

Notes on.... Communist Party / Proletarian Action (PC-AP)

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#40AÑOSPCAP
Partido Comunista Chileno
(Acción Proletaria) PC(AP)



A split from the Revolutionary Communist Party led by Eduardo Artes saw the *Communist Party / Proletarian Action (PC-AP)* founded on November 8, 1979. It proved initially something of a Hoxhaist fragment; engaged with the international process coming out of the Quito declaration of Hoxhists parties, the ICMLPO/ the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations and its associated journal, *Unity & Struggle*.



1Artes speaking in 2011

Artes (born 1951) has been the founder, organiser and leader of PC-AP since the inception of this self-described Marxist-Leninist party. Active as a student in the Spartacus Movement (student arm of the former Revolutionary Communist Party PCR), led by then-Senator Jaime Barros Pérez-Cotapos, in 1969, he carried out peasant unionisation work in the south of the country, in the provinces of Osorno and Llanquihue, living those two months in different

peasant houses before settling in Santiago. Here his political education was polished as an active member of the Chilean Chinese Institute of Culture (founded by the painter José Venturelli and Salvador Allende, among others) where he studied the experience of the Chinese Revolution.

At the time of the military coup of 1973 he was a member of the Santiago Regional Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR), a disintegrating political organization which he continued to support until 1979.

Artes describes as "non-existent" the "peaceful road" once tried by Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende. Artes analysis explaining the defeat of September 11th 1973 was advanced in the article, "Revisionism, the Gateway to Fascism" ¹ as a definitive Marxist-Leninist analysis of those tragic events; and serves as a lesson to be learned and a warning to be heeded. At the time Allende's administration was presented by international revisionism as confirmation of their thesis on "peaceful transition" to socialism, the dominant strategy for the acolytes of the revisionist Soviet leadership.

After the persecution of left-wing movements by the military dictatorship, the PCR had suffered from political divisions with opposition to the "three Worlds theory", an initial alignment first with Albanian positions and then association with the pro-Gang of Four tendencies represented by the American RCP, USA. The combination of repression at home and exile for others, and dis-orientation saw the structure of the PCR disappear.

Among former PCR activists, the need to build an anti-revisionist party in Chile remained a political objective. After a year of formation, the *Proletarian Action* political movement takes its final form and in full secrecy, is founded on November 8th, 1979 and launches the first issue of its magazine, also called *Acción Proletaria*.

From 1979, together with other colleagues Artes worked in the foundation and development of the Communist Party (Proletarian Action), PC (AP), becoming a member of the Political Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party.



During the years of the military dictatorship, Eduardo Artés, together with colleague focused his efforts on the development and consolidation of the PC (AP), in the elaboration of ideological and political documents, and in the clandestine publication of various newspapers (Proletarian Action, Truth, Red Star, Pluma Pluma Obrera, etc.), actively participated in the formation and action of the Committees of Resistance, active in the educational sector unionizing in opposition to the regime's College of Teachers of Chile.

The terminology of 'neo-Stalinist' is applied to PC(AP) for its defense of the work of Joseph Stalin "as an integral part of Marxism-Leninism... the class struggle is sweeping away the leaves covering the tomb of Stalin, today despite the reaction and the traitors to communism, Stalin is more alive than ever." ⁱⁱ The PC (AP) rejects being branded as "Stalinist" by critics, arguing the word "Stalinism" is an invention of anti-communist sectors to delegitimize the leadership of the USSR under Stalin's mandate, declaring themselves only as "Marxist-Leninists".

Reflecting the anti-revisionist political legacy, Artes described the (then) Soviet Union as transformed after 1956 into a social-imperialist power. ⁱⁱⁱ

When Eduardo Artes stated "the insurrectionary road is not a dogma or a fundamental theoretical fixation", he was reflecting that politically the PC-AP sought a broad front approach in pursuit of the "democratic and popular revolution" towards socialism and communism. The PC (AP)'s participation in the elections was not as an end in itself, but as a means to open spaces in pursuit of a revolutionary public opinion, so markedly different from the constitutional left. In April 1983, an official statement in their monthly magazine

declares that it was officially taking the name of the Chilean Communist Party (Proletarian Action) after having considered that the movement had succeeded in the "phase of the construction of the Party of the working class" .



Figure 2 Mayday 2011 in Santiago , Chile

In 1984 the party co-operated in "Coordinadora de Organizaciones Revolucionarias" (COR) together with the Communist League of Chile, the Socialist Party (CNR), the MAPU -Partido de los Trabajadores, the Partido Socialista (Vanguardia) and Resistencia Revolucionaria (R2). The coalition disintegrated in 1987 and the PC (AP) did not participate in the attempted resurrection of the coalition arrangement.

Subsequently other initiatives at coalitions have been seen : in 1991, as a militant and leader of the PC (AP), Artes participated (1991-1993) in the founding of the Broad Democratic Allendista Movement (MIDA), also in the Broad Front for a Democratic Chile and later in 2002 the left-wing alliance Democratic and Social Power (PODEMOS – Together We CAN More). The PC-AP proposed their general secretary, **Eduardo Artés**, as an independent senate candidate (being a non-registered party), earning 50.000 votes in the elections for Senator from Santiago Oriente.

The organisation withdrew from this left coalition due to political differences after **Guillermo Teillier** (President of the Communist Party of Chile, a political party member of Juntos Podemos) called to support **Concertación** (then the ruling center-left bloc) candidate **Michelle Bachelet** in the 2006 runoff round of the presidential election.

In 2009 the party supported Artés as a candidate for the 2009 presidential election, but were unable to register him in the electoral service. Since 2009 the party has called for spoiling votes and more recently, abstention, in order to illegitimate the current neoliberal governments and its electoral system.

In the wake of the 2011–2012 Chilean protests, the PC-AP sought to rejuvenate its presence and saw an increased focus on high-school and university students, seeking to become an alternative to the more moderate Communist Youth of Chile.



The main propaganda vehicles remain an annual magazine called *Acción Proletaria* and a monthly newspaper, *Remolino Popular*. The figure of Stalin still adorns the [website](#) masthead of the organisation. Still the organisation has moved politically, not only holding membership of ICMLPO (which lapsed by 2010) and its ideological rival ICOR, (its membership described as inactive) but also aligned itself, with some criticism from leftist competitors OCR, with the Juche dominated, Worker's Party of Korea who sent congratulations "to every militant of the Party for the occasion of the 40 Anniversary of the Foundation of the Chilean Communist Party (Proletarian Action)" in 2019. They are the only organization that openly defend North Korea in Chile.

In 2015 together with other social activists from different backgrounds, Artes participated as founder of [the Patriotic Union \(UPA\) party](#) whose project is to fight for a New Chile, for a multi-national, sovereign, democratic and social justice Chile. While not a replacement for the still-existent PC-AP, the UPA became a legally registered party in February 2020.

ⁱ *Unity & Struggle*, August 1999 <https://www.mltranslations.org/Chile/reformism.htm>

ii Regarding the 3rd Congress of the PC(AP). *Unity & Struggle* #13 September 2007. See also J.V.Stalin *Acción Proletaria* Nov. - Dec.1996 <https://www.mltranslations.org/Chile/Stalin.htm>

iii Clarin interview (by Gregory Angelos) with comrade Eduardo Artes October 7th 2006 in *Unity & Struggle* #14 July 2008.