" of the Junta concocted a farce, a real theft, they wanted to sell it to the workers! That thing's a real theft! The plant was in very bad shape and this represented the loss of the social achievements won through years of hard struggle. The military even enlisted the president of the union, a sellout, in this manoeuvre. So a group of workers belonging to the People's Front analyzed this situation and decided to denounce this farce and to prevent it. They printed a leaflet explaining the issue and denouncing the sellouts and the traitors. This sparked stepped-up repression against the workers, which only served to make the workers become conscious and to perfect the organization of the Committees. You bet that the military did not succeed in getting the workers to fall into that trap.

**Q.** How can one organize a Resistance Committee?

**P.** I will tell you my own experience: In 1974 I entered university. First I had to explore the ground, to know who is who, what each thinks, where he comes from, to spot the stools. So I detected those whom I could trust most, but not only on the basis of what they said; it is always possible to inform oneself a little bit more, to obtain on the side more data from those who have known them before.

**Q.** But how do you know at what point, when you know a person, that you can start talking politics with him.

**P.** You see, a progressive person, anti-fascist or leftist, whatever, you recognize him in his attitudes, his silences, his way of reacting, even of joking! ... That is, if you had previous political experience. ...

**Q.** And how can one recognize a stool?

**P.** In general, I think, there are two kinds: those who are openly reactionary; they are easy to detect and thereby are not dangerous, they collaborate directly; it is thus only a matter of isolating them. Then there are those who pretend to have an open leftist attitude, an open anti-fascist attitude. They are the most dangerous, but they are also recognizable, because they attack the Junta directly, openly, when they are with unknown people; they provoke, they try to have you talking ... they also must be isolated.



**Q.** So how was the Resistance Committee formed in your school?

**P.** Shortly before the first anniversary of the coup d'état, there was a big campaign against the Junta everywhere in Chile. I already had friends; we organized a campaign at our place, explaining what had happened to the university with the fascist dictatorship. In the university there are two great slogans of struggle: Against university fees and against internal repression. We also organized ourselves to constantly attack the fascist ideology in the classroom. ...

**Q.** There are discussions in the classroom?

**P.** Well, the professors have to make sure that the students understand the course, so they accept questions on the topic they are dealing with. So a small group of students make an agreement and set a tactic to follow, we take seats far apart in the room and we ask "neutral", "scientific" questions, or if you want, non-committed questions. There is also the criticism of the practical work, because it no longer has anything to do with practice. Everybody realizes that, even the students who have just entered university and are not politicized at all, so they complain, they fight to receive a good training. In this way, we won over students who even had reactionary positions when they entered the university.

**Q.** And what were you doing?

**P.** We carried out a campaign of propaganda, with leaflets and, mainly, graffiti. You see, we always have big felt pens so every time nobody is looking we use the opportunity to write a slogan, in the corridors, especially in the washrooms. That is where we made the most propaganda; and when we launched leaflets, this was a bold action, it impressed everyone.

**Q.** How did you distribute leaflets?

**P.** There are several techniques: we had spotted one place where there was a lot of wind; if you leave a pile of leaflets on the ground, the wind does the job for you, it distributes them, and if you leave small amounts everywhere, people take some. They are so eager for information that they read it and pass it right away. Each leaflet is read by many people. The last one who gets it receives only a worn sheet. But we know the value of each leaflet, the price in difficulties and in risks. ...

**Q.** Were there any coordinated actions with other Resistance Committees?

**P.** Yes, precisely around the first anniversary of the coup d'état.

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There was a Resistance Committee in the faculty, which had contacts with several schools. So we organized ourselves in the following way: we agreed to prepare leaflets for a fixed date, each school Committee was to write and print its own leaflet, and we fixed the date and the hour only one day in advance. It was done flawlessly.

**Q.** What do you mean, flawlessly?

**P.** We never take useless risks, each action is carefully programmed, and we test it, in its entirety, several times. So when we really carry it out, you know perfectly each place, the time it takes to carry out the action, and how you can hide quickly.

**Q.** What was the effect of this propaganda campaign?

**P.** We formed a second Resistance Committee, and by the time I left Chile, in my school, there were three, twelve persons in all. It is still a success, you see, because previously there was nothing.

**Q.** It is encouraging to learn things like that, here in exile. . .

**P.** Well, I don't think that it is so much the political ability of those participating than the fact that, for objective conditions, we implemented a correct line which was greatly echoed by the masses; and in addition, we did not play the smart heroes who take useless risks. . . it was more a work of patience than a spectacular activity.

**Q.** Through the struggle, is there a political formation of people?

**P.** Of course! In addition, we formed a small committee to study Marxism-Leninism with two comrades who did not participate in the People's Front . . . so, even if they were not in the People's Front, through this study committee, they were participating in the politics of the Front, and that is the main thing. In addition, it helped me a lot in my political formation.

**Q.** What is the attitude of the People's Front towards the different political parties?

**P.** The People's Front is not a political party, nor a screen to hide any party. Participation in the Front does not forbid militancy in the political parties. The only condition is to agree with the essential points of the Programme of the People's Front. Sometimes, former militants of certain parties, who have quite a sectarian formation, have trouble participating in common actions; however, we always try to work with them in terms of concrete tasks, specific problems in their place of work. You see, we encourage all the actions aimed at striking the main enemy, and we all agree on this point: the dictatorship must be fought. In short, if some people do not want to enter in the organization of the Front, they can always participate in its politics, and that is the important thing . . . I will give you an example: the "Poblaciones", the Church-organized "popular canteens" (comedores populares). So in many places, we have worked with militants from different parties, some of whom are not formally in the Front, but who, in their activities, work with us, specifically in the "popular canteens".

**Q.** How is this activity in the Poblaciones organized?

**P.** The work which is done in the Poblaciones is extraordinary, and there, it is mainly the women who carry it out. They took up the entire organization of the Poblacion, and it works very well. So, around this work, the people chat, they exchange views, they inform themselves and they train themselves. I will give you another example of the Poblaciones: for May First, we organized in a Poblacion of the south zone of Santiago — I will not tell you the name, you understand I can't — the People's Front and other sectors organized a meeting.

**Q.** While it is forbidden?

**P.** Right, but it had to be done. There were between 300 and 400 people. Artistic numbers, speeches, everything was openly political, there were calls for unity for the anti-fascist struggle. A comrade of the People's Front spoke; leaflets were distributed, this was quite welcome. It even seemed that the people were awaiting this, that they wanted even more boldness.

**Q.** Previously you talked about the strike in the paper industry in Puente Alot. What happened?

**P.** Well, it happened in July (1976). The bosses of that company have always been "tough", and for a long time they tried to manipulate the union. They have a union leader really sold out to

the company; the guys call him Castillo the "pig". So all the workers were called to a meeting to be informed that from now on, they would be paid monthly instead of weekly.

**Q.** It did not suit them?

**P.** Naturally not! With the rate of inflation in Chile, the prices increase every day — really — it reaches 1 percent a day! So if you get your pay at the end of the month instead of the end of the week, in fact you earn less than half. You are robbed, you see. And also, those people are thieves, they take money from you for this or that, and when you prove to them that they made a mistake, well, they reimburse you at the next pay. So the people told themselves, if now we have to wait a month to be reimbursed. . . .

**Q.** So the workers did not accept the situation?

**P.** The meeting was not called to get their acceptance, the yellow leaders had already signed their agreement secretly. The meeting was only to inform them about the fact. It was an all-round hue and cry, a refusal on the part of the workers, but Castillo the "pig", who was chairing the meeting, did not let the workers speak, and the bosses, who were there, did not want to listen. So the workers left to show their refusal, and they started to stop the machines. So right away, the bosses had the police arresting all those who had spoken at the meeting. What is extraordinary is that the comrades did not operate the machines, they were not scared, they threatened to carry on the strike. The next day, the bosses paid. They lost face, it was a great victory! You see, things like that give courage; now there are underground trade unions, underground Workers' Committees, Resistance Committees, People's Front Committees. . . .

**Q.** When one thinks about the Resistance, one always thinks about armed struggle; does the People's Front consider the possibility to go over to armed struggle?

**P.** The orientation of the People's Front is to gradually enhance the level of combativeness of the masses in order to finally arrive at people's armed struggle. We think that the Chilean people have had their lesson with this defeat; now the people agree with the fact that it is only through arms that we can seize power and keep it . . . in other words, that it is going to be done with guns! Some understand it in a fragmentary, rudimentary way, but they are conscious of it. The conditions for this struggle are already there, the People's Front is starting to hold officially that it is necessary that the people use armed struggle as a form to win their liberation. We are not saying, however, that armed struggle is the only form to overthrow the dictatorship. The dictatorship can collapse without the people's armed struggle, as a result of inter-bourgeois contradictions, of contradictions of the bourgeoisie with imperialism, it can fall through a military coup supported by one or two groups . . . even through a mixed form where there can be a people's unarmed struggle as well as armed struggle. However, the final liberation of the Chilean people cannot but go through the people's armed struggle. Those are two different things.

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\* Pedro is referring to the Puente Alot paper industry. Puente Alot is in the big working class suburb of Santiago. The company is a big monopoly, belonging to one of the most reactionary "clans" in Chile.

\*\* The "Sede Oriente" Faculty was the biggest university centre of the University of Chile in Santiago, and traditionally the most politicized and the most active. The dictatorship viciously repressed the students and teachers there, but could not destroy the organization nor the will to fight.

\*\*\* Cordon — Worker's organization of the industrial suburbs, in existence since the time of the Christian Democrat government.

LA **R**ESISTENCIA VENCERA

## “Instructions”

On the back of all underground newspapers in Chile one finds instructions such as the following:

**Comrade:** Read, disseminate and take care of the material of the Resistance, take care of each militant. As our movement is advancing and growing, the Junta is beginning to unleash an even greater repression against us. Therefore we must remain vigilant.

**Don't forget:**

— That this newspaper must circulate — you should only keep it for the time which is strictly necessary.

— Do not keep material at home; find safe places to keep it. Prepare a simple alibi to use in the event that you are discovered, without involving **anybody else**.

— When you give this material to other comrades or friends, make them see the importance of taking the same security measures, and continue to stress this until you are certain that they have taken them.

— Do not expose other people or yourself through **laziness** or through placing **convenience** in command; thus we will avoid unnecessary losses.

— Never hand over material in a public place where strangers may see you. Seek out safe places and hand over the material just before leaving; be sure to wrap it in a plain wrapper.

— Keep alert for all new information. Write it down as clearly as possible, and give it to the person who brings you this newspaper.

— Write poems, jokes, letters, make drawings. **Everything assists**. The Junta inflicts thousands of injustices, but there are also thousands of people's struggles. All of this is passed over in silence by the fascist press; it is our **duty** to make it known.

**THE LIBERATION OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE WILL BE THE WORK OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE!**

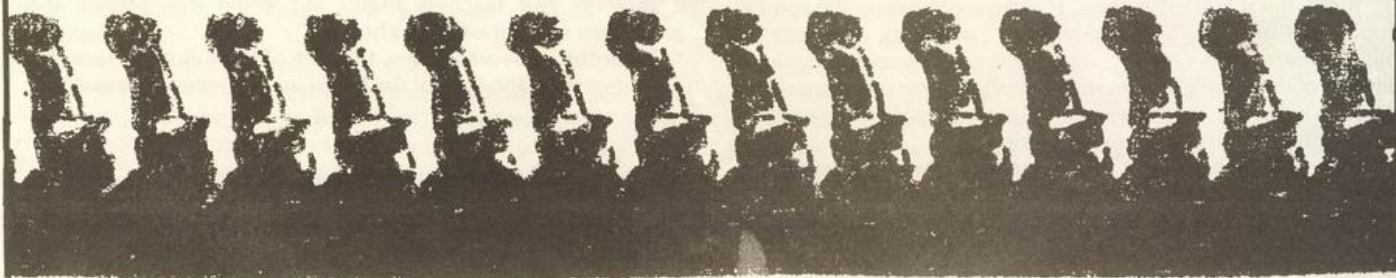
**WE MUST ALL CONTRIBUTE A SMALL GRAIN OF SAND!**



## Minimum Programme of the People's Front

1. Struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship. End of the "state of internal war", of the repression, of the persecution and of the informing. End of the war tribunals and for unconditional liberty for the political prisoners. General amnesty.
2. Struggle for the recovery of the democratic freedoms. For the freedom of thought, of speech, of the press, of movement, of assembly, of association and for the trade union freedom.
3. Struggle against super-exploitation. For the increase of wages, salaries and pensions. For the freezing of the prices of basic necessities. For the abolition of heavy taxes on the popular masses and the re-hiring of all the laid off workers.
4. Struggle for the respect of the autonomy of the universities and for an end to the fascist interference in the affairs of the universities and in education in general.
5. Struggle to assist the small and medium enterprises in agriculture, trade and industry. For adequate loans to these sectors and for decreases in consumer prices.
6. Struggle against restitution of the expropriated enterprises to the imperialists, big monopolies and national latifundias. For the **non-payment** of the indemnities to these sectors.
7. Struggle for the continuation and the expansion of the land reform. Defence of and assistance to the agricultural enterprises and cooperatives.

*Originally published in ANCHA, No. 1, August 1975.*



# Interview with Comrade Camilo Maturana, Representative of the People's Front of Chile

*The following is the text of the interview of People's Canada Daily News with Comrade Camilo Maturana, a militant of the People's Front of Chile. The interview, held October 28, 1977, the eve of a nation-wide speaking tour in Canada, appeared in PCDN Vol. 7, No. 259, 1977.*

**Q.** What message would you like to give to the Canadian working class and people during the course of your tour across Canada?

**A.** Our principal message to the Canadian people is to show them that the tragic experience of the Chilean people has a universal message. One of the principal lessons that Chile brings to us is the complete bankruptcy of reformist politics and, as well, that fascism is the natural conclusion of the political line of the "parliamentary road to power". The direct experience and historical confirmation that have come out of Chile on the anti-fascist struggle show that fascism continues to be the most direct, the most violent and the most reactionary arm of the bourgeoisie. We have seen in Chile that during the period of the Popular Unity government, during the tragic period of trying to arrive at socialism through the parliamentary road, fascism came into being not only with the appearance of the fascist military, backed up by North American imperialism, as well as para-military groups but also it was nurtured, grew and developed, across the same state structures that were intact up to that point. We recall for example that the arms control law was passed in parliament, proposed by the Christian Democrats and supported by all the parties, including the Popular Unity. The second message that we would like to give the Canadian people is that to conduct a thorough anti-fascist struggle, we must combat fascism on all fronts. A third point of our message centres around the question of international solidarity. We think that solidarity with the Chilean people does not mean a solidarity reserved for them exclusively but rather we consider that in seeking the support of the world's people, in exchanging with them our experience and lessons, we believe that we are providing the world's people with a very definite contribution and serious content to the question of how they are to gain their independence, what road they should take in their struggles, etc.

**Q.** What is the situation in Chile today?

**A.** Today we have a very complicated situation in Chile. This is because of the various contradictions that are present at this time. On the one hand there are contradictions which are manifesting themselves inside the camp of the dictatorship. A second contradiction is developing in the bourgeois sectors which are closely tied to the new Carter administration. That is, there are bourgeois sectors which are solidly tied with monopolies which represent this new sector of North America's bourgeoisie and those sectors which represent Pinochet and his government — that is the most reactionary, the most retrograde of this same national bourgeoisie. On the other hand, there is the contradiction between the masses of people and their principal enemy, fascism and imperialism.

Lately there is talk internationally, that a process of democratization is taking place in Chile; according to some newspapers steps have already been taken in this direction with the "elimination of the DINA and so-called release of political prisoners. We should be very wary of these things, especially in view of how matters really stand. First of all the DINA has not been dissolved, its name has simply been changed to the National Centre of Information. Then as far as political prisoners are concerned, 300 or thereabouts were released, but almost half of these were immediately re-imprisoned because according to the state, they had once again engaged in subversive activities. Some concentration camps were closed, but for every camp closed other concentration camps were opened. So all the talk of democratization really amounts to nothing, it is just a farce —

propaganda put out by the same North American government which has interests in Chile. We must see the present situation in this context, North American imperialism at this time under the direction of President Carter has a major interest in changing Pinochet, because Pinochet no longer serves the interests of imperialism in that country (Chile). This general policy that Carter is bringing forward in all of Latin America finds its support among the industrial bourgeoisie. That is, that sector of the bourgeoisie most closely tied to the monopolies represented by the Carter administration. To change Pinochet is not an easy thing. It cannot be done from one day to another. Carter then, using his entire apparatus in Chile has had to first guarantee to Frei and to the most reactionary sector of the Christian Democrats, the support of the armed forces. To guarantee this, the Carter government had to move in a very intelligent and subtle manner, due to the fact that Pinochet's repressive system extended even within the armed forces itself. He wanted to control the movements of the various generals and officials who were in agreement with Carter by constantly moving them from one area to another or by simply firing them. All these things then somewhat impeded this manoeuvre of Carter from taking its normal speedy course. Then, in another development, the Christian Democrats allied themselves with the reformist sector — none other than the "Communist Party". With this they sought to attain another "democratic" wrapping which provided Mr. Frei and the Christian Democrats with another "democratic" head not disposed to changing the Junta. In fact only two weeks ago, Frei and the Christian Democrats, through its president Mr. Zaldívar made a public statement for the first time, calling openly for the formation of a united front against Pinochet. This statement declared that everyone could become part of this united front with the exception of those who did propaganda for armed struggle; that is, with the exception of the entire Resistance movement in Chile. On the other hand, we can see how popular resistance has been reinforcing itself not only through active resistance but also because the various parties of the popular resistance are bringing forward a programme of united action after almost four years of resistance; there have been fraternal meetings between our Party, the Socialists, the comrades from the United People's Action Movement (MAPU) and the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile (RCP) which are principal forces inside the popular resistance movement. These fraternal meetings and exchange of views helped in the formulation of vital things such as the formation of a front, that is a political resistance front with absolute and unconditional support for Resistance Committees and united around a seven or eight point programme.

**Q.** What is the attitude of the different social classes to the fascist dictatorship?

**A.** We know that the Junta right from the beginning found a consensus and support from a large section of the bourgeoisie — a passive support, passive in the sense that there were no great public demonstrations by them, but active in the denunciation of the comrades and in the hunting down of revolutionaries and anti-fascists. But this support has steadily fallen off over the past three or four years of fascist rule. This has been mainly due to the economic policies of the dictatorship which bases itself on the well-being of large monopolies, this policy which they have called *Economía de Mercado* means nothing else but giving a free hand to the monopolies, thus leaving the national industry — or the small industry with Chilean owners to suffer the worst crisis seen in the past twenty-five years. We find then that all the middle bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and small producers, who were at first sympathizers of the fascist Junta, are no longer so. We can see how

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there has been a very interesting proletarianization of the small producers. This has been especially so in the countryside. In going back to *latifundo* the Junta created a system of *minifundo*, that is, it created small landowners — who can own more than a little land but not enough to be considered to be *latifundista* — who at times exploit small producers. The small producer, owing to the negative agrarian policies, owing to the increasing economic crisis, was forced to sell all that he owned and give his efforts and labour either to the *minifundista* or to the large *latifundista*. We also find this same process at work in small industry, for example, with the artisans. In a small district in Santiago last year (1976) more than 500 artisans were forced into bankruptcy. Practically, this meant closing down about eighty percent of that district's small industry and they did not close with small savings in their pockets — no, they closed amidst the most horrendous crisis. This situation created a process of proletarianization. Even in this crisis they are still not in favour of a radical situation. They did not join in the resistance such as *La Lega Patriótica e Comerciante* (The Patriotic Commercial League) which is under the leadership of the People's Front. These people have found a political solution by supporting Frei's sector, seeing in him a possible way out. This small section of the bourgeoisie; the section most linked to the monopolies — the most arch-reactionary section — the one tied hand and foot in its own crimes — having massacred people, made compromises, robbed land, machinery and homes — constitute no more than five percent of the population. Then we see the popular masses, the workers who from the beginning, have been against the fascist regime and who now have an even more profound hatred of it. If we look at the professional section (doctors, professors, civil servants) this sector is more and more manifesting an attitude against the state. Recently, for example, there was a conference of civil servants which among other things demanded

from the government freedom of assembly, freedom to unionize, the right to free speech — that is, all the basic and elementary rights. Then the professors came forward with various economic and political demands and, on May 1st, more than 300 unions, some legal, some illegal again signed an open declaration for a return to democracy. These are very important things because they encompass not only workers but also other strata and sections of the people. Finally, if we look at the peasants, they are also undertaking very ferocious struggles, principally in Colchagua and Bio-Bio. In addition the peasants have stated openly for the first time that if the land is stolen from them they will defend it by every means. If we look at the popular sections of the city, we see the working class, which was and continues to be in the vanguard of all the struggles and is at this time once more renewing its decisive role. The working class for the first time in the resistance is giving small examples of armed struggle, which has caused much fright amongst the Junta and much rejoicing among the people. A concrete example is the recent execution of a spy from the DINA (secret police) who infiltrated a steel factory employing about 2,500 workers. The spy had been working in the union and had begun to infiltrate clandestine organizations. At this point the workers of this industry did not want to eliminate this spy on their own — they wanted the entire Resistance of that sector to participate in his elimination. They held a general meeting of the *Suana Matucana* where it was proposed that the spy be executed. When all had agreed with the proposal, a group of comrades carried out the decision. This caused a wild scare as demonstrated by various articles which subsequently appeared in the state-run newspapers. First of all, because it was an unprecedented act on the part of the workers, secondly because the workers having become conscious of their vanguard role had united an entire industrial sector and had decided upon this form of struggle, which was unknown until that time, and which in part can be considered a form of armed struggle. All this shows the reaction of the various social classes to the present situation. We can see that there exists a large front in fact against the Junta. We must recognize, however, that in this front two positions and two lines exist. There is the position encompassing Frei and all the reformists and those sectors which want change but also to keep intact the actual state of affairs. And there is the other line, the line of popular resistance; the line that wants to destroy the dictatorship so as to bring about the radical change in the situation.

**Q.** What is the People's Front and who or what political organizations constitute the People's Front and are active in it? What are its tactics, its strategy, its work and its programme?

**A.** The People's Front was born at a time when there was a diffusion of the general mass movement; at a time when there was a great dispersion of force among all the member parties and all the leaders that had been outspoken during the Popular Unity government, and who subsequently went into exile. In April 1974, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of Chile launched a call to the Chilean people for the formation of another people's front. Preceding this call, the RCP had had various meetings with all those parties that had been fighting in the Resistance. This took place shortly after the coup and during the early months of 1974. These meetings were beset with many difficulties, some of which were due to the repression (leaders would disappear — some dead, some in exile), others due to the great internal struggles taking place within the Popular Unity and the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) parties, struggles which continue to this date. When the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile (RCP) launched this call, various unions operating clandestinely, including the student federation and the Patriotic Commercial League and also Resistance Committees at the base responded to this call. It was at first a minimum reaction, but from this minimal response a people's front has grown and flourished — the only united front of the masses in the Resistance in Chile today. From the very beginning it was clear to the militants of the People's Front that this was to be the first germ, the first attempt, the first cell of a greater anti-fascist front which would bring destruction to the Junta. We think that this large-scale front has yet

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to be built, because there are still other forces that are coming up as a result of the general process of maturation that has taken place in Chile. Now we are seeing the conditions built for the formation of this definitive people's front. At the same time, the People's Front is creating the structure, on a national scale, has guided and led and participated in various struggles; for example, and we say this with great pride, if we take the latest struggle in the universities, comprising boycotts and sabotages, these latest struggles have been led almost exclusively by us. We are certain that if the Resistance of these organized forces working with the popular resistance takes too long for reasons of repression, to form this large political front which the people clearly need, the necessity of the situation will unite the largest section of the people and the most prominent social classes that stand in opposition to the Junta. But unite them around what? We say around a minimum programme. And to fight for what? To fight for a united and anti-fascist government. A government that will return to its people a series of guarantees and liberties which they had won in the course of fifty years of workers' struggles. Not only this, but this government will have the historical task of completely smashing fascism. Thus, this united and anti-fascist government cannot be a government which accepts the remnants of fascists who would be hiding out in various dark corners of the state, or state organizations. No, this government will have the historical task of annihilating fascism once and for all. We know of course that to annihilate fascism the people necessarily must be armed. Thus the other historic task of this front would be to arm the people. An armed people is the only guarantee that this government will fulfill its historic task. The task of the Front according to our estimation is at least to unite around the minimum programme, to unite around the call for the basic necessities of bread, work, land and liberty.

Various organizations are presently members of the People's Front. Among the most important are the various Resistance Committees at the base (existing either at local or city level). Then there are the anti-fascist committees of the professors which constitute the only united organizations amongst the professors. In addition there is the Front of Anti-Fascist Artists; and among the working class, which is the most important sector, we have the workers' committees. These committees are clandestine, working as well within the illegal unions. There are moreover, a large number of unions, legal and illegal, which adhere to the politics of the People's Front. In addition there is the Nucleus for University Resistance, which has led the recent struggles of the university students. As well, there are the Peasant Committees which have led the struggles in Colchagua. There are the committees of the People's Front itself, which constitute the direct organization of the People's Front. Around the People's Front there are numerous comrades at the base from the various parties who while working within their own parties are an integral part of the Front. As far as political organizations and parties which form an integral part of the Front, there is of course the Revolutionary Communist Party, which as I said before has been the driving force behind the Front, and which is cooperating with other parties which are presently being reborn after a long, long period of work — internal reconstitution, ideological struggles — such as the Socialist comrades and the comrades from MAPU.

**Q.** What is the present level of struggle in Chile and how does it manifest itself concretely? What are the forms and what are the actions that have been taken by the Resistance Committee and various other mass and popular organizations?

**A.** Resistance of course, entails not only the factor of organization, but also constitutes a large movement of the masses, that takes on spontaneous struggles, struggles which are both great and powerful against the Junta. In the last analysis these

spontaneous struggles should be organized, and guided — this of course is our task. These spontaneous struggles have always had very definite objectives or reforms behind them; for instance, struggles for more water in various districts, refusal to pay electrical bills, etc. It is also true that others among these struggles have taken a more direct political character — that is the fight for the liberation of political prisoners, "missing" prisoners — instances where 300-400 youths sign a declaration demanding liberty and democracy. These acts correspond to popular resistance which is not directly guided by organizations with the Resistance movement. At times there are small groups who, having read a bulletin from the Front, agree with it and organize various actions, write further information for the Bulletin — all this without our knowing who they are, or without our assistance. These cases are becoming numerous and frequent, the question for us is to learn to analyze and contact these people, keeping in mind that all actions must be exercised with extreme vigilance and under conditions of repression and clandestinity. We have to learn how to give a further push to these spontaneous struggles as even a first step before a more directed and organized struggle. If we look at women for instance, we will see that they in particular, have undertaken great and valuable struggles — among their struggles are the now internationally famous hunger strike to liberate political prisoners, and also demonstrations comprising 200-300-400 women, demonstrations in the streets, demonstrations in the churches, demonstrations in the courts — all these demonstrations were led by women, women who had husbands, comrades, brothers, etc. in prisons. There has also been a large participation of women in local demonstrations. Not too long ago, for example, there was a barricade built by women in St. Miguel — a district of Santiago against a factory which exploded from time to time and placed the population in danger. All these spontaneous struggles show the fighting spirit of the Chilean people as well as the force on which the Resistance is being built. This is the level of the struggles that we can see today. Of course there are also the more organized struggles — the strikes of the coal workers, the steel workers etc. The higher level of these struggles is revealed in part by the fact that the state has to send in spies and infiltrators. In turn this has resulted in the workers retaliating in the most severe and serious manner against these disruptors and spies of the Junta. We consider these to be the first forms of the armed struggle. We are for, that is we actively and constantly work for, armed people's strikes. There are other parties who share this political view and we believe in uniting closer with them. For the masses of the Chilean people there is no longer the question of whether there should be an armed struggle, there is only the question of **how** to do it, how to organize. This demonstrates more or less the level at which we have arrived. Organization is the question on which there is weakness in Chile — it is this question that we are slowly resolving. Given the situation in general in Chile there is unemployment which has already reached thirty percent, and there is immiseration and hunger. Hunger and misery have always existed in Chile but it has never been as prominent and widespread as it is now. There are comrades who tell us that in the streets of Santiago, and especially in the streets of the South, there are children, orphans and old people who are literally dying of hunger and cold. We can see then that there is a widespread genocide in Chile. The reformists tell us that it is this state of things that puts people to sleep. Other reformists say that we should not take advantage of this widespread misery and suffering of the people because it would only lead to worse massacres with these crazy politics. All the pacifist politics of the reformists do not represent the class interests of the working and oppressed classes. It is for this reason that today they are putting forward the policy of alliance with the bourgeoisie — the policy of alliance with the

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Christian Democrats and Mr. Frei. Mr. Frei has spent six years in government office during which time more than two or three massacres (in 1966, 1967 and 1969) were carried out against workers and students in Santiago and other mining cities. This same Frei was at the head of the entire reactionary and fascist offensive during the Allende government and is the same person who right after the coup gave his most resolute assistance to Pinochet. Today because of the contradictions that exist among this bourgeoisie, Messieurs Corvalan and Altamirano and the leading group of the MIR which is in exile support Mr. Frei, forgetting all of his history, forgetting that they are aligning with a traitor. This alignment between one sector of the Christian Democrats (the new representatives of North American imperialism) has for us particular significance. The significance is that the reformists do not understand nor want to understand, for reasons of "principles" or political line which is understandable to them alone, that the struggle against fascism today in Chile is closely bound up with the struggle for national liberation. If we understand the question in this way, we would arrive at the natural conclusion that to combat imperialism and fascism which are the principal enemy in our country, the popular masses cannot align themselves with a section of North American imperialism to combat the other faction of the same imperialism. This policy is clearly in the service of the interference of imperialism in our country, it will serve only to further assure the continuity of imperialist oppression in Chile. This question of alliance between the reformists and a section of the Christian Democrats has taught us to be very careful, and to consider them to be quite apart from the interests of the people. We say openly that they lie outside the interests of the people and that at most they constitute a type of "left" of the bourgeoisie. With these remarks I would like to answer some positions recently taken by the leadership of the MIR where they maintain that they have not yet concluded many things with the Popular Unity Party, with the "Communist" Party, because they are reformists, yet at the same time they are for unity with these forces because they believe that reformism is an error of the workers' movement. We maintain that with this position they are simply allying themselves with the bourgeoisie against the people. What is the correct path? The correct path is not only that which is being demonstrated as being correct in Chile, but also in Latin America; this is the experience of the Chilean people. The correct path is unity in action. This the Chilean people have understood very well with the creation of the active Resistance Committees.

In making this analysis which at once seems simple and schematic, but nonetheless realistic, we arrive at the position that there cannot be an anti-fascist struggle for national liberation if first of all we do not rely on the people and their strength. It cannot be a coherent anti-fascist struggle much less a struggle for national liberation for those who have no faith in the people and who rely on one section of imperialism to combat another section of the same imperialism. These are basic and elementary principles.

**Q.** What was the role of U.S. imperialism in the coup d'état, the role of U.S. imperialism today in Chile and what is the unity and contradictions which exist between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism on the question of Chile?

**A.** The interchange made between Corvalan and Bukosky is a demonstration of the agreement made by the U.S. and the Soviet Union with respect to Chile. The interesting thing about this exchange is that prior to the exchange there were meetings at the ambassadorial level between these two countries. This question of exchange was almost entirely decided at the top and then communicated to this same Corvalan who himself declared to a newspaper in Mexico that he did not know that he had to go away and that he was being replaced. This example is a small example of the type of collaboration which is presently going on. One of the questions which we always emphasize, particularly when we talk to the democratic and anti-fascist forces, is that to be against the Junta at the international level means not to give any assistance whatsoever, not to collaborate with this regime which is based on the blood of the Chilean people. On the one hand we have those people who say that they oppose the Chilean Junta because they are

repressive and criminal, even various bourgeois parliaments and politicians such as Carter, Kennedy, everybody says this. Even the Soviet Union does not agree with what is going on in Chile. However, what we have noticed is that the Soviet Union has not denied the reports twice published by French newspapers, where they stated that the Soviet Union sold arms to the fascist Chilean junta, such as tanks and light weapons. This they did through Bulgaria and the arms shipments passed through Yugoslavian ports. The French papers, as I stated earlier, gave ample evidence of this type of activity. We say that this is the most clear demonstration that the question of Corvalan is not an isolated incident. This simply reflects that the basic interests of the Soviet Union are fundamentally opposed to those of the Chilean people. The way we see who are our friends and who are our enemies is precisely by looking at the activities they engage in. We say clearly that those who support a pacifist policy, those who support the criminals like Frei and other such people, cannot be in support of the struggle of the Chilean people. Thus we are very clear on this question. The type of activities which are engaged in by the Soviet and U.S. imperialists are basically part of the collusion and contention of the two superpowers. However, one thing which is clear is that when the question is that of the exploitation and oppression of the people, the superpowers are united, and of course have their "gentlemen's" agreement and also respect certain areas of influence. As anti-fascist militants, we look at things through the prism of our struggles in Chile. There are countries which have given open assistance to the fascist Junta, while at the same time there are those who have given militant support to the Resistance through propaganda and other forms. U.S. imperialism not only gave financial and technical assistance to the fascist coup, but it is important to remember that on the day of the coup, more than 30 U.S. planes were poised in Argentina to intervene in Chile in case of difficulty by the fascist generals. On the same morning a number of ships from the U.S. imperialist fleet, in agreement with the reactionary Chileans, entered the port of Valparaiso and many of the comrades affirm that U.S. military officials assisted the fascist military in their massacre of the Chilean people. The coup was not only supported by U.S. imperialism but it was practically organized by them to defend their interests, the reason being that due to the sharpening of class struggle in Chile and the heightening of political consciousness, the situation was such that if U.S. imperialism and the internal reaction would not have drowned this movement in blood as they did, the revolutionary movement would have developed in depth and breadth, to a point of no return for the reactionaries.

**Q.** What practical assistance can the Canadian working class and people give to the struggle of the Chilean people?

**A.** Solidarity for us is a very important question; beginning from the fact that our struggle is fundamentally based on our own strength. However if we look at the present economic crisis, today we find that the forces of resistance must make more than great sacrifices to maintain all the clandestine work. If we remember the experience not too long ago in Europe, that is the struggle against nazi fascism, the people of the world had to make great sacrifices, financially and otherwise, to support the resistance movement. Thus we see that it is extremely important to give practical assistance such as on the financial front to the Resistance, this much more so if we look at the grave economic situation and impoverishment of the masses. Solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean people we believe is an important question which can take diverse forms such as doing propaganda for the struggle of the Chilean people, all these forms are important. For example, if propaganda is not carried out then we are objectively giving an open forum to the reactionaries whose purpose is to demonstrate that fascism can suppress the people. At the same time, there are the pacifists who simply want to demonstrate that in Chile there are political prisoners, blood, and of course they cry about the situation and they want everyone else to shed tears with them. All the propaganda activity which is carried on the struggle of the Chilean people, in whatever form and at whatever level, is of great

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assistance and value. For us it is of great importance that people study and discuss the experience of the Chilean people.

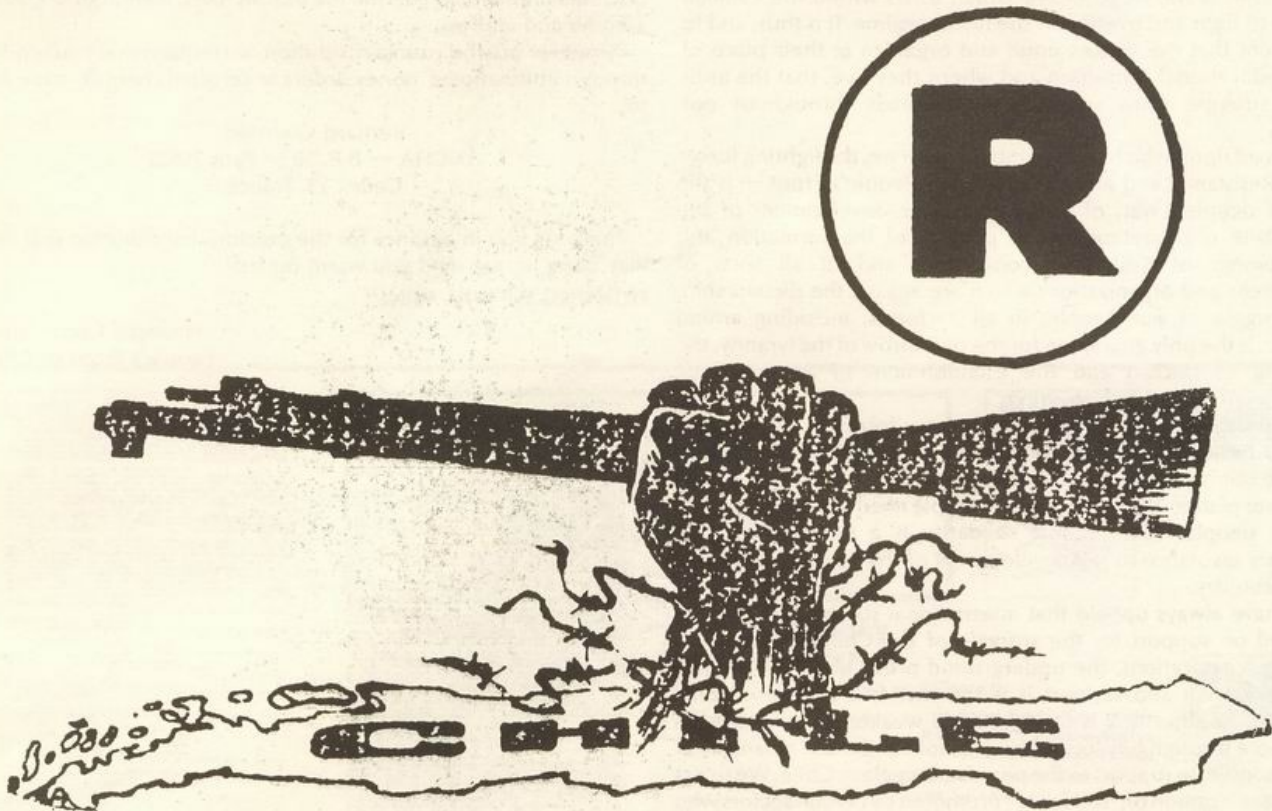
At this moment, one of our principle problems is a practical one, that is the financing of the Resistance. This is a problem which we must resolve. The other aspect of solidarity, not less important but just as fundamental, is that from the moment that our struggle is against an enemy, against imperialism which is a world system which oppresses the peoples and nations of the world, we through our struggles are giving telling blows to U.S. imperialism and through our militant struggle against the fascist Junta for liberation, we are smashing the illusions of all the imperialist powers. In this way we are making a contribution to the struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world who are under the domination of U.S. imperialism and other imperialist powers. Therefore what can the Canadian people do for us? Firstly, as I said at the beginning of the interview, it is to learn from the experience of the Chilean people to be able to take these experiences and say that Chile is not far from Canada, nor that the situation in Latin America is different than in Canada. We must be clear that what has occurred in Chile can occur in any country if the same road is followed. The form, the manner, the colouring might be somewhat different but obviously the result will always be the same. Therefore one of the ways in which internationalism manifests itself is to learn from the experience of the Chilean people and wage struggle against U.S. imperialism in your country and fight the policies of imperialism, and fight the penetration of imperialism and the superpowers in Canada. It is important not to have illusions about any of the so-called "positive" aspects of U.S. imperialism, nor of any other imperialist powers, nor to align oneself with one imperialism to oppose another. The question at this moment is to create with this militant solidarity, a militant unity of struggle against the common enemy. This militant solidarity and unity is strengthened and developed through small

and large activities, the small things such as simply reproducing news articles, further still carrying interviews and as far as the big things are concerned, we see this in a very moving fashion every day, such as the struggles of the comrades in every country of the world, not only for liberation but also for the total destruction of imperialism in the world.

**Q.** What is the call of People's Front to the Chilean patriots presently residing in Canada?

**A.** The People's Front calls upon all anti-fascist comrades and democratic elements residing in Canada to unite at the base around concrete questions and programmes of struggle which aim at the concrete support of the Resistance at home. We comrades should follow the example of our people which is that of uniting at the base and leaving aside all differences which divide us. Even though these differences are of principles concerning the question of revolution and the future of revolution, these questions are not on the agenda today. The fundamental question at this moment is unity on the basis of concrete questions, and specific questions. One of the forms which we are presently putting into practice with comrades from the Socialists, MAPU, MIR, Revolutionary Radical Youth, the bases of the "Communist" Party, such as we are doing in Italy, is to unite around the committees in support of the Resistance and other committees, and working with comrades of those countries where we reside and who support the struggle of the Chilean people without any ulterior motives and also to firmly unite with the working class of that country. Through this form, experience shows us that not only will we have an effective unity amongst we Chileans, but we will also have great experiences which will serve us in the future. We as anti-fascists and democratic fighters should not wait to be organized by the "leadership", but we should organize and unite at the base. We also must unite with the progressive and democratic Canadians who support our struggle unconditionally.

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# Letter From the Resistance

People's Front  
Chile

Santiago, Chile  
March 1977

Dear Comrades,

Accept revolutionary greetings from the Chileans who are fighting in the ranks of the anti-fascist Resistance for the overthrow of the Pinochet dictatorship.

Today, the isolation of the fascist military junta is greater than ever. Desperate, the Chilean fascists are intensifying their brutal repression against the people, with all its assortment of crimes, tortures, detentions and disappearances.

Today, more than ever, Chile is being sold out, being delivered to the voraciousness of the big multinational enterprises and, first and foremost, to those that belong to U.S. imperialism.

Today, as during their best years, the monopolies and big landlords of the country are collecting incredible profits from the great exploitation of the people, causing the people tremendous suffering.

Today, trying to profit from the situation, certain sectors of the opposition to fascism, tied to the great powers, are trying to establish secret deals as a "way out" in order to attack the people, a "way out" which would jeopardize liberty and national independence. They are seeking mutual deals based on the disorganization, demobilization and demoralization of the popular masses, at the same time sabotaging all attempts to overcome these obstacles.

We who are fighting in the front lines of the anti-fascist Resistance are not afraid of this situation because, if it is predominant at the present time, it is only one aspect of what is taking place in Chile (and that which has been best known in the world). The other side of the coin is the huge desire which exists within the Chilean people to fight and overthrow the fascist regime. It is thus, and to the extent that the masses unite and organize at their place of work, educational institution and where they live, that the anti-fascist struggle gains strength and spreads throughout our country.

The road upon which we are embarking — we, the fighting forces of the Resistance and amongst them the People's Front — is the road of people's war, of the ever greater development of the clandestine organization of the people, of the formation and development of Resistance committees and of all sorts of committees and organizations which are against the dictatorship. The struggle of our people, in all its forms, including armed struggle, is the only guarantee for the overthrow of the tyranny, the smashing of fascism and the establishment of a democratic government of anti-fascist unity.

Our policy is to take as a base the very forces of the Chilean people, because we know that liberty will only be conquered through our own struggle and that no one is going to hand it to us on a silver platter. Nevertheless, our people need the support of the world's people. International solidarity is a tremendous and necessary assistance to the development of the liberation struggle of our country.

We have always upheld that international solidarity should be focussed on support for the struggle of the Chilean people, its fighting organizations, the underground press, etc. To make this struggle known and support it is the first task of international solidarity. Another task is to isolate and weaken the dictatorship even more through boycotts, denunciations and other means, all of which constitute support to the popular struggle in Chile. We reject the defeatist notion of "solidarity" promoted by certain sectors who put, in first place, the denunciation of tortures, repression and the blows against the people by magnifying them and minimizing the struggle that the popular masses develop day after day against the dictatorship.

We think that the financing of the Chilean Resistance should also be ensured in the main by relying on our own forces and it is in this manner that we orient our work. Nonetheless our people need international help and solidarity. Today, in Chile, one-third of the active population has no work. In Chile there are one million layoffs in the public service. The wages of the "privileged" who work are not enough to ensure even the bare minimum. Inflation, a plague for our people, has reached an average of 1% per day during the three and one half years of the Pinochet dictatorship.

In these conditions, our work of financing the Resistance is very difficult. This is why, without abandoning our work of financing ourselves, we are launching a concrete call to: support the concrete work of the Resistance committees; help the comrades that have to work in clandestine conditions; help to create hundreds of small propaganda teams in the country and to disseminate the clandestine press more widely; help the political prisoners and their families as well as the families of those who have disappeared.

As far as international financial assistance is concerned, our policy is also very clear.

- The People's Front organizations abroad finance themselves as well as help to finance the work in the interior of the country;
- All the money they receive from other organizations and people is sent to Chile.
- Directly from Chile, we send a note confirming the receipt of all aid received, to the address indicated to us.
- As well, directly from Chile, we can send you various documents and material from the Resistance; it is enough to give us a home and address.

Whatever may be your contribution, we request that you send it through international money orders or certified cheque, made out to:

Bernard Guerrien  
ANCHA — B.P. 59 — Paris 75623  
Cedex 13, France

Thanking you in advance for the precious contribution that you may bring us, we send you warm regards.

**FIGHTING WE WILL WIN!**

Financial Commission  
People's Front of Chile

"FRONT DEL PUEBLO"  
CHILE

SANTIAGO DE CHILE, Marzo de 1977.

Articulado(s) compañero(s).

Queridos, hoy, las noticias revolucionarias de Chile, por su importancia en la Resistencia anti-fascista, son el eje de la actividad de la Junta Militar fascista en Chile. Desafortunadamente, los sectores que se oponen al fascismo, en Chile, se ven obligados a buscar un camino que les permita escapar de la situación de aislamiento en la que se encuentran desde la dictadura.

El funcionamiento de la Resistencia chilena también presenta un aspecto interesante en el momento actual. En Chile, la mayoría de la población activa está sin trabajo. En Chile hay un millón de layoffs en el servicio público. Los salarios de los "privilegiados" que trabajan no son suficientes para asegurar el mínimo vital. La inflación, una plaga para nuestro pueblo, ha alcanzado un promedio del 1% por día durante los tres años y medio de la dictadura de Pinochet.

En estas condiciones, nuestro trabajo de financiación de la Resistencia es muy difícil. Por eso, sin abandonar nuestro trabajo de financiación de nosotros mismos, estamos lanzando un llamado concreto a: apoyar el trabajo concreto de los comités de Resistencia; ayudar a los compañeros que tienen que trabajar en condiciones clandestinas; ayudar a crear cientos de pequeños equipos de propaganda en el país y a difundir la prensa clandestina más ampliamente; ayudar a las familias de los presos políticos y de los desaparecidos.

Así como la asistencia financiera internacional, nuestra política también es muy clara.

- Los organismos de Resistencia en el extranjero financian ellos mismos su trabajo y ayudan a financiar el trabajo en el interior del país;
- Toda el dinero que reciben de otros organismos y personas se envía a Chile.
- Directamente desde Chile, enviamos una nota confirmando el recibo de toda la ayuda recibida, a la dirección indicada a nosotros.
- Asimismo, directamente desde Chile, podemos enviarle diversos documentos y material de la Resistencia; es suficiente con darnos un domicilio y una dirección.

Independientemente de lo que sea su contribución, le pedimos que envíe su aporte a través de un cheque certificado o un giro postal internacional, emitido en el extranjero.

Sea cual sea el monto de su aporte, le pedimos que lo envíe a: Bernard Guerrien, ANCHA - B.P. 59 - París 75623 - Cedex 13, Francia.

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**Sólo la lucha del pueblo derrocará al fascismo**



Grand jour de lutte dans la Résistance




3 years of dictatorship 3 years of RESISTANCE




CON LA UNIDAD DEL PUEBLO Y LA RESISTENCIA ANTIFASCISTA



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