

el cordonazo



PARTIDO OBRERO INTERNACIONALISTA (POI-CI), INTEGRANTE DE LA FLTI / COLECTIVO POR LA REFUNDACIÓN DE LA IV INTERNACIONAL

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RAMIRO MENDEZ

1939 - 2021

Agricultural worker since the age of 15

Founding member of the POI-CI of Chile and of
the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction (FLTI)



The tortuous militant path of Ramiro Méndez in search for the program and the combat for the Fourth International

due to the responsibility of the reformist and revisionist currents in Marxism,
and decades of adaptation and prostration of the ex-Trotskyists to Stalinism



1970. Chilean farm laborers and PEASANTS'
fight for a true Land Reform.



2019. Revolutionary mass combats in Chile.

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Introduction

In the present work we are introducing to the reader the life of comrade Ramiro Méndez (a pseudonym adopted during the Pinochet dictatorship), a Chilean revolutionary worker, founding member of the POI-CI and of the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International / FLTI, who in his own words recounts the more than 60 years of his life that he dedicated to the struggle for a socialist revolution.

In January 2021 the comrade passed away at the age of 82. During the last years of his life, Ramiro dedicated himself to work on this document as a contribution to the new generations of the working class and the rebellious youth who are looking for a path to the victory of their struggles against imperialism, the bourgeoisie, their regimes and governments.

The comrade was part of a generation of workers, of a revolutionary fraction of it, who entered the revolutionary combat, convinced that revolution was necessary and that it was the only option for the working class to put an end to their sufferings. The only condition for carrying out this task was not to betray, to fight for the revolution every day and defend the convictions that emanated from this struggle.

But the battlefield for militant workers and youth, as Ramiro realized, is full of obstacles, debris, and traitors paid by capital. This was not an impediment for the comrade to fight for his ideas and positions, but like millions of workers who fought (and fight) against this system, Ramiro suffered the role played by the traitorous leaderships to prevent the mass struggles from reaching victory. As the comrade shows in this work, this is the product of revisionism in Marxism and the prostration of the ex-Trotskyists to Stalinism.

Therefore, in this account of his militant experience, Ramiro reflected crude examples of the difficult road that the exploited masses have to travel in their heroic struggles to put an end to this system. This tortuous route that millions of youth and workers like Ramiro have to go through in their struggle for revolution is the consequence of the lack of a revolutionary leadership at the head of their struggles, to be able to lead them to victory and put an end to the bourgeois governments and regimes and to this rotten imperialist capitalist system once and for all.

As he himself recounts in this work, as early as the 1950s, comrade Ramiro began to fight in the countryside alongside the agricultural workers and poor peasants in Chile. He also recounts his experience in the convulsive events that shook Chile afterwards, such as the heroic revolution of the Cordones Industriales in the early 1970s. Ramiro was flesh and blood of that generation of workers who led the revolution of the 1970s in Chile, which was part of the worldwide revolutionary upsurge of '68-'74. Later, he was part of



Comrade Ramiro Méndez

the resistance to the cruel and bloody dictatorship that was imposed with the triumph of Pinochet's coup, commanded by imperialism in 1973, as he recounts in these pages. In addition, he tells of the struggle he led in exile and afterwards when he returned to Chile at the end of the 1980s, when the agreed "transition" from dictatorship to a "democracy" of the regime that maintained the Pinochet constitution was taking place. This work ends with the fight he continued to wage against the successive governments of that accursed civil-military regime of the Pinochetista Right and the Concertación.

In this work, Comrade Ramiro describes the road he had to travel in his search for an authentically revolutionary organization, whose program, theory, and strategy really respond to the needs of the masses and bring the conditions of victory to their struggles.

Ramiro began his militancy in the Communist Party of Chile in 1959. The victory of the Cuban revolution carried him into a crisis with that organization and led him to break with it in 1965. Thus began his struggle, which lasted almost three decades, to find a truly revolutionary current.

In this journey, Comrade Ramiro came to the conclusion that the proletariat at the international level needed a revolutionary leadership: The Fourth International, founded in 1938, under the lessons of the Transitional Programme and the Permanent Revolution, which fought tirelessly against Stalinism and its capitulators.

It was precisely this work that Ramiro carried out in the last decades of his life as a militant in the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth

International / FLTI. This was always with the conviction that this battle was not an easy task, since in order to give the proletariat back the leadership it deserves in order to succeed, it is also necessary to confront and defeat the currents which claim to be “Trotskyist” although they have definitively gone over to the side of Stalinism and counter-revolution.

Comrade Ramiro experienced this action firsthand during the course of the 20th century when groups of the Fourth International in the 1950s and 1960s dissolved under the orders of Pablism and Mandelism into Stalinist parties. This was the case of the POR which in 1965 dissolved into the MIR, at the time when this organization was being founded, which was the party of the Castro bureaucracy in Chile. The MIR was the “left leg” of the counter-revolutionary policy of the “peaceful road to socialism” of the Popular Unity government of Allende and the CP (which Fidel Castro himself would proclaim in Chile in person) and ended up being the “bloody road” to the imposition of Pinochet’s dictatorship.

It was also the case of the LIT-CI which at the end of the 1980s legitimized the agreed “transition” to “democracy” in Chile, hanging from the coattails of Stalinism, supporting the farcical and anti-democratic plebiscite which saved Pinochet and the Pinochetite generals. This was coherent with their actions in Argentina, where the MAS of the LIT-CI had sealed a strategic front with the Communist Party (called “People’s Front”), being subjected to Stalinism while the latter in 1989 was consummating the capitalist restoration in the former USSR and other workers’ states.

This action of the currents that claim to be “Trotskyism” while submitting to Stalinism is what has become widespread in the 21st century.

That is why comrade Ramiro, in his “Final Words” that is part of this work, denounces the role played by Stalinism and the ex-Trotskyists, like the PTR and the LIT-CI, in the revolutionary struggles in Chile in 2019: *“There it was clearly seen the policy of Stalinism and the traitorous leaderships that have tried and are still trying to stop this (the combat that was underway) by touting a peaceful way out, agreed with the bourgeoisie and imperialism: the Plebiscite and a rigged Constituent, which means that capitalism stays, that the army will remain intact, that all the repressive forces will remain intact (...) and the prisons populated with political prisoners.”*

What the comrade denounced in June 2020 were the consequences of the “constituent process”, which gave nothing to the exploited masses, not to mention the role played by the class-collaborationist government of Boric and the CP in applying the worst plans of imperialism against the workers and oppressed.

Today, three years after the beginning of that enormous revolutionary struggle that shook Chile on October 18, 2019, the validity of the lessons that comrade Ramiro reflects in this work is sharply demonstrated. Today more than ever it is a question of redoubling the fight against the traps set by imperialism and the bourgeoisie throughout the continent against the revolutionary struggles of the masses, traps that are supported by Stalinism and also the rene-



March 2022: Boric (left) takes the presidency of Chile after Piñera (right)

gades of Trotskyism who not only support the Boric government but do the same with the bourgeois governments of Petro in Colombia, Castillo in Peru, Arce in Bolivia and Lula in Brazil, while supporting the new Castroist bourgeoisie of the Cuban Communist Party that has imposed the restoration of capitalism on the island.

That is why we are publishing now the militant life experience of comrade Ramiro and make it available to the Chilean, Latin American, and world workers’ and youth vanguard that makes a thousand and one attempts to overthrow the bourgeois governments and regimes that perpetuate this decomposed capitalist system, but unfortunately, their revolutionary struggles are encircled, diverted and betrayed by the treacherous leaderships that the proletariat has at its head. This benefits the bourgeoisie so that it can continue applying its plans of super-exploitation, repression, imprisonment, physical attacks on the sectors of the exploited that resist, etc.

It is precisely against the treacherous leaderships that pour water on the revolutionary fire, that help to perpetuate capitalism and the suffering of the masses, and that lead the workers and exploited to defeat after defeat, that comrade Ramiro puts forward a call to combat and resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership of the proletariat, fighting to recover and re-found the Fourth International of 1938: *“I understood that I had no alternative but to fight to put an end to the situation in which I was living. Today all young people have to join this struggle to build a revolutionary leadership (...) My experience tells me that the only way is with the workers to win a revolutionary leadership in order to achieve victory”.*



Chapter 1

The beginnings of my militancy

The 1950s

My first steps in the class struggle and my first militant organization

I was born in 1939 in Paine, a commune in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago, south of the capital. Then, when I was about 18 years old, we moved to Buin, a nearby commune also located on the outskirts of Santiago, where I live today.

My parents were semi-literate peasants; they could barely put a few letters together. They sent me to school, but I studied a very short time; I reached the third year of high school. As I had a good memory and a great interest in reading, the school inspector, Don Julio Morales, gave me a book written by an Italian boy, called "Corazón" (Heart). I could not continue my studies because I had to go to work early. That was the mid-1950s, I was about 15 years old

My father had already told me about his experiences in the countryside: workdays from sunrise to sunset, miserable wages, inhuman working conditions, and when the boss passed by, they had to bow to greet him. We went hungry, not because my parents were "lazy", didn't work or make an effort, as some bourgeois say of the workers. No. It was because the wages were poverty wages and the conditions were of slavery. I saw all that in my parents' life. I remember it well because it was then that I began to feel a class hatred that I would call instinctive, given that at that time I knew "nothing". That is to say, I had no political training that would allow me to discover in depth the causes of the hardships we endured and how to combat them.

I experienced all this humiliation and arrogance on the part of the bosses first-hand



1959. Victory of the Cuban Revolution

when I started working in the countryside, and the meagre situation of the workers I felt more deeply in me. Then I understood, still instinctively but clearly, that the boss was not a friend. I was suffering the blows of capital and I began to see that it was that class that subjected me to these terrible conditions. Later I would understand that the bourgeois was our enemy and that our respective interests are irreconcilable.

In the countryside, hardships and my class hatred were deepening. At the end of the 1950s in Chile, the struggle for land was beginning to develop in the countryside against the Agrarian Reform Law imposed by the then Alessandri government. This reform was known by all as "the reform of the flowerpot". In that battle, I met the Communist Party (PC), which called for a fight against social injustice, miserable wages, etc. And in 1959, when I was 20 years old,

I joined the ranks of the Communist Party.

I was shockingly moved that there was an organization that promised to organize workers to fight injustice and even end injustice. Clearly, this was only formal because the politics of the CP were reformist and class-collaborationist. Although I didn't see it that way at the time.

Due to my keen interest and because I regularly attended local committee meetings, I was appointed in the CP to be in charge of the peasant sector within the party. It was there that I began to acquire more political knowledge.

During those years in Chile, workers' organizations such as trade unions - the Central Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT) had already been founded in 1953 - and peasant federations, such as the CP-led Federación Nacional Campesina e Indíge-

na (FNCI), which was the predecessor of the Confederación Campesina e Indígena Ranquil founded in 1968, began to gain strength. These organizations raised economic reivindications and demanded better living conditions.

I took part in the founding congress of the FNCI in 1962. One of the speakers at that congress was Clotario Blest, the founder of the CUT, among other well-known leaders. I was excited and my skin crawled when people in the CP talked about struggle and, sometimes, revolution. **I dreamed of overthrowing the system of the bosses and exploiters.**

But some time later I entered into a crisis with the CP as a result of the victory of the revolution in Cuba in 1959 and the repercussions this brought for Latin America and the world. When I began to learn about the process of the Cuban revolution, my conclusions about the politics of the CP jumped. The CP put forward the “peaceful” and “parliamentary” road to power and Cuba showed that the only way for the workers to take power was with the arming of the workers and by the masses destroying the bourgeois state.

And just as I was initially thrilled that an organization spoke of class struggle; the same class struggle led me to break with the Communist Party. But that break was only partial, because, although several of us militants realized that the “peaceful road” was not the road to socialist revolution, we did not realize that it was not just a question of the methods of reaching the seizure of power. In reality, we were facing a worldwide counter-revolutionary policy of Stalinism -which years later would prove itself in life in the revolution of the Cordones Industriales-, something I did not realize at the time.

Many years later I would fully understand the role of Stalinism during this period and that the imposition of the Cuban workers’ state had not only impacted on me and led me to break with the CP, but that it was whole swathes of the working class and youth throughout the American continent who turned left and broke with Stalinism after the success of the revolution in Cuba.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, profiting from the victory of the Soviet masses who crushed Hitler’s fascist troops during World

War II, had imposed the counter-revolutionary policy of “peaceful coexistence” with “democratic” imperialism. This was the Yalta and Potsdam Pact which Stalinism sealed with the USA and Britain at the end of the war. It was a pact of containment of the world revolution, in which Stalinism took it upon itself to strangle the revolution in the European imperialist powers, centrally in Germany, leaving the Red Army occupying only half of that country.

To a lesser extent, the Kremlin bureaucracy was also supposed to prevent the success of revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial world. Stalinism fulfilled this role to the letter, strangling or defeating any revolutionary process led by the masses, as in Bolivia, Korea, Algeria, Angola and a very long etcetera.

In those few exceptions where the masses expropriated the bourgeoisie during the post-war period in spite of and against Stalinism, as in China, Yugoslavia or the Eastern European countries, its role was to bureaucratize these workers’ states from the beginning and use these tactical victories to strengthen its own counter-revolutionary world policy. Its ironfist bureaucratic control in all the workers’ states included crushing in blood and fire all the processes of political revolution that the masses staged in that period such as in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956 and later in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

As a consequence of the Yalta Accords, during the second post-war period the CPs openly and directly supported US imperialism. For example, the Stalinist bureaucracy was part of the founding of the UN and supported the creation of the Zionist-fascist state of Israel which to this day continues to massacre the Palestinian masses.

In Latin America, the CPs were supporting the anti-working class governments and direct agents of the USA, as in the case of the Batista dictatorship in Cuba itself. That is why the success of the Cuban revolution provoked an enormous crisis in Stalinism: it found the CPs directly supporting their



1956. Political revolution in Hungary. The workers take down Stalin's statue

executioners and that is why the enormous process of radicalization of the masses that opened up went against Stalinism, which was set on fire in the eyes of millions of exploited people due to its open counter-revolutionary role played during this period.

I would later learn that at this time, while the norm of the Yalta period was the surrender of huge revolutionary processes to Stalinism in pursuit of “peaceful coexistence” with imperialism, the “Trotskyists”, led by leaders like Pablo, had dissolved the Fourth International within the CPs, thus preventing Trotskyism from being able to lead the processes of political revolution that were developing against the bureaucracy in the workers’ states throughout the post-war period and the fight against the politics of Stalinism throughout the world.

Later, then, knowing all this, I would understand to the end why the CP had no aim at all at the revolution; contrariwise its political line, far from leading the masses towards it, led them to class conciliation. They only formally spoke of socialism and communism, but in fact, they were servants of capitalism. This was evident in the whole international policy of Stalinism. And Chile was no exception. The CP had been pursuing an open policy of class collaboration with the Frente de Acción Popular (FRAP) (Popular Action Front). It promoted “anti-imperialism” and “anti-feudalism” for “national liberation” together with the “progressive” national bourgeoisie (the Radicals and Christian Democrats), those cowards who fear workers’ revolution more than imperialism, of which they are its junior partners!

The 1960s

My participation in the struggle of the farm laborers in the years before the revolution

In the 1960s the class struggle in Chile went on intensifying ever more. In 1964 Eduardo Frei Montalva of the Christian Democrats became president. During his government he implemented the imperialist policy of the "Alliance for Progress". This was a policy of US imperialism in response to the Cuban revolution and the repercussions it had brought to the whole of Latin America.

In 1964/1965 I had broken with the CP and begun to militate with the Maoist-style Stalinists of the Spartacus movement. I continued to do political work in the countryside, mainly in the trade union organization, which continued to grow in strength.

As I mentioned earlier, these were the years when farm laborers and poor peasants began to organize themselves into trade unions, federations and peasant confederations to fight back. There were dozens of occupations of estates in the fight for land, against the "reform of the flowerpot" imposed by the previous president Alessandri.

Frei pushed through a new Agrarian Reform law, tailor-made for imperialism and to the detriment of the rural poor, with the sole aim of safeguarding the property of the landowners. They feared that the exploited in Chile would follow the path of the Cuban masses who won the distribution of land among the poor peasants, expropriating imperialism and the large landowners.

In this context, I started to carry on more permanent and systematic political work from within the ranks of Maoism. My role was to do agitation and propaganda. We distributed leaflets denouncing the over-exploitation of agricultural workers. At the same time, we made contact with comrades who were just beginning to take an interest in trade union organizations. It didn't always work out well. On one occasion, a "yellow" peasant -that's what we call in Chile friends of the boss and traitors- handed us over to the police. We were held for a night and a day in the police station and were beaten by the officers. Finally, a lawyer managed to free us.



1960's decade. Mobilization of farm laborers in Chile.

The Spartacus movement, where I militated in those years, was a current that emerged in the universities, from the ranks of the student movement, and was joined by some intellectuals. It later became the Revolutionary Communist Party. I took part in its founding congress in the commune of Maipu, in Santiago. I remember that on the last day of the congress, we had to escape because it was repressed.

The leadership of this party was made up of militants from the petty bourgeoisie, mainly academics and professors, such as "Perro" Vásquez, Armando Cassigoli, "Pelao" Velásquez, "Chino" Palacios, etc. There were also militant workers and peasants in its ranks, mainly in Concepción, in the south of the country, but they were a minority in the party; the majority were students.

This was a marginal organization, but it had a certain insertion in the workers' movement, in the coal miners and the construction workers. This was because it had militants there, not because it led those sectors.

Later I would understand that the emergence of this Maoist party in Chile was part of the mediations that were put in place to play the role of left cover for the discrediting of the official CPs mainly in Latin America after the triumph of the Cuban revolution.

As part of this, I would learn years later

that the only difference between the Maoists and the CP was one of form, not of substance. The CP put forward the Soviet bureaucracy's policy of revolution by the "peaceful way" (the electoral, parliamentary, etc., i.e., the institutional way). And the Maoists in Chile spoke of the "armed road".

But both had the same aim: an alliance of conciliation and class collaboration, where the proletariat and the exploited masses submit to the bourgeoisie. This was more than clearly demonstrated in the Chinese revolution of '49. Mao Tse Tung did not want to seize power. On the contrary, his theory and program was that of the "alliance of the four classes" and unity with the Chinese national bourgeoisie of the Kuomintang party.

During the first Chinese revolution in 1927, Stalin and Mao had brought the top leader of the Kuomintang (Chiang Kai Shek) to a meeting of the Third International. It all ended with this Chinese bourgeois "nationalist" massacring the Canton insurrection of 1927 and murdering over a million Chinese communists. In the revolution of 1949 it was the Chinese masses, under exceptional conditions of crisis, war, famine, who forced Mao's army-party to go where it never wanted to go: to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, which was imposed in spite of and against this leadership. Thus a deformed workers' state emerged in China, as it would later happen in Cuba.

My entry to the MIR

If we speak of the new mediations that emerged to contain the masses on the left in the face of the crisis of classical Stalinism on the American continent, we must mention all the Castroist movements and currents which, usurping the authority of the Cuban revolution, took root throughout Latin America and the world.

Years later I would learn that what had been imposed in Cuba was a deformed workers' state - as I mentioned earlier - with the prediction made in the Transitional Programme that under exceptional conditions - as also had happened in China and would later happen in Vietnam - petty-bourgeois leaderships would be forced to go beyond what they intended in their break with the bourgeoisie. Thus in Cuba, it was the revolutionary masses who, in spite of and against Castroism, advanced in the seizure of power and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie.

But because of the character of its leadership, the tactical triumph of the seizure of power in Cuba would be used against the working class and the world revolution, resulting in a strategic defeat. The fact is that the Castro bureaucracy became into an appendage of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow, turned Havana into the headquarters of a conspiracy to prevent the Cuban revolution from spreading to the rest of Central and South America, and mainly to prevent it from reaching, developing and succeeding inside the US. Castroism's program was "never again a new Cuba" and transformed the island into a veritable "Berlin Wall" against the revolution on the American continent.

Thus it was that Castroism became the main left-wing cover for the official CPs, which were totally in crisis and discredited. That is why the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) was founded in Chile, where I - not at all aware of the role played by Castroism - began to militate in 1968.

The MIR openly defended the Cuban revolution and the guerrilla movements in Latin America and spoke out against class collaboration and the "peaceful road to socialism". In its early years, it even nuanced its program with "Trotskyist trappings". Many of its militants claimed to be Trotskyists; they spoke of Trotsky, of the Russian Rev-

olution, etc. It should not be forgotten that the MIR was founded in 1965 by Castroists like Miguel Enríquez, by anarcho-syndicalists like Clotario Blest and Ernesto Miranda, and also by "Trotskyists" of the Mandelist wing like Humberto Valenzuela and Luis Vitale who came from the old POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario), the party that the Fourth International had in Chile.

I later learned that the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International, led by Mandel, had affirmed after the triumph of the Cuban revolution that Fidel Castro was the "maximum revolutionary leader of the continent", thus legitimizing and sustaining Castro-Stalinism, when the latter had come to play its full role in preventing any revolutionary victory. As a consequence of this, in 1965 the POR dissolved to found the MIR, the party of the Castroite bureaucracy in Chile.

Just as the Castroites usurped the authority of the Cuban revolution to strengthen the MIR as a new, more credible and radical left mediation in the face of the vanguard and the masses turning to revolution, so undoubtedly the participation of the Mandelists in its foundation pursued the same end. They used the clean banners of the Fourth International and Trotskyism to give prestige to the MIR which was an appendage of Castroism.

Thus, the MIR in its declaration of principles took general elements from the theory-program of the Permanent Revolution, such as the worker-peasant alliance, with the proletariat as the leader of the exploited masses of the countryside and the city, the struggle for the setting up of a revolutionary party and for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Obviously the leadership of the MIR took all these elements as an abstraction or a "salute to the flag", since these points in its founding declaration were never reflected in the policy and concrete tasks of the MIR.

But, at that time, without knowing the role of Castroism or Mandelism, all this was what attracted me to the MIR and led me to break with the RCP. Although the Maoists also spoke of armed struggle and tried to create guerrilla organizations on the continent, they did not have as much impact or penetration among the masses. On the other hand, the MIR emerged as the party that most openly

defended the Cuban revolution and the direct armed road to the seizure of power, and all this was tinged with "Trotskyism". This was what made me politically inclined towards it.

Within the MIR I continued my political work in the peasant movement. This time, essentially in the seizures of estates, to which the MIR was in favour, unlike the CP, which openly opposed them (as later it was also against the factory takeovers).

Towards the end of the 1960s, there was an enormous radicalization of the masses as a whole. Land seizures massified in whole regions of Chile against Frei's bourgeois land reform. The high point of this struggle was the national strike of rural laborers in mid-1969. This is how the enormous workers' and popular resistance in Chile against the Frei government and its pro-US plans and policies was expressed in the countryside. Meanwhile, in the cities, huge struggles and strikes were being waged by the workers' movement.

In this process, I was mainly involved in organizing the peasants to take over the lands. My work was based in this same area: in Buin, in Paine, in Viluco, etc. I took part in the seizure of the El Escorial estate in Paine and in the seizures of Aculeo and Viluco, which are in the same area. I also went to Melipilla -which is about 60 km from here- where I was with the comrades who had already taken over the land and were influenced by the MIR. And I was also able to go around these agricultural areas talking to the peasants. It was in that context that the MIR militants in the area began to receive military training.

It was also at this time that I was able to take part in a cadre school for peasant militants organized by the MIR in Linares (a town 300 km south of Santiago). In that school, they tried to talk about Marxist theory, but it was done in an eclectic way because they talked about Marx, Engels, and Lenin as well as Castro and Che Guevara. This was another example of the MIR's politics being totally empirical. But at that time, coming into contact with the classics of revolutionary Marxism, I became even more enthusiastic and began to read some theoretical Marxist texts, while continuing to work in the peasant movement.

Chapter 2

The revolution of the Cordones Industriales and the counter-revolution of imperialism and Pinochet

1970-1973:

The years of the revolution My participation in the Cordones Industriales

In 1970 the first Chilean revolution began, which was part of the revolutionary struggles that took place between 1968 and 1974. As I could have the opportunity to learn many years later, in that period the workers and the exploited led a truly generalized global uprising at a time when the so-called economic “boom” of the second post-war period, during the Yalta period, was coming to an end.

This “boom” was a short period of economic growth that was based on the reconstruction of all that had been destroyed during the war. Obviously, it was the role of Stalinism in strangling the revolution in Western Europe and worldwide with its policy of “peaceful coexistence”, which allowed the development of this cycle of growth during Yalta and the millionaire deals that the imperialist transnationals were able to make, while, for example, the European proletariat worked in real conditions of slavery.

When this cycle of economic growth ran out, imperialism sought to go on the offensive in the world against the working class in the West and tried to restore capitalism in the workers’ states. The revolutionary upsurge of ‘68-’74 that took place in the imperialist countries, in the colonial and semi-colonial world, and also in the workers’ states with the processes of political revolution in Czechoslovakia (the Prague Spring), in Ukraine and in Poland, was the response of the masses to the imperialist offensive. The French May, the Italian “Hot Autumn”,



1968. French May

the Carnation Revolution in Portugal, and the movement against the Vietnam War in the USA were part of this revolutionary upsurge. In Latin America, the Cordobazo and the workers’ coordinators in Argentina, the factory committees in Uruguay, the 1971 Popular Assembly in Bolivia, and the revolution in Chile, which would reach its peak with the formation of the Cordones Industriales in 1972, all of them were part of this revolutionary upsurge.

In this scenario, the Allende government and the “Popular Unity” (PU) of the SP and CP emerged in Chile and won the presidential elections in September 1970. The Allende government was a bourgeois nationalist one that rode on the revolutionary rise of the working class and the exploited masses of the nation, to control and use it in its dis-

pute with imperialism for a bigger slice of the business.

During the first months of the revolution, I continued to do political work in the countryside. The seizure of estates multiplied and the MIR came to have a significant influence on the peasant movement in Chile. Through “Pelao” Roberto Moreno, one of its leaders, the MIR led the so-called “corridos de cerco” which took place in the south of the country, which consisted of raising the fences of the estates to place them on the wider boundaries of the land. In this way, the MIR even formed a current called the Revolutionary Peasant Movement (RPM).

At the end of 1970, I stopped participating in the peasant movement and at the suggestion of MIR leaders, I went to work in industry, as a textile worker in

the Comandari factory in the Santiaguino commune (district) of San Joaquín. The leadership considered that the MIR had to have an important militancy within the workers' movement, both trade union and political. So, from that moment on, I began my militant work in the heart of the workers' movement.

This is how I experienced the radicalization of the class struggle, with the takeover of factories and the formation of the Cordones Industriales. This process began in June 1972 and deepened from October onwards, when the bosses' lock-out took place, organized behind the scenes by US imperialism. The capitalists emptied and closed the factories; they produced shortages of food and basic goods, or else they hoarded them to sell them on the black market at prices totally inaccessible to the workers' pockets.

The working class responded by taking over hundreds and hundreds of factories of all kinds of industries, which were reopened under the control of their workers who organized production, attacking the private property of the bosses. In other words, a process of expropriation of the capitalists began. And that is how the Cordones Industriales emerged, which were coordinating committees of factories that stood up in each of the industries that were occupied.

The Cordones Industriales were made up of all the workers and went beyond the forms of trade union organizations that had predominated in the Chilean working class until then. The workers were no longer organized by trade or by factory, as they usually did in the trade unions, but by industrial zones, which in turn began to coordinate and centralize at regional and national level. It was a higher form of workers' organization, in which even workers in trades that did not have trade unions or were not affiliated to the CUT participated. For example, the Comandari textile workers participated in the Cordón Industrial San Joaquín, which also included workers from other factories such as Sumar, Coca-Cola, and more than 50 other industries in the area that were located in that commune, from Vicuña Mackenna Avenue to Santa Rosa.

Within the Cordones Industriales, there was no distinction of parties or



Huge mobilization of the Cordones Industriales

political colors. We workers were represented by delegates whom we elected ourselves and who were recallable at any moment. Everything was resolved in assemblies that voted by a show of hands. No delegate was bolted to his office and there was a full mandate from the rank and file.

In the years of massive and grandiose strikes and struggles that preceded Allende's coming to power, the working class forged a greater consciousness and began to go over the heads of their leaders. And not only that but also to go against their policies. In spite of and against the PU government, openly confronting US imperialism and the *momios* (the name given to the reactionary or fascist right-wing sectors), the working class stood up and began to solve its problems with its own hands. And for this purpose, they set up organizations that responded in a better way to the period of class struggle which had opened up, which were the Cordones Industriales.

The proletariat was really empowered in these factory committees! It happened just as the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International puts it: **The Cordones Industriales raised the question of who owned the factories, who ruled the factories; whether it was the capitalists or the workers.**

From the Cordones Industriales, there was also opened a way to put an end to the shortages imposed by imperialism and the bourgeoisie with the bosses' lock-out. We organized pickets

to open the shops and stores that were closed and hoarding food and basic necessities. This is how the Juntas de Abastecimientos y Precios (JAPs) came into being. Pickets also emerged from the Cordones Industriales to support the struggle of the agricultural workers and poor peasants against the latifundistas (big landowners), as happened in the commune of Maipú in Santiago.

And, of course, the Cordones Industriales organized the defense of the factories occupied by the workers. For example, one day the bosses sent fascist gangs to try to take over the Coca-Cola factory near the Comandari textile company (where I worked). With my comrades from the factory we went there armed with sticks, stones, etc., and together with the workers from the Sumar factory (which was another textile factory) and those from Coca-Cola itself, we managed to evict the "*fachos*" (fascists). Afterward, all the comrades who participated in that day met in an assembly to take stock of that mobilization. All the workers objectively agreed that the Cordones Industriales, as organizations, were more important than the unions and the CUT, because we had more strength and were more united. This was demonstrated by the fact that on that day alone, common pickets from the Sumar, Comandari and Coca-Cola factories had taken part. If all those workers that day had not struck as one fist, we could not have succeeded over the fascists. And if we were able to do so, it was because we were organized in a Cordón Industrial.

The revolutionary milestones of the masses collided head-on with the treachery of their leaderships

The Chilean proletariat organized in the Cordones Industriales stood up as the leader of the nation in the struggle against imperialism and the capitalists. The Cordones Industriales were real organisms of workers' self-organization. They were the embryos of the soviets, the bodies fit for the seizure of power. And that was the direction towards which the working class sought to advance. The workers organized in the Cordones Industriales agreed to take over the industries, expropriate the capitalists and advance along the road of revolution. That is why one of their main slogans was: *"Advance without compromise!"*

The working class set up their own organisms of dual power, as opposed to the power of the bourgeoisie. And they did this against the PU government, the SP, and the CP, and against the bureaucracy of the CUT. It was a huge revolutionary leap, and as such, it was savagely confronted by imperialism, the bourgeoisie, and its lackeys.

The problem was that the workers ran up against the counter-revolutionary leadership. From the moment they emerged, the Cordones Industriales clashed openly and at every step with the policy of the PU government and the CP, which was the "peaceful road to socialism" or the "Chilean road to socialism", as they also called it. But this was not a "Chilean" policy but a continental policy. It was proclaimed by Fidel Castro, as the representative of Stalinism on the continent, in the extensive visit he made to Chile during the revolution.

Under this policy, the SP and the CP opposed fiercely the Cordones Industriales from the very moment they emerged, and sought, by all means, to disorganize them and place them at the feet of the CUT, in order to strip them of their revolutionary character. But the workers of the Cordones Industriales knew that submitting to the leadership of the CUT, as the Stalinists and social democrats demanded, meant retreating from the ground they had gained, both organizationally and in action. In other words, to retreat from the enormous level of self-organization and self-determination they had achieved, and to allow the bour-



Vicuña Mackenna Industrial Cordón

geoisie and imperialism to advance.

It has become clear that the working class had gone much further than Allende's bourgeois government could allow. Thus, when the bosses' lock-out was defeated and the workers were preparing to continue to extend their power through the Cordones Industriales, it was the UP government, through the bureaucracy of the CUT, which ordered the factories and shops we had occupied to be returned to the bosses.

On 29 June 1973, there was an attempted military coup, the so-called "Tancazo". It was neither the "bravery" of the UP government nor the treacherous policies of the CP that made the attempted coup fail. It was the workers of the Cordones Industriales who once again - as we had done in the face of the bosses' strike the previous year - responded by taking over the great majority of the industries, estates, etc.

After the defeat of the failed coup there was a huge mobilization in Santiago. I remember it as if it were today. There were hundreds of thousands of us. The hatred of the workers and the exploited was already pouring out of every pore, because of the attempted military coup and also because of the actions of the Christian Democrats (CD) and other bourgeois parties that were conspiring against our revolution from the parliament. I remember that in that march the central cry was "Shut down, shut down, shut down the National Congress! But Al-

lende said that he was not going to close the parliament. On the contrary, he sat down to talk with the CD, which was already preparing the coup, and imposed a new cabinet, made up of the highest echelons of the military, which was called the "National Security Cabinet".

In that gigantic mobilization, the protesters also demanded the government to give arms to the people. It is clear that Allende was never going to arm the workers, but that was not all. Using the Arms Control Law -a bill by a Christian Democrat senator called Carmona, voted through parliament a year earlier with the support of the PU- the government sent the military to disarm the workers. From then on and by means of this law they began to persecute the workers, repress them, and raid the factories to take away the few weapons they had managed to get hold of. Thus they disarmed the Sumar workers of the Cordon San Joaquín, and this was repeated in a generalized way, in a clear policy against the Cordones Industriales. The disarming of the workers' vanguard was one of the mainstays of the PU's "peaceful road to socialism".

In those years of the revolution, I continued to be a militant in the MIR and to participate actively in the Cordón Industrial San Joaquín. But the policy of the MIR leadership was also to oppose the Cordones Industriales. The MIR said it supported the takeovers of factories, but its policy was

centered on its call to form an organization parallel to the Cordones Industriales, which were the Comandos Comunales (Communal Commands). And this policy led the workers to retreat because it meant weakening the Cordones Industriales, which were the real organizations from which the working class has made its strongest attack, expropriating the bourgeoisie and demonstrating that we workers can organize production without the capitalists.

The workers set up the Cordones Industriales, even confronting the leaders of the CUT who were considered bureaucrats by the majority of the comrades. The workers defeated the bosses' lock-out and made the production run without the capitalists; they were also the ones who defeated the "Tancazo" of June '73. They gave a revolutionary character to the JAP and showed

the peasants how to solve their problems with their own hands by taking over land and farms.

Meanwhile, the PU government was disorganizing the masses, together with the SP and the CP. And they ended up bringing Pinochet into government, saying he was a "democratic general". And imperialism, ITT, the CIA, and the *mummies* were enlisting their officer caste for the coup and developing a policy to win over the soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the Armed Forces.

In other words, imperialism and the bourgeoisie prepared themselves before deciding to give their blow. The PU prepared the way for them. The outcome was the bloody coup of 11 September 1973. I modestly participated in all this struggle, right up to that very day.



General Pinochet (left) and president Allende (right) after the formation of the National Security Cabinet.

1973: the "peaceful road to socialism" turned out to be the "bloody road" to the victory of Pinochet's counterrevolutionary coup

Today I can affirm that the crushing of the Chilean revolution in 1973 was part of the defeat of the revolutionary upsurge of '68-'74.

Classical Stalinism, as I mentioned earlier, had been fulfilling to the letter its counter-revolutionary role sealed in the Yalta Pact, which brought it an enormous loss of prestige in the eyes of the worker and youth vanguard worldwide. The crisis of the CPs provoked by the victory of the Cuban revolution would deepen in the face of the revolutionary dress-rehearsal begun at the end of the 1960s, which also went against Stalinism. All the struggles of that period confronted the counter-revolutionary sludge of the CPs, as for example happened in the French May 1968, where Stalinism was expelled from the assemblies and occupations of factories and universities, not to mention the political revolutions like in Czechoslovakia.

Thus, the role of Castroism was determinant and decisive in strangling this generalized revolutionary upsurge. Fidel Castro and "Che" Guevara were the great mass figures in Europe and the Moscow bureaucracy knew very well how to use them to abort the revolutionary processes. Meanwhile, Castroism prevented the success of the revolutions in Africa and supported the massacres of the Red Army as against the "Prague Spring".



The Red Army invades Tchecoslovakia to smash the 1968 Political revolution

Without Fidel Castro, Stalinism as a counter-revolutionary agent of imperialism would not have been able to betray the rise of '68-'74, selling out dozens of revolutions, in the central powers and the colonial and semi-colonial world, and crushing the processes of political revolution in Eastern Europe. Thus it was able once again to save world capitalism from proletarian revolution, just as it had done during and at the end of the World War II.

In Chile and throughout Latin America it was Castroism that directly applied

this policy, first of all, by desynchronizing the revolutionary struggles and leaving them isolated country by country in order to bring them to the feet of the bourgeoisie. Thus it prevented the revolutionary upsurge in the Southern Cone from being coordinated and centralized throughout the American continent, by isolating the workers and exploited of Latin America among themselves and from those in the USA who were rising up against the Vietnam War. Whereas what was centralized then was the counter-revolution on a world level, to defeat this great deed of the masses of the world. It was in

this context that the coup d'état of 1973 took place in Chile, supported and organized by US imperialism.

It was above all in the run-up to the Pinochet coup that Castro-Stalinism played its full counter-revolutionary role of containing the masses on the left, preventing them from advancing to the seizure of power. Imperialism knew that Allende was not its main enemy, but the masses who were creating dual power with the Cordones Industriales and who were bypassing the UP. So it prepared the counter-revolutionary coup to crush the revolution and provide a final solution. And it achieved its aim hand in hand with Pinochet. They murdered, repressed, and tortured thousands and thousands of workers and exploited people, imposing a real regime of terror.

It should not be forgotten that this defeat in Chile in 1973 was the spearhead of the policy of imperialism, which was an international policy of extermination, where the armies of the L. A. Southern Cone coordinated under the tutelage of the USA to impose bloody dictatorships in the region by means of the so-called "Operation Condor".

In Chile, the policy of the "peaceful road to socialism" was applied as part of Stalinism's policy of "peaceful coexistence". Castroism was obviously its main standard-bearer and the one in charge of guaranteeing the application of this policy. Therefore, under its program of preventing the triumph of "new Cubas", Fidel Castro came to Chile in person. Usurping the enormous authority and prestige of the struggle of the Cuban masses, he dedicated himself to proclaiming the "peaceful road to socialism" with the bourgeois government of Allende, the SP and the CP, in order to prevent the success of the revolution.



The workers of the heroic Industrial Cordons



Fidel Castro (left) beside Pinochet (right) during his visit to Chile

Before the start of the revolution, in 1967, the SP held a Congress in Chillán and adopted the policy of the "armed road to revolution", speaking of "revolutionary violence" as the "only road leading to the seizure of power". Obviously, this policy was never carried out by the SP, and how could it be otherwise if actually, its real policy was to integrate Pinochet into the National Security Cabinet of the PU government!

In the case of the CP, it went so far as to state publicly that the problem of the revolution was that the masses had been too hasty. In a document entitled "*Ultra-leftism, Trojan horse of capitalism*" it criticizes the MIR and the Cordones Industriales as "ultra-leftists", pointing to them as the main culprits of the coup of '73 because "they had wanted to go too fast". That is the balance sheet of these outrageous counter-revolutionaries of the CP who blame the revolutionary workers, when it was they themselves who guaranteed the continuity of Allende's government, applying a policy of popular front and class collaboration. And that perfidious policy proved to be nothing more than a roundabout way to fascism.

The "peaceful road to socialism" was a real tragedy. I remember that in '73, in a mass mobilization in Plaza Bulnes in Santiago, called by the Allende government, the PU and the CP, they taught the workers to dance the *cueca* (Chilean folkloric dance, NT), while the fascists were disarming the workers who had some weapons!

I came to these conclusions and the balance sheet of the Chilean revolution only much later. Thirty years passed before I was able to learn the lessons of why the Cordones Industriales were defeated and crushed. Now I know this was the responsibility of the traitorous leaderships not only of the SP and CP but also of the MIR, which had been supported and legitimized by the Trotskyist renegades.

Today I can affirm that the leadership of the MIR faithfully represented the international policy of Castroism in Chile, being the left leg of the "peaceful road to socialism" policy.

In the Chilean revolution of the Cordones Industriales, the traitorous leaderships concentrated on preventing them from becoming the organisms of power of the working class and exploited for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of power. what other task was posed if it was not to develop, arm, extend, generalize and centralize the Cordones Industriales? It was necessary to defeat the officer caste of the Armed Forces and win over the rank-and-file soldiers to defeat the coming coup.

But the Cordones Industriales could make no headway in dividing the army. This task was boycotted by the whole of reformism. As I have said earlier, the CP and SP in the PU openly opposed the Cordones Industriales, calling for them to submit to the leadership of the CUT. The MIR was no exception. While ignoring them as the real organisms of power of the working class and the exploited, it pursued a parallelist policy to focus its forces on setting up its own collaterals, the Coman-

dos Comunes, artificially created by them to weaken the Cordones Industriales.

There is one fact that I want to highlight so that it cannot be forgotten. Days before the military coup, sailors of the MIR in Valparaíso and Talcahuano spontaneously called for mutiny and revolt, denouncing that a bloodbath was being prepared for the working class and the exploited. However, the leadership of the MIR, which had grassroots work in the Armed Forces, never raised a policy of dividing the army, because its program was against the emergence of dual armed power and much more against insurrection as an art for the working class to seize power.

Therefore, the MIR leadership left alone the sailors who had risen up and ended up imprisoned and tortured by the Allende govern-

ment and later, when the coup succeeded, they were massacred by the Pinochet dictatorship. Ultimately, the leadership of the MIR had the same policy as the PU and Castro: that the soviets of workers and soldiers should never be set up, meaning that the base of the army should be separated from the Cordones Industriales, with the excuse of looking for the “patriotic generals” of the armed forces like Pinochet, who then organized the bloodbath against the best of the Chilean proletariat, under the command of the US imperialism and the ITT, from the government cabinet.

The MIR proved to be a class-collaborationist, guerrilla movement, and completely loyal to the counter-revolutionary policies of Castroism. Several MIR militants even formed part of an organization called the “Grupo de Amigos del Presidente” or

“GAP” (Group of President’s Friends) which were Allende’s civilian bodyguards, made up of militants from the PU and MIR parties. In other words, it was a policy of open support and collaboration with the PU government.

To defeat the coup and bring the revolution to victory it was necessary for the Cordones Industriales to spread, develop and arm themselves, with the proletariat dividing the Armed Forces and winning over the rank and file of the same

All the traitorous leaderships concentrated their forces to prevent it. The “peaceful road to socialism” and their search for “patriotic and democratic generals”, as they designated Pinochet himself, ended up being the bloody road to counter-revolution.

The years of Pinochet’s bloody dictatorship

After the military coup, the policy of the leadership was that “the MIR would not go into exile”, but that we would stay “fighting and resisting alongside the people against the dictatorship”. What did the MIR militants do then?

First we went underground, but what were the tasks? “Sabotage”, the MIR leaders said. How? Going to public places and leaving the water taps running; getting on the buses and “tearing up” the seats; uprooting the trees that were being planted -because Pinochet had a plan to reforest the towns; throwing chains at the lights to cause blackouts, and a whole policy along those lines.

Attempts were also made to organize defense committees against the dictatorship, made up of workers and students who were prepared to fight. But these committees did not materialize in the end, because they were made up only of MIR militants. Clandestine hospitals were organized, and we had to gather supplies so that they could work.

During the first years of the Pinochet dictatorship, the policy of “military arming” was the most important policy of the MIR. But it was not a revolutionary policy, but a petty-bourgeois, guerrilla one, which had nothing to do with reality, with the masses.



Chilean genocidal Army repressing the people during Pinochet’s dictatorship

Imagine what it meant for the MIR to implement this policy after the tremendous defeat of ‘73! The armies of the Southern Cone were coordinating to crush the slightest sign of resistance against the dictatorships that had been installed in the region and yet the MIR pretended to confront these genocidal armies with a group of armed men, isolated from the masses.

They were years of hard resistance, but the policy of the MIR leadership failed because it completely disregarded the balance of class forces that existed at that time. The dictatorship ended up liquidating the MIR almost completely. They killed its entire leadership and hundreds of its militants.

I knew many comrades who were assassinated with fascist methods, like Lumi Videla. The soldiers tortured her to death and then threw her body into the Italian Embassy in Santiago. I remember another comrade, “Diego”, with whom we did underground work during those years. Félix de la Jara Goyenechea was his real name and he was studying history at the University of Chile, but he dropped out to continue his militancy. In November 1974, he was kidnapped by the DINA (Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional, Pinochet’s secret police) and we never heard from him again.

I also remember Dagoberto Pérez Vargas. We met him at the end of the 1960s at

a school for cadres organized by the MIR. "Dago" was the eldest of six brothers. Between '74 and '76, the DINA murdered him and 4 of his siblings. Only Paty, the youngest, survived.

Another comrade with whom I fought was the "negro" Magüira. He was a teacher. He was arrested by the DINA and is still missing to this day. And another young comrade in his 20s was Arturo Núñez Riberos. Years later, when I was a militant in

the Communist League (Mandelist), this comrade was murdered by the CNI (Central Nacional de Informaciones, Pinochet's secret police, successor to the DINA after 1977, Ed. N.).

My breakaway with the MIR and my rapprochement with currents that claimed to be "Trotskyist"

In '77, perhaps one of the hardest periods of Pinochettism, I broke away with the MIR and began to move closer to Trotskyism.

After the Pinochet coup triumphed, together with a group of comrades, we got into crisis with the policy imposed by the MIR ("sabotage", "military arming", "the MIR would not go into exile", etc.), since this did not take us closer to the road to revolution, but quite the opposite. To apply this ultra-left policy, as a bloody defeat and a crushing of the working class and the exploited had been imposed, it only meant the massacre of more fighters.

It should be noted that my decision to break away with the MIR was influenced by the fact that the MIR itself in its early days peppered its program with verbiage of "Trotskyism," as I mentioned earlier. Clearly, the MIR could not do this with impunity, all the more so when the organization's discourse had to be tested on the battlefield. Several years earlier I had got to know and had some discussions with POR militants such as "Sordo" Valenzuela, Luis Vitale, and old Torof (who later joined the MIR) and also with other comrades such as Santiago and Juan Ramos. With them, we discussed the October Revolution, the theory of the Permanent Revolution, the Transitional Program, etc. And although today I have no doubt that the positions of Valenzuela and Vitale did not express a Trotskyist vision, at least these discussions allowed me to deepen my interest in learning more about Trotskyism and to contrast it with the facts of the class struggle that I had gone through and also with my own militancy in them.

Under this influence, and when my crisis with Mirista politics deepened, I contacted comrades who belonged to the Communist League (CL), an organization linked to

Mandelism, which also came from the MIR. One of its top leaders, the "Sheikh", had been a member of the Central Committee of the MIR. Two months before the military coup they broke away with the MIR and founded the CL. They published a newspaper called "Combate Obrero y Popular". Internationally, they had links with the Unified Secretariat (US) of the Fourth International which was then led by Mandel. The CL was recognized as a sympathizing group by the US, while the Revolutionary Socialist Party was its official section.

I came to the CL through "Flaca," a comrade from the MIR. In a meeting with the people of the CL, a comrade called Carlos, who had a good political level, smashed "Flaca's" conceptions." Then she prepared a meeting with several comrades to strengthen arguments to refute the CL's positions. Then we had a meeting with Carlos and the comrade convinced us that the CL's policy was the correct one (at least me and my partner, who also belonged to the MIR).

The main thing that convinced me of the CL's policy was its assessment of the PU, which was much more complete than that of the MIR, both theoretically, politically, and programmatically. Also, in connection with the role of the CP. In that sense, the MIR did not make a class assessment, nor did it have a position that was correct and revolutionary from a Marxist point of view. At that time, this did appear, for me, in the CL documents.

Even this current was critical of the MIR. They spoke of its "programmatic shortcomings" in relation to the question of the Cordones Industriales, its conception of the party, etc. These were all very important points for us. While they started by defining the MIR as a centrist party, they criticized

its position towards the Cordones Industriales, claiming that it did not raise a policy to develop dual power, but replaced this with its policy of setting up the Comandos Comunales.

When it comes to the policy to be developed in the during the military dictatorship, we considered the CL's position to be objective and realistic, unlike that of the MIR.

At that time, the CL's policy towards the MIR was to discuss against the guerrilla policy, demonstrating that it had no connection with workers' methods of struggle. In addition, they questioned the figure of Fidel Castro, the role he had played in the 1970s in Chile, and the relationship he had with the MIR. It should be borne in mind that the vast majority of CL militants came from there. But the questioning of this Mandelist current was very weak because it was completely adapted to the Castro bureaucracy and came from being part of the founding of the MIR. I learned this many years later, when I was able to learn the lessons of how Mandelism prevented the workers and exploited from having a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership, an independent Trotskyist party, during the revolution of the Cordones Industriales, which would have confronted the class collaborationist policy of the "peaceful road to socialism" and lead the masses to the seizure of power.

But in those years, hand in hand with the discussions with the CL, I began to learn many things that I had not known after my years of militancy in the MIR, and in this way, I began to know Trotskyism more deeply. It was in this whole process of discussion that we ended up breaking away with the MIR and joining the CL.

The 1980s

Exile during imperialism's counter-revolutionary offensive, after the defeat of the '68-'74 upsurge

A new revolutionary process shakes Chile: the proletarian upsurge of 1982-86, betrayed once again by Stalinism

In 1982 the repression of the CL leadership and activists in Chile skyrocketed, so I had to go into exile in Brussels, the capital of Belgium. There I continued to militate with the CL, which was the place I had to discuss and do politics. We also did a little work with exiled comrades, but it was very precarious and weak.

From afar we tried to follow events in Chile closely. Over the years I came to know that at that time an imperialist offensive led by Reagan of the USA and Thatcher of Britain had been imposed after the defeat of the revolutionary uprising of '68-'74. This bourgeois offensive sought to wrest from the masses their greatest conquest: the workers' states, the countries where the workers and exploited had expropriated the capitalists and seized power.

In Latin America there was the so-called *foreign debt crisis*, which in Chile was expressed in a deepening of the impoverished conditions of the masses. There was historic unemployment rates and conditions of exploitation worthy of a regime based on genocide.

Against this, the masses in Chile began a proletarian uprising, between 1982-1986, determined by thousands of strikes and mobilizations of the employed and unemployed workers, as well as the militant students. It was a huge offensive to get rid of the brutal military dictatorship. Pinochet almost fell as a result of this heroic struggle of the masses.

But these struggles, once again, were betrayed by the Communist Party. In 1984 the masses imposed the General Strike, but they could not make any progress in overthrowing the dictatorship because of the actions of the CP, the SP and the CD, which was already preparing the trap of the Concertación.

Meanwhile, the CP was in charge of dividing workers' ranks, with its "left wing",



Mass fighting against Pinochet's dictatorship

the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, leading the unemployed workers' movement -which started fighting amidst conditions of starvation and slavery- into desperate struggles separated from the employed working class, diverting its combat into impotent "protests" in the towns.

Thus, in 1986 a plan to divert and defeat the struggle of the masses began to be imposed, Stalinism would betray that process and impose the policy of an "agreed transition to democracy." Then the CP would call for a "No" vote in the 1988 plebiscite called by the dictatorship, to decide whether or not Pinochet would remain in power until March 11, 1997. Thus, the CP legitimized the trap that enshrined the Constitution of 1980 and the continuity of the Pinochet regime under the different Concertación governments that were imposed.

I was still in exile in Belgium when this new tragedy for the Chilean masses took place. The political work in the CL there was almost non-existent. But in Brussels I made contact with comrades who had militated with the Tupamaros in Uruguay and then organized themselves in the LIT, the current led by Nahuel Moreno. With those comrades we began to read documents and discuss.

We studied the polemics Moreno and the LIT made with the different currents and leaders who claimed belonging to the Fourth International at world level, like Lora, Lambert, the English and LRCI and mainly with Mandel and the Unified Secretariat. Moreno's debates with Mandelism were around his party conception, against the guerrilla strategy applied in Latin America and against their theory of "bourgeois camps."

In those debates, I was convinced how the CL and the whole US were nationalists because they did not analyze the world situation and the international class struggle to guide their militancy. It is clear that Morenism was not and is not far from the CL in that aspect, but in those years the LIT's position in that respect seemed to me to be more left-wing.

In those discussions in exile the Morenites convinced me of the correctness of their positions and shortly before returning to Chile, in '86/'87, I broke away with the Mandelist CL to join the LIT. Thus, the most important part of my militancy in exile was in the LIT, dedicating myself fundamentally to study and theoretical-political discussion and then joining its ranks.

Chapter 3

The events of '89 and the advance of the struggle for principled Trotskyism in the heat of the first revolutions in the 21st Century

In 1987 I went back to Chile. I had already joined the LIT in exile, so when I got here, I became a member of the Morenist current which was called the Socialist Workers Party (PST).

During those years we witnessed one of the worst defeats suffered by the world proletariat: the capitalist restoration in the USSR, China and other workers' states, which was obviously sponsored by the former Stalinist bureaucracy that became a new owner class.

Stalinism handed over the greatest conquests of the working class and the currents which spoke in the name of Trotskyism in the West, instead of supporting the processes of political revolutions which were taking place against the Stalinist bureaucracy, were part of strategic fronts with the CPs. This was the case of the LIT, which with the MAS in Argentina was in an electoral front called the "People's Front" with the Argentine CP. This scandalous betrayal led to the emergence in 1988 of a tendency and later a fraction within the LIT, called the Bolshevik Internationalist Tendency (BIT), fundamentally around the processes of political revolutions which were taking place in the workers' states, like in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

I quickly got in touch with the comrades in Chile who were part of that fraction and who carried out a courageous internationalist fight, but who were bureaucratically pushed aside and expelled by the MAS and LIT leadership. These comrades in Argentina had founded the PTS (Partido de Trabajadores Socialistas) and in Chile, they had set up the Liga Obrera Trotskista.



1989. The Berlin Wall is demolishing by the masses

The comrades regularly handed me their paper and the various publications of fierce political struggle against the LIT leadership. We discussed these elaborations, essentially the documents that explained why the comrades had become a fraction. They ended up convincing me of the correctness of the struggle they waged inside the LIT by raising as their program "Long live the political revolution in Armenia and Azerbaijan!" against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

They also convinced me of how disastrous was the LIT's policy in Chile of becoming part of the "Command for the NO" in the 1988's plebiscite. Back then, the Argentine MAS MP, Luis Zamora, came personally to Chile to give his support to such a betrayal against the masses. Furthermore, after the plebiscite he publicly called for the formation of "a provisional government of the Command for the NO and the United Left," which means a government of class collaboration. And then, already legalized as MAS, they presented two candidates in the parliamentary elections, although they also called to vote for Ricardo Lagos (bourgeois candidate

and later president of Chile) and María Elena Carrera of the Socialist Party for senators and the candidates of the CP for deputies.

Morenism, based on its pseudo-theory of "democratic revolution," considered it a step forward that Pinochet's dictatorship had fallen and a "democratic" government was imposed, which in essence was the same policy applied by the CP. But in reality, we were facing a real trap, which was the "agreed transition to democracy," which ensured that the Pinochetist Constitution of 1980 remained unchanged, and Pinochet's "work" was deepened by the Concertación and all the political parties of the civil-military regime. Such was the characterization of the BIT comrades of the LIT, who convinced me of its correctness.

So it was that in the mid to late 1990s, after a few years in Morenism, I joined this internationalist group that had founded the PTS in Argentina.

In every left turn or breakaway in my militancy, the decisive aspect was always the blows of international revolution and

counterrevolution, mainly the fights given by the masses. This was no exception when it came to breaking with the LIT. It was in those moments when the processes of political revolution were developing, which were the fights for which we Trotskyists should have prepared ourselves. But instead of that, this current was kneeling before Stalinism which ended up handing over the former workers' states.

Alongside these hard political struggles, what was developing was my eagerness to learn more and more about revolutionary Marxism and to compare its lessons, its theory, and program with reality, namely, to check if I was on the right track or not. This is how I was able to begin to leave behind the Yalta "Trotskyists", the Mandelists and the Morenists.

But the definitive leap in my breakaway with these conceptions came 10 years later. In 1998, the comrades who today are part of the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International (FLTI) understood that the leadership of the PTS, of which they were members at the time, was revising the revolutionary program. So, they decided to form a tendency (which was again called the International Bolshevik Tendency), drawing up a program that would put the party back in the fight for the banners of true Trotskyism. The response of the PTS leadership, led by Emilio Albamonte, was to prevent, through bureaucratic methods, these positions from being widely and deeply known by the whole party, by all the cadres, and the rank-and-file. The cornerstone of that fight was to fight against the passivity of the leadership in the struggle to regroup the forces of Trotskyism at the international level since its policy for "reconstructing" the Fourth International was to position itself as a national "theoretical center" to which alleged "left wings" of the Trotskyist movement would come to, without struggle of programs, without party political struggle and without confronting the renegade currents of Trotskyism, but adapting to them.

The comrades of the BIT of the PTS, who wanted to fight against the serious deviations the party was going through, had no guarantees from the leadership. Therefore, they were forced to declare themselves a faction and later they set up a new organization. The definitive slide of the PTS to National-Trotskyist positions, to position itself as the left wing

of Stalinism-Castrism, and to openly abandon Trotskyism to embrace a wing of Stalinism such as Gramsci, was starting.

After the BIT broke away with the PTS, the COTP-CI (Comité Organizador del Trotskismo Principista-Cuarta Internacional) was founded, but I did not immediately join the comrades. At that time the Trotskyist Study Group (GET) was formed in Chile, in which I participated. This group, in addition to studying Marxism and Trotskyism in particular, also studied the positions of these two currents (despite the fact that the PTS never responded to any of the assiduous polemics and party struggles that this revolutionary faction, the BIT, waged).

Later the GET broke away. Most of its members joined the COTP-CI, but some comrades, including myself, decided to continue in the PTS. Nevertheless, I continued to read the polemics carried out by the COTP-CI, which never abandoned the political, party, and program struggle against the revisions and adaptations of the PTS, as they are still doing so. Even when I was still inside the PTS, my position was always that the leadership should respond to these documents, but they always refused, treating the comrades of the COTP-CI as "delusional". This is a clear impotent stance by the PTS leadership who in reality could not respond to a single one of the Trotskyists' arguments.

In the assessment that I am in a position to make today as to why I did not break with the PTS together with the current that is today the Collective for the Refoundation of the Fourth International and of which I am a current member, I can consider multiple factors, such as my insufficient Marxist preparation that made me hesitate, not seeing the phenomena with a clearer and more precise vision. But what was fundamental was what Trotsky said: that *parties are shaped by reality* and at that time the defeats suffered by the masses weighed heavily in the world-class struggle.

The revolutions in Palestine (2000), Argentina (2001) and Bolivia (20023), together with the battles waged by the comrades of COTP-CI and my passion for world revolution and for setting up the IV international were the key issues that led me to break away with PTS in 2003.

Already in 2002, I had had a rapproche-

ment with comrades of the COTP-CI around an international campaign they were carrying out to form an International Moral Tribunal in the face of the brutal aggression carried out by the leadership of the Partido Obrero of Argentina against comrade Juan "Pico" Muzzio of the LOI-CI/Democracia Obrera (a member of the COTP-CI) for the fact that they had political differences. It was at this point that I began to argue with the current. In Chile, the leadership of the current PTR (then called "Clase contra Clase"), as well as that of the PTS in Argentina, refused to join this international campaign, which meant giving up the most elementary class principles. However, I did join explicitly as a militant of that organization. That is when my process of breaking away with the PTS really began. I then began to study the theses that the comrades of the COTP-CI published when the Bolivian revolution began and their polemical documents against the PTS, which began to vindicate the Stalinist Gramsci and to raise the theory of the "crisis of subjectivity."

A small example of this derailment of the current leadership of the PTR is that in an interview they held with me for a documentary they were preparing on the revolution of the Cordones Industriales, they cut out the part in which I openly denounced the traitorous policy of the CP. This was no coincidence since for the same documentary they interviewed people like Arturo Martínez of the SP, a bureaucrat in the CUT for years, and even leaders of the CP itself like Troncoso.

When we broke away with the PTS, we constituted ourselves as a Trotskyist Workers' Nucleus and set up a Liaison Committee with the COTP-CI, in order to get to know their positions and their struggle more thoroughly and to fully join the fight for the Fourth International. We wrote a public statement explaining the reasons for our split from the PTS and our adhesion to this Liaison Committee. We also drew up a public document giving an account of the main agreements that brought us closer to the COTP-CI, such as the program in the face of the Palestinian, Bolivian, and Argentinean revolutions, the struggle against the counter-revolutionary leaderships, for the political revolution in Cuba and the fight for the Fourth International. It was in this period that I learned the lessons that the comrades drew from the revolution of the Cordones Industriales and the proletarian uprising of the 1980s in Chile, which were fundamental for me.

Chapter 4

Under the banners of principled Trotskyism fighting in the international revolution for the re-foundation of the Fourth International under its 1938 program

2003-2013:

The struggle for an international regroupment of principled Trotskyism and revolutionary workers' organizations to confront the World Social Forum, Stalinism and its left of Trotskyist renegades and to regroup the ranks of the world proletariat

This whole process of evolution towards principled Trotskyism has not been without its ups and downs, although this evolution has been mainly on the basis of successive approximations towards real Trotskyism. I consider that in this process the class struggle played a decisive role. In this context, I have been distinguishing the counter-revolutionary currents from the truly revolutionary ones; and, in particular, the organizations that define themselves as Trotskyist but are not. Such is the case of Pabloism, Morenoism, Mandelism, Lambertism, Loraism, etc., which are completely adapted to Stalinism and its variants.

However, there is another question which has been a real school of revolutionary Marxism and which led me to align myself definitively with the current in which I militate today, namely the policy of setting up international revolutionary regroupings of the healthy forces of Trotskyism on the basis of the program in the face of the most burning issues of the world-class struggle. I became part of this current because, since its birth, our organization has developed this struggle. If there is one thing that attracted my attention to become part of this current, it is that it was and is striving to resolve the establishment of the World Party of Socialist Revolution, the Fourth International.



2003. Revolution in Bolivia

Our organization was born out of the multiple struggles of tendencies and fractions waged by the left wing of the international Trotskyist movement over the last 25 years. This struggle meant setting out on the road to unite the threads of continuity of Marxism, beginning by drawing the lessons from the monumental defeat of capitalist restoration in the workers' states handed over by Stalinism. In this struggle, we faced a ruthless revisionism which from 1989 onwards took a leap with the ex-Trotskyists becoming a new wave of Menshevism, dedicated to falsifying and blaming Trotskyism for their own adaptations, capitulations, and betrayals. In other words, it was also an attempt to circumvent

the other great defeat of the proletariat which meant the liquidation of the Fourth International at the hands of revisionism and opportunism, which went over with arms and baggage to the camp of reform. The most advanced point in this struggle came when our current began to regroup forces on a world level, establishing an international struggle to separate reform from revolution, Trotskyists from reformists and impostors in the Marxist movement.

Thus, in the heat of the Palestinian, Argentine, and Bolivian revolutions, the COTP-CI launched an international appeal to unite the healthy forces of Trotskyism that had been scattered around the world with the collapse of

the Fourth International, after years of revisionism, adaptations, and capitulations. In 2003, when I definitively joined its ranks, the “Collective for an International Conference of Principles Trotskyists” had just been formed, which, from the initial call launched by the COTP-CI, brought together the forces of five Trotskyist organizations in the world, grouped the forces of 5 Trotskyist organizations from different continents that were fighting against the traitorous leaderships that at that time were grouped in the World Social Forum (WSF) of Castro, Chavez, Lula, Stalinism, and social democracy, which were supported on the left by the renegades of Trotskyism.

I had the opportunity to participate in conferences, congresses, and different events where these organizations came together, coming from different countries, but also from different experiences, having experienced the crisis and the splinter of the Fourth International in different ways.

My militant experience since then has been terribly enriched. My learning was multiplied through the political and program struggle that all the forces grouped around these calls for a revolutionary program for the truth, were developing. The political struggle against the renegades of Trotskyism, and in general against the traitorous leaderships, was strengthened as the debates within these international groupings allowed theory and program to be sharpened more and more. I witnessed how the best traditions of revolutionary Marxism were being rescued, for the struggle to unite the revolutionary forces consisted of a lush and democratic correspondence. Thus, through letters, newspapers, articles, and debates, I learned about the positions of groups in New Zealand, France, Spain, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil and all over the world.

Thanks to the formation of the “Collective of Five”, I had the opportunity to meet the young Peruvian Trotskyist Roque Sanchez, who died a few years later when he was only 29 years old. How brave this comrade was! He came from a group called Lucha Marxista (LM) which had joined the call for an International Conference. In this Collective there were different positions on what international we should set up. The COTP-CI proposed at that time “regenerating and re-founding the Fourth International, without revisionists and centrists”.



From left to right: Hugo Chávez, Fidel Castro and Evo Morales.

LM ended up adhering to the position of the French Bolshevik Group which ambiguously called for a “new international”. However, Roque was convinced by the position of the COTP-CI and made this known. This cost him expulsion from LM, with the vilest Stalinist methods of slander against its dissidents. But Roque fought for his position and his convictions. In a short time, he became not only a militant of the COTP-CI, but one of its best leaders, since the comrade did not hesitate to leave his life in Peru to go and fight alongside the most advanced of the vanguard fighting in the Bolivian revolution at that time, and he put all his revolutionary intellectualism at the service of the cause.

In the debates within the “Collective”, we began to separate from different groups and currents, aided by the advances of the class struggle, which clearly divided reform from revolution. This was the case with the deepening of the Bolivian revolution, the mass struggles in Mexico and Chile itself in 2006, the awakening of the American working class against the war, the great Iraqi resistance, and so on.

In this process, we were selecting our forces. In tough political struggles, the “Collective” split and we marched to set up the “Liaison Committee”, where the Bolivian question and the struggle against the workers’ aristocracies and bureaucracies, of France in particular and Europe in general, were significant to define a revolutionary program of action and our delimitation with respect to opportunism and reformism. Our forces were always focused on fighting revisionism in Marxism and on reaching out to the most advanced struggles of the international working class. As a consequence of

this struggle, at the end of 2006, we set up the Leninist Trotskyist Faction (FLT) made up of groups from New Zealand, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, etc.

In 2007-2008 there would be “THE” world economic crisis. It was the “1989 of capitalism”, the bankruptcy of this rotten system, which was developing a crisis only comparable to that of the 1930s. Faced with this new and decisive fact, we again launched an international appeal that led us to converge with currents from the USA, Zimbabwe and South Africa, with whom we founded the International Leninist Trotskyist Faction (FLT) in 2009. I remember that the WIVL in South Africa, at that time, was rightly raising the struggle against the popular front, Stalinism, and the renegades of Trotskyism. Hand in hand with a process of mass struggle against the popular front of the ANC and the South African CP, they firmly confronted that government. However, central to our coming together was the discussion of the Palestinian revolution and the destruction of the state of Israel. They had a pro-social democratic position of “Palestinian and Israeli working class unity”. We convinced them that there was no “Israeli working class”, but that it was an invention of world reformism to perpetuate apartheid for the Palestinian masses with the existence of the Zionist-fascist state of Israel.

The clashes of the class struggle that began in 2011 were a central milestone for our current. **The Wall Street crash of 2007-2008 and the attacks that the world bourgeoisie launched against the masses to throw the full weight of the crisis on them, were answered with huge revolutionary struggles such as in Greece, Spain, the USA, etc. From 2011 onwards**

the proletarian revolutions in North Africa and the Middle East took the world stage. The WSF centralized its forces to defeat such a feat of the masses. The pro-Stalinists claimed that these grandiose revolutions for bread were encouraged by US imperialism while defending the bourgeois jackals like Khadafi in Libya or the dog Bashar in Syria. On the other hand, the social democrats called these events “Arab Spring” in order to deny the working class and socialist character of the revolutionary onslaught of the masses.

That was a turning point. Reform or revolution selects the ranks of revolutionaries. While we were establishing relations with the most advanced of the revolutionary vanguard in Libya, with young internationalist, revolutionary workers who took up arms to overthrow Khadafi, the WIVL in South Africa was raising liquidationist positions. With ruthless sectarianism and workerism they renounced the struggle for the workers’ and peasants’ alliance - a transcendental point of the program for the events unfolding in that region - and ended up at the feet of the Khadafist bourgeoisie. Because of this point and after a rich and hard political and programmatic struggle, we delimited ourselves from this current.



2011. Revolution in Tunisia.

After more than 25 years of struggle of our current since its birth in 1988, any farcical Stalinist could laugh and claim that our path is full of “struggles between Trotskyists”, of ruptures and outbreaks. But that is a superficial and therefore false view of the facts. Every fight given in defense of revolutionary Marxism and the program we have conquered set us apart from currents that preferred to continue along the path of not fighting the traitorous leaderships, either by adapting to their reformist policies or by avoiding promoting policies to defeat them. On the contrary, the more the FLTI redoubled its party struggle against the renegades

of Marxism and the closer it came to the advanced sectors of the world proletariat, as we travelled all over the world looking for healthy forces with which to merge. Thus we founded the Collective for the Re-foundation of the Fourth International together with Latin American, African, and Middle Eastern Trotskyists. We fought in the Libyan revolution and to this day we continue to do so in Syria and in the heart of the European proletariat while maintaining a historic and fraternal relationship of debate and intervention in the class struggle with various organizations, as is the case with the comrades of the JRCL-RMF of Japan.

Against the renegades of Marxism, the threads of history of the Trotskyist program get united after being destroyed by years of liquidationist revisionism

Trotskyism passed the test; the “Trotskyists” did not

As it happened with many comrades and currents, real healthy forces seeking a road for the international socialist revolution, I arrived late in the struggle against the profound bankruptcy of the liquidators of Trotskyism and the Fourth International. Today I could say that the task of regrouping the internationalists of the world to fight to put the Fourth International back on its feet was titanic. It was a hard struggle to regroup the healthy forces of the international Trotskyist movement, with the aim of centralizing the struggles of the world proletariat at every step. But this struggle is far from over.

What I can affirm is that we have been

able to guarantee the continuity of revolutionary Marxism on the terrain of theory and program. Years and decades of capitulations and adaptations to traitorous leaderships and a brutal and cruel revision of the Marxist program cut off all the theoretical and programmatic continuity of the Fourth International. In hard struggles between tendencies and fractions within the international Marxist movement, we were able to advance to Trotskyism. Only in this way we were able to complete the revolutionary theory and program.

This way we were also able to learn the lessons of the crisis of the Fourth International. Today I know that it all began in 1940,

after Trotsky’s assassination at the hands of Stalinism, with the dissolution of the international center which worked in Coyoacan (Mexico). The Fourth International during Trotsky’s lifetime had prepared to intervene in a revolutionary way in the hard events of the Second Inter-imperialist War. But the leaders of the Fourth International defected from that struggle and so our world party became a federation and a centrist movement during and after the Second World War, where adaptation to Stalinism and its pact with “democratic” imperialism prevailed.

We also had to separate ourselves from one of the biggest capitulations of the Fourth

International under Pablo's leadership, which was the dissolution of the Trotskyist parties within the Communist Parties. After this, for decades we saw the forces of the Fourth International go out of their way to find some "progressive" wing of Stalinism, as they did with Mao, Tito and not to mention Fidel Castro. In fact, the rise of the MIR in Chile, also founded by the Mandelists, was the national expression of this policy of the Yalta "Trotskyists" to make parties alongside Stalinism and its appendages such as the Castro bureaucracy. This question, as I have shown here, prevented in the revolution of the Cordones Industriales the emergence of a revolutionary party that would give the masses a program for success.

This centrist course of the "Trotskyists", of adaptations and capitulations, had its maximum expression in 1989, taking a leap from quantity to quality. It was then that they finished "crossing the Rubicon" and became enemies of the socialist revolution, supporters of the imperialist capitalist system. But this was not done by Trotskyism, whose program and strategy passed the test of class struggle. This was not done by the Fourth International, but by the opportunism which took over its leadership, which abandoned and revised its program, thus becoming one more link in the chains which subject the



León Trotsky, founder of the Red Army and the Fourth International

proletariat to the bourgeoisie.

After so many revisions and betrayals, we could only rebuild the revolutionary program in the revolution, in the war, against the popular front, against the traitorous leaderships, fighting for the masses to get a program to triumph and, in the heat of that battle, fighting to regroup the internationalist Trotskyists of the world.

We could not have come to these conclusions, to unite the threads of continuity of revolutionary Marxism in any other way. As Marx argued, it is only by fighting to transform reality that it

can be understood to the end. Without having fought to put the Fourth International back on its feet, we would not have been able to detect the degree of degeneration and decomposition of the former Trotskyists, nor would we have been able to conquer the program in the face of the urgent need of the masses to resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership. There were no magic formulas or recipes for this task; the international political struggle of tendencies and fractions was the way to unite the threads of continuity of revolutionary Marxism and today to be able to redouble our struggle for it.

Syria and Cuba: new milestones of the class struggle confirmed the reformist bankruptcy of the renegades of Trotskyism

A mass revolutionary offensive is unleashed in Chile in 2011-2013 and is once again expropriated by the left wing of the Pinochet regime

One of the most important lessons learned from this whole process of political and programmatic struggle to re-found the Fourth International was the role of the self-proclaimed Trotskyist currents which completely switched to the side of reform from 1989 onwards. They became definitively currents of the labor aristocracy and bureaucracy, totally at odds with Trotskyism, to become first the left wing of the WSF and today one of the main and fundamental components of the "New Left".

In the years of the WSF, these currents laid at the feet of the Cuban Castro bureaucracy and the "Bolivarian" bourgeoisies in

Latin America. We saw them handing over the "Transitional Programme" to Chavez in Venezuela and painting the imperialist Obama government in the USA as "democratic". Before that, in France, these currents of fake Trotskyists had become defenders of the regime of the Fifth Republic. The Mandeliste LCR openly abandoned the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and took up a social-imperialist program, as later the NPA did, defending the interests of the French imperialist bourgeoisie. We saw the renegades of Trotskyism accepting the existence of the Zionist state of Israel and support the "two-state" policy against the Palestinian masses. And now they have

become currents of the "New Left" (led by Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain) fighting for "real democracy". This is, for example, the policy of the FIT in Argentina, which claims that the suffering of the masses can be solved by the parliament.

These currents that centralized themselves to apply their reformist policy have "crossed the Rubicon" long time ago, as Trotsky defined the leaderships that went over to the opposite side of the revolution on a one way trip. In each new milestone of the class struggle, mainly in the focal points of the revolution that imperialism and the world bourgeoisie were concentrated on

defeating, they counted on the invaluable collaboration and action of the traitorous leaderships.

The Syrian revolution was one of the acid tests that clearly demonstrated from the very beginning the perfidious role played by these currents. Once and again the treacherous leaderships of the WSF, including the renegades of Trotskyism, put millions of obstacles in the way of the masses so that the revolution would not succeed. Developing a policy of class conciliation, they praised the role of Bashar al-Assad (saying it was an “anti-imperialist” government) and the butcher Putin; or else the bourgeois generals of the FSA or the Kurdish bourgeoisie as well. Meanwhile, they slandered and isolated the masses who had divided the army and formed the local coordination committees that led that heroic revolution all over Syria. Today the revolutionary masses are paying for these betrayals, with massacres, genocides, workers’ areas destroyed by bombing and concentration camps where imperialism locks the exploited who are fleeing the carnage of Bashar, Putin, NATO and US imperialism with an exodus.

Millions of exploited people running away from this massacre in 2015, managed to reach Europe and break the siege of the Syrian revolution, showing the masses of the world the harsh reality. But none of the organizations that in the “old continent” call themselves “revolutionary”, “socialist” and even “Trotskyist” came to meet them. Which one of them called to mobilize the European working class? Which one said



Massacre un Syria

that the working class of the Maghreb and the Middle East is one and the same class as the European proletariat and, therefore, the struggle is also one and the same? The social-imperialist leaderships turned a “blind eye” to the revolution and counter-revolution in the Middle East, to its 600 thousand dead and millions of displaced people. Instead, they have been supporting the Bonapartization policies of the European states after the self-assassinations in France, Belgium, etc., saying that the “enemy is ISIS”. That was the perfect excuse they found to let al-Assad, commanded by all the imperialist powers, continue to massacre the exploited.

Another milestone has been Cuba, where today the US flag stands tall. This is the conclusion of the Castroite policy of “socialism in one country” and betrayal of the Latin American and world revolution: restoring capitalism and handing Cuba over to imperialism.

The former Trotskyists supported Castroism for decades, as a continuation of Pabloism and its policy of entryism into the CP. And they crowned this nefarious betrayal by saying “David beat Goliath” since the end of the US blockade of Cuba was due, according to them, to the weakness of imperialism. They claimed that the reopening of the US embassy and Obama’s own visit to the island meant a “progress for Cuba”. As if imperialism would bring progress to the oppressed peoples when it only delivers plunder, misery and wars of pillage.

Progress in Cuba was brought by the masses who in 1959 made the revolution, broke with imperialism, expropriated the bourgeoisie, and nationalized the land, in spite of and against Castroism. The real progress of Cuba came from the hand of the exploited of the island, of Latin America and the world who with their struggle prevented for decades the capitalist restoration on the island, which today has been consummated by the Castrist commanders.

In their eagerness to make defeats pass as victories and the enemies as allies, the renegades of Trotskyism show that they were never in favor of the triumph of the political revolution that would overthrow the Castro bureaucracy and turn Cuba into a stronghold of Latin American and world revolution. On the contrary, they disciplined themselves to Castrism’s international policy of class collaboration, subjecting the working class to the feet of the “Bolivarian” and “progressive” bourgeoisies of the continent.



March 2016. Raul Castro (right) next to then USA president, Barack Obama (left)

As another link in the struggles of

the masses of the world, the struggle of the Chilean working class and students in 2011-2013 also made it clear who was reformist and who was revolutionary.

For the third time, the Chilean masses launched a revolutionary offensive. Huge working-class struggles were fought. Hundreds of thousands of students and workers took to the streets for free public education. There was no sector of the working class, the poor and exploited peasants that did not come out to confront the civil-military regime and Piñera, the government at that time. The cry of “copper for the Chileans” demonstrated the immense class instinct of the exploited who understood that it was necessary to expropriate the imperialist transnationals in order to get our demands. Another accurate cry and rallying cry of the Chilean masses was “the cops in red are the dangerous ones” against the CP, with which they fully identified the enemy to be defeated within the workers’ and students’ organizations.

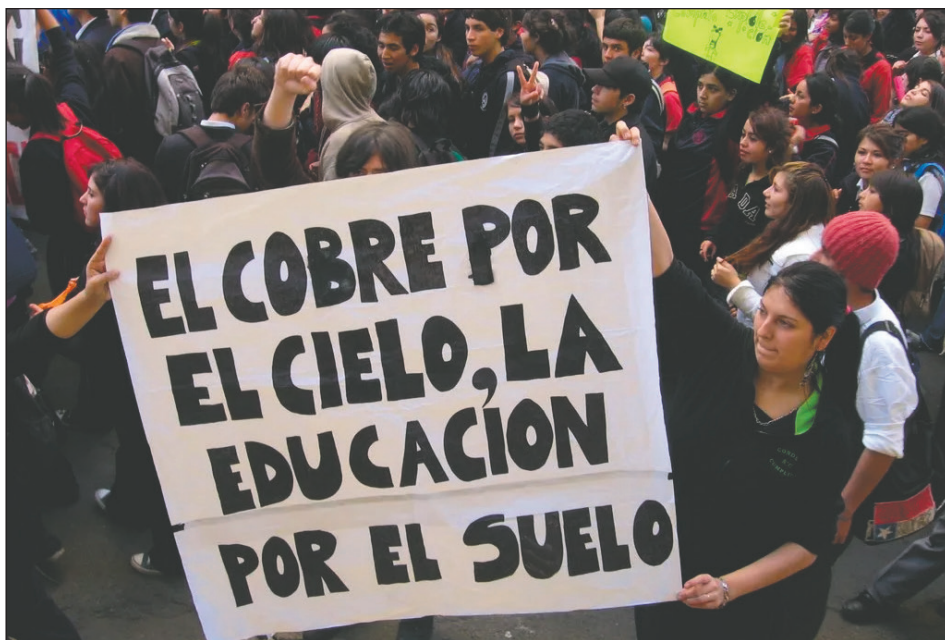
The way forward in 2011-2013 was to return to the path of the Industrial Cordons, and in recent years there were plenty of conditions to move towards it. There were a thousand opportunities to unleash the Revolutionary General Strike with which to start a new Chilean revolution, as happened in 2013, when the dockers were fighting all over the country, led by the Mejillones workers, and their struggle coincided with that of the miners, the student movement, etc.

We Trotskyists actively intervened in all these events, fighting for the Revolutionary General Strike, fighting for the opening of a new revolution, and for the Industrial Cordons to rise up again.

We fight for the Chilean masses to fight alongside their class brothers and sisters in Syria and throughout the Maghreb and the Middle East.

We fight to make this fight a link in a chain of a single struggle in the American continent against the Wall Street transnationals and to defeat the surrender of the Cuban workers’ state to imperialism.

At every step, we decisively confront the traitorous leaderships that were in charge of supporting the Chilean civil-military regime and finally surrendered these struggles.



2011, Chile. The banners says: Copper is in the sky (but) education is ground level

The bureaucracy of the CUT and the entire reformist left, headed by the FEL (Libertarian Students Front) and the MIR, played their part in diverting and desynchronizing each of these struggles and submitting them at the feet of the institutions of the civil-military regime.

They prevented the centralization of the mass offensive and thus closed the road to the Revolutionary General Strike. They saved the life of the Pinochetist regime, servant of the copper transnationals, and then put the class-collaborationist government of Bachelet and the New Majority on their shoulders, this time with the “red cops” of the CP inside.

This government came to finish expropriating the revolutionary struggle and to pass all the plans of imperialism against the masses. Since Bachelet took office, these same leaderships did not get tired of submitting the demands of the workers, students, poor peasants and every sector to the trap of their “reforms” in the parliament, while the hardships of the masses increased for not having been able to open the revolution and take power.

The renegades of the PTR (the group of Argentina’s PTS) amid the mass offensive, first focused their program on the emergence of a Constituent Assembly and even promoted a policy of “democratic front” to “let’s all fight against the right-wing” (the same policy the CP raised). They said that in order to achieve Free and Quality Edu-

cation this should be the “minimum floor to negotiate” with the then first government of Piñera, growing illusions that he could give it to us, while the exploited in struggle proposed the expropriation of copper to solve their problems and put on the agenda the need to centralize their struggle and put the Industrial Cordons back on their feet to overthrow the government and the regime.

But the strategic program of the PTS was to call for no “parallelism with the CUT” when all the mass struggles took place outside that trade union center, since its bureaucrats have not represented the Chilean workers’ movement for a long time and were the main traitors and betrayers of this new revolutionary process opened up in Chile. Thus the PTR, usurping the clean banners of the Fourth International, ended up as a declared appendage of the Stalinist bureaucracy of the CUT and the CP.

Today, after the popular front government of Bachelet played its role and guaranteed that now a strong government of the civil-military regime, that is Piñera’s, will come to continue its work and deepen the attack against the exploited, all these leaderships are in charge of hiding under seven keys the revolutionary combat program put forward by the masses of “public and free education financed with the renationalization without payment and under workers’ control of copper” so that never again this revolutionary cry will shake Chile from its foundations.

The current struggle to recover the Fourth International of 1938 from the former Trotskyists who handed it over to the mire of Stalinism

General conclusions of a lifetime of revolutionary militancy

To the disgrace of the counter-revolutionary leaderships, workers and young revolutionaries, trained in the advanced struggles of the world working class, are today raising the program of the Fourth International of 1938.

I want to demystify and demolish the slanders hurled by Stalinism against the Trotskyists. The Stalinists accuse us of being “café revolutionaries”, “laboratory revolutionaries” and “room revolutionaries”. Nothing could be further from the truth: Trotskyism is a fighting current that has always been in the front line of battle and has never failed to stand alongside the vanguard and the masses.

I came to Trotskyism in the course of my struggle for international revolution, in hard theoretical battles, in programmatic clashes and in the political struggles between the currents and leaderships of the different workers’ organizations of which I was a member. After the victories and bitter defeats of our class, after the revolutionary milestones and the betrayals of reformism,



Lenin and Trotsky (in the back of the scene, surrounded by workers and soldiers)

I understood the rightfulness of the program of the Fourth International.

In the heat of the international class struggle the correctness of this program was proved. Trotskyism was never far from the interests of the masses, because it always defended a program for their liberation and triumph. It was always at the “foot of the cannon”, fighting against the popular front and against fascism; against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and capitalism as a whole. It was and is with the masses, because to be with them is to tell them the revolutionary truth, without lowering its program, without adapting to counter-revolutionary currents, without renouncing the international workers’ and socialist revolution. Hence Trotskyism is nothing other than an internationalist fraction of the working class in struggle for world revolution.

In my long years of life, I have seen and experienced first-hand the enormous tragedy of the crisis of leadership: the overabundance of traitorous leaderships, paid for by capital, and the lack of revolutionary leadership of the working class.

The aim of these pages is to collaborate with the new generations of the working class and youth who are entering the struggle and who are tortuously searching for a revolutionary path. I

hope that my militant experience will be a contribution in this sense for those revolutionary workers and youth.

Of my 58 years of militant life, only the last 14 were under the authentic banners of an organization that deserves to be called revolutionary and that every day fights tooth and nail to return the leadership of the proletariat to address the struggles, interests, needs and self-sacrifice of the masses.

The time for national programs has been over for more than a century ago. Today what the working class needs is a program and a strategy for the world proletariat. That is why we revolutionaries affirm that our main task is to re-found militant internationalism against the politics of Stalinism and also against the renegades of Trotskyism who for decades have been engaged in dividing the proletariat and subjecting it to the apron-strings of the bourgeoisie country by country.

In order to understand the importance of the strategic task of re-founding the Fourth International, I have had to go through a long process of class struggle and party struggle. This process has not been easy, rather it has been very difficult and very complex, as I have described above in its most fundamental aspects. None of this was a personal or individual conquest, but



Facsimile of the paper Socialist Appeal, organ of the SWP of USA, with the text of the Transitional Program, theoretical basis for the foundation of the Fourth International

rather the conquest of the current in which I currently militate, which has dedicated 100% of its forces to the international struggle since its split from the PTS in 1998.

While the struggle between tendencies and fractions, programs and parties was important to bring us closer and to rebuild the threads of continuity that were cut by revisionism and opportunism, what was decisive were the struggles of the masses against the class enemy. They struck the table and laid bare the impotence and betrayal of the politics of reformism.

As in every decisive moment of the class struggle, the working class and the exploited in this last period forged revolutionary and internationalist milestones that overcame all the treacherous leaderships. A great example of this were the internationalist brigades that fought in Libya and Syria, the movement of workers and youth in Europe that showed solidarity with the refugees from the Maghreb and the Middle East, the fight for the freedom of political prisoners around the world, and so on.

The fight we are waging from the FLTI found its engine in those forces. Because without these struggles, the fight to rebuild proletarian internationalism in the workers' movement - which goes hand in hand with the fight to re-found the Fourth International - would not have existed.

My conclusion, after so many years of struggle, is that we need the world party of revolution and that is none other than the Fourth International re-founded under its 1938 program. Imperialism has its general staff. The traitorous leaderships are rigidly centralized on a world level by capital. The working class needs its revolutionary general staff to carry its struggles to victory, because the only thing that capitalism has to offer the exploited is repression, blood, hunger, unemployment, wars, fascism and barbarism.

That is why our struggle must be deepened with this aim in mind. **Our main task is to fight the treacherous leaderships like Stalinism, with which we are divided by a river of blood. But in a special way, we must fight against the renegades of Trotskyism, who have erased this river of blood to become neo-Stalinism themselves. Today we can be sure that we have the program, the theory and the strategy to fight these leaderships face to face. They can no longer speak in the name of Trotskyism or in the name of socialism, or revolution.**

With this balance sheet and in this situation, as a militant worker of this revolutionary current, I understand that the task of re-founding the Fourth International is our fundamental task. This is the gigantic work that we must carry out and we are ready to do it. But for this we must recover our world

party which has been handed over by the renegades of Trotskyism who today are in parties and common fronts with Stalinism and the social-imperialist currents, being part of that new counter-revolutionary leadership which is the so-called "New Left".

For this work we count on the forces of the workers who are ready to fight imperialism, the lackey bourgeoisies and their agents on a world scale. The vanguard of the international proletariat will give us, Trotskyists, a thousand and one opportunities, only if we do not betray and do not get tired, now that this exciting struggle is taking its first steps. In the vanguard and the most advanced of the world proletariat are our forces and we must merge with them, just as we began to do with the revolutionary workers and youth in Syria by setting up the Leon Sedov Brigade.

In honor of comrade Abu al Baraa and all our martyrs, we revolutionary militants intend to take back the Fourth International and we must achieve it. If we do not devote 100% of our efforts to this struggle, we will not be fulfilling the strategic tasks ahead of the working class.

The great struggles of past generations, some of which I have told about in this work, deserve that we put our forces more than ever to give continuity to the program of Trotskyism, so that the new generations of the proletariat are not led by the false Trotskyists and other traitorous leaderships to new and bitter defeats in the class struggle.

The task of all the internationalist Trotskyists of the world is to recover the Fourth International in order to re-found it, so that the working class has a world revolutionary leadership which will lead it to the seizure of power, to prevent the catastrophes which the world proletariat is still enduring and which are deepening day by day because of the lack of an international leadership. The crisis of leadership is what has prevented the victory of the revolution, the seizure of power and its international coordination and centralization, and the proletariat is paying for this with wars, massacres and unheard-of hardships. In this exciting struggle to provide the working class with the leadership it deserves, I have enlisted 14 years ago and I will continue to fight for it until the last day of my life.



León Sedov Brigade of Syria

June 2020

Final words

This work was written before the revolutionary uprising of the masses began on October 18, 2019, in Chile in response to the US offensive on the continent, which is the sibling of the revolutionary uprisings of the masses in Ecuador, Lebanon, Iraq, the combat against the fascist coup in Bolivia, etc.

This enormous revolutionary fact deserves then to emphasize that the central question for me is the crisis of capitalism, of imperialism, the crisis of agony, the parasitic crisis that today is deepening furthermore. Also, there is the problem of the abundance of counterrevolutionary leaderships, of counterrevolutionary mediations, and there is also the problem of those who claimed to be Trotskyists, who are no longer such. The later have totally stopped being Trotskyists and became renegades of Trotskyism. Today they openly capitulate and kneel before Stalinism. So, as it has historically happened, the problem is the crisis of the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat.

The events of October in Chile also reflected the crisis of capitalism. The



2019. Chile: Plaza de la Dignidad (Dignity Square)



2019. Ecuador. Revolutionary uprising.

masses had to take to the streets to fight because they have no other alternative, because they don't have anything... Imperialism throws all its crisis at the masses and the response of the workers and the exploited was to flood the streets because the unemployment, the hunger, housing and health problems are unbearable for the working class. So, just like when I joined Trotskyism, the same situation exists today. Today what the workers need, and it is more valid than ever, the fight for the re-founding of the Fourth International.

Today the crisis of leadership is deeper.

When I joined Trotskyism, I spent years trying to find an answer to the problems of the working class, to the reality that it is experiencing in the face of capitalism and imperialism. From a personal point of view, I believe that now I am a militant in a revolutionary current, in Trotskyism, in the FLTI. And I am willing to continue fighting to solve the leadership problem.

The crisis of humanity is the crisis of revolutionary leadership. The direct struggle is against all the counterrevolutionary leaderships, against Stalinism, the renegades of Trotskyism, the Broad Fronts, against all these New Left leaderships that are emerging. We have to fight to build a

revolutionary leadership. I think this is a crucial moment for it.

Here in Chile, there has never been an independent workers' party, since the "Trotskyists" compromised with the Castroite bureaucracy that came in the '70s to preach the installation of socialism by "peaceful means" in circumstances in which that is not possible. It has already been proven a thousand times. There is the history of humanity, the history of the class struggle that says it clearly. Capitalism must be destroyed and definitively crushed. And the only social class that can do it is the working class, it is not the inhabitants, it is the proletariat that must be the leader of the revolution.

That is why I related my journey through different organizations, in which I never received an answer until I came across the true Trotskyism. Today the problem is deeper and more evident, with the pandemic that lays bare the crisis of capitalism, which only condemns the people to die for lack of health care.

The general mobilization of the masses in Chile is not an issue that occurred in October but rather that it had been accumulating for a long time. The bourgeoisie tries to stop this fight with savage repres-

sion, dead, wounded, but even so it could not stop this fight of millions of exploited and mainly, the workers. There the policy of Stalinism and the treacherous leaderships, which tried and are trying to prevent this, was clearly seen, proclaiming a “peaceful” solution agreed with the bourgeoisie and imperialism: the plebiscite and a rigged Constituent Assembly, which mean that capitalism will remain intact, that the army will remain intact, that all the repressive forces remain intact, that the murderers of our martyrs remain unpunished and the jails are full of political prisoners.

The treacherous leaderships proposed the electoral way out of the plebiscite, which is a fraud. It suits the bourgeoisie and imperialism; it suits their interests. We see how the treacherous leaderships play their role by becoming an obstacle to the revolutionary path that the masses had been developing, of their mobilizations, their barricades.

They were able to advance with the plebiscite trap with the union bureaucracies of the Social Unity Table (in the hands of the CP and the Broad Front) separating the working class from the other sectors that entered the combat. They prevented the revolutionary general strike and thus supported Piñera and allowed him to advance in the trap of all the parties of the regime and the reformist left, with the renegades of Trotskyism also supporting it, to get the masses off the streets. This is how they had been demobilizing and betraying and then the pandemic came, which was used by Piñera to deploy the military and continue



Port workers' work stoppage during the fighting days of the Revolutionary General Strike in Chile

attacking the labor movement and the exploited. But the masses have not given up. The last word has not been said yet.

I felt that situation during the coup in '73: how these counterrevolutionary leaderships also opposed the organs of dual power that the working class was creating, the Industrial Cordons. They opposed and betrayed the revolution. The MIR proposed the creation of the Communal Commands, organisms parallel to the Industrial Cordons, which only managed to weaken them. And the CP directly opposed the creation of the independent organs of power of the working class, just as they oppose today the independent struggle of the masses. They are enemies of the independent struggle of the masses. They only sought to ride on top of it to once again betray the working class, as they have done historically, and continue to support imperialism and its agents of the Piñera government and the

pinochetist regime of the '80 Constitution.

When the masses began to mobilize in October 2019 and began to develop their combats with the methods of the working class, with the barricades, the “first line,” the strikes, the stoppages, imperialism and the bourgeoisie immediately reacted. They started to prepare the way to stop that fight.

What I can say to the workers and youth who went out to fight, to their vanguard sectors, is that the problem is that qualitatively what is happening is the same thing that happened to me. I started fighting very young. I understood that I had no alternative but to fight to end the situation I was living. Today all the youth and vanguard workers have to join this fight to build a revolutionary leadership and together we can do it. My experience tells me that; it tells me that the only way is with the workers conquering a revolutionary leadership to achieve victory.



The “Front Line” of the youth in Santiago de Chile

The aim of this work tries to be a contribution to this new generation of the working class and rebellious youth, to collaborate and help this revolutionary generation so that the third Chilean revolution may triumph, as a link in the Latin American revolution. The Trotskyists of the FLTI have put all our efforts into this battle to recover the Fourth International and as part of it to be able to set up the revolutionary leadership that the working class and the exploited need to win, getting rid of Stalinism and its followers, the renegades of Trotskyism, to once and for all bring down the damn pinochetist regime.

Ramiro Mendez
June 2020

Afterwords

January 2021

Homage to Comrade Ramiro Méndez after his death

January 16, 2021

Trotskyist leader Ramiro Méndez died at the age of 82

An agricultural worker, since his youth he dedicated his life to the fight for the socialist revolution and to fight to recover and re-found the Fourth International

Founder of the Partido Obrero Internacionalista de Chile (POI-CI) and leader of the International Leninist Trotskyist Fraction (FLTI)

Today we say goodbye to a revolutionary militant of the international working class

**CComrade Ramiro:
UNTIL SOCIALISM ALWAYS!**

Comrades, all of us Trotskyists have just received a hard blow. Comrade Ramiro, our leader, our comrade, passed away this morning. An irreproachable and upright revolutionary has left, fighting for Trotskyism and the Fourth International until his last breath.

We believe that all the comrades and the entire revolutionary worker and youth vanguard in the world deserve to know who the comrade was and how he fought all his life. Because Ramiro was one of those essential revolutionaries, who fought not for a few years, but dedicated his entire life to the cause of the liberation of the proletariat.

Ramiro started working very young, at the age of 15, in the fields, as an agricultural worker in Chile. He told us that there he saw firsthand the injustices, the hardships and the exploitation imposed by bosses against workers. And that this is how his class hatred had arisen, which as years passed by increased against the enemies and traitors of the working class and the masses.

Fighting against these conditions that they suffered in the countryside, Ramiro met the Communist Party of Chile and became a member in 1959. That same year the revolution in Cuba triumphed. Like hundreds of thousands of workers on the continent and the world, Ramiro vibrated with the victory of the Cuban workers' state. This led him to break with the Communist Party because his



objective was not the revolution, but quite the opposite, and after a brief stint in a Maoist current, he joined the MIR in '68.

Ramiro was part of the generation of workers that led the rev-

olution of the '70s in Chile, as part of the revolutionary rise of '68-'74. In those years Ramiro worked in a textile factory called Comandari and participated in the San Joaquín Industrial Cordon in the south of Santiago. He told us countless stories about the heroic of that great revolution and also about how the traitors and betrayers acted. He always remembered, above all, the massive march that took place after the attempted military coup called "Tancazo" in June 1973, which failed. Thousands and thousands of workers asking for weapons and for Parliament to be closed, while Allende sat down to negotiate with the Christian Democracy that was preparing the coup and would then appoint Pinochet as a member of the cabinet, saying that he was a "democratic general." This was the "peaceful path to socialism" that Fidel Castro had proclaimed in Chile and that ended up being the "bloody path" to the imposition of the counterrevolutionary coup of the jackal Pinochet and imperialism.

But Ramiro always highlighted that this was not the worst. For him the tragedy was that while he was part of MIR, which supported this policy on the left, he met Vitale and Valenzuela, who were the leaders of the POR, the group of the Fourth International in Chile, who under the orders of Pablo and Mandel, had dissolved within the MIR.

He told us: "The first (so-called) 'Trotskyists' I met were inside a Castro-Stalinist party. There was no independent Trotskyist party in the midst of the revolution, when it was most needed."

When Pinochet's bloody military coup was imposed on September 11, 1973, Ramiro had to go underground. And a few years later he went into exile in Europe. He lived in Belgium for several years.

Abroad, he met different groups that call themselves Trotskyism. He was a member of the Mandelist Communist League for a time and then ended up joining the LIT. Upon returning to Chile, some years later he joined the PTS. In the heat of the Argentine, Palestinian and Bolivian revolution, he broke away with the PTS and finally in 2003 began to fight in our ranks, proud of having entered into what he always defined as "principle Trotskyism." The comrade spent decades searching for a revolutionary path, a revolutionary organization. He fought for his convictions like an irreproachable revolutionary does, even if he was wrong. When he was convinced of the program of the Fourth International of 1938 and of the need to conquer an international revolutionary leadership to defeat the treacherous leaderships, he did not stop fighting for it for a second. "Trotskyism saved my life," he used to tell us. Because for him, to have found a program and a revolutionary current for which to give his life was everything.

The comrade had been facing serious health problems for years.



POI-CI banner in the mass mobilization along the Alameda Avenue (Main Avenue of S. de Chile) on the October 25, 2019, during the mass revolutionary uprising.

He had diabetes. He said it was a "silent cancer" that caused him to lose his sight and had to have both of his legs amputated. He was blind and in a wheelchair, but he was never a tired soul and he never stopped fighting for revolution and Trotskyism, for the Fourth International, against its liquidators and against Stalinism, whom he hated with all his might.

He never stopped studying and being passionate about the entire international fight of the FLTI, especially in Syria and the Middle East. He never stopped having confidence in the working class and hating its traitors and betrayers. He never stopped passionately discussing their positions and differences with his peers. He never stopped giving the political fight for embracing the Marxist theory. He always instilled, especially young comrades, the need to study theory, because revolutionary Marxism is not for the ignorant and the working class deserves the best.

The battlefield is full of political invalids, careerists, debris from reformist and counterrevolutionary currents. There are many more corrupt than irreducible on the planet. You Ramiro are one of the latter, of the upright combatants for the cause of the proletariat. That is why you are the president of the FLTI and founder of Chilean internationalist Trotskyism. It was an honor and pride to have been able to fight next to you.

Comrade Ramiro: Until socialism always! Towards the triumph of the international socialist revolution! Long live the fight for the refoundation of the Fourth International!

Partido Obrero Internacionalista- Cuarta Internacional (POI-CI) of Chile

REVOLUTION AND COUNTERREVOLUTION UN CHILE

From the Industrial Cordons of 1973
to the revolutionary uprising of 2011.

A pending Task: the Revolutionary demolition
of the Pinochetista regime.



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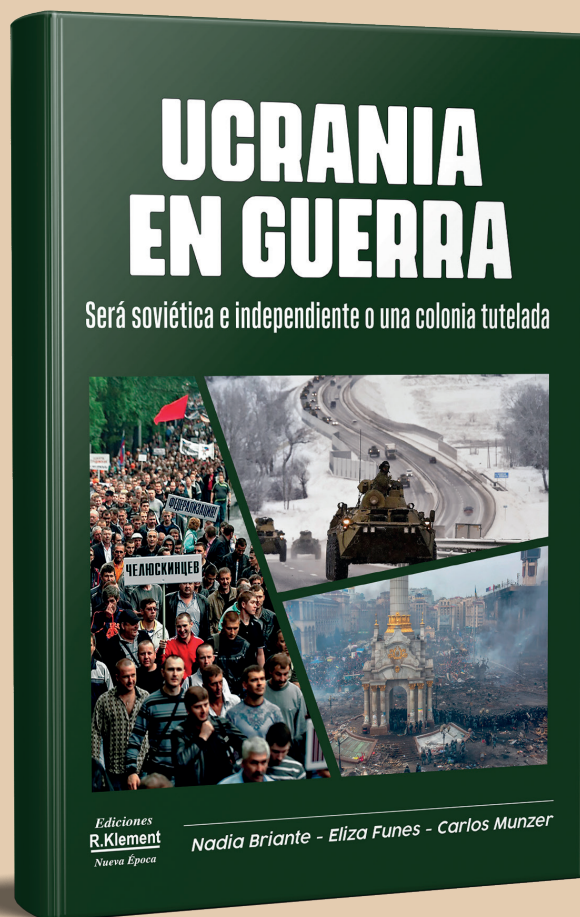
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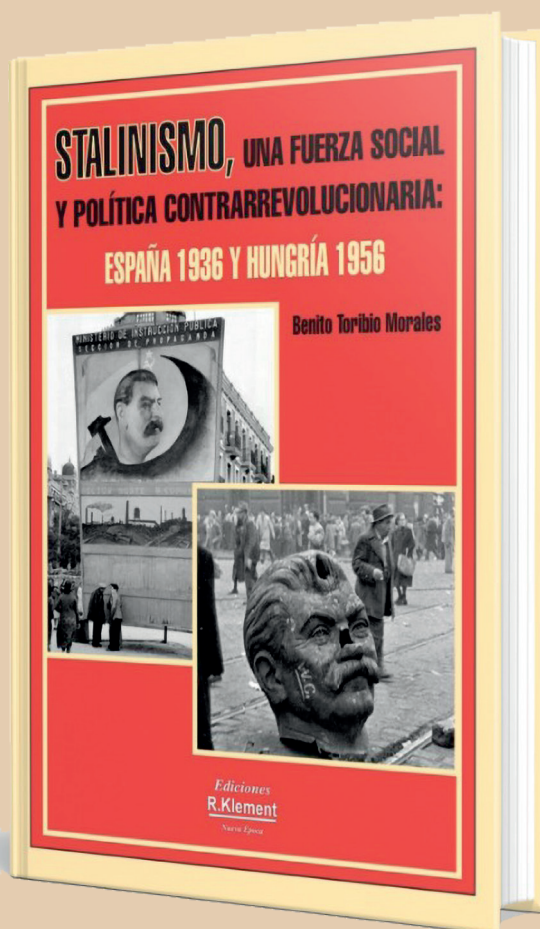


UKRAINE AT WAR

either it will be a soviet independent
nator or a warded colony.

STALINISM, A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FORCE.

**SPAIN 1936.
HUNGARY 1956.**



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