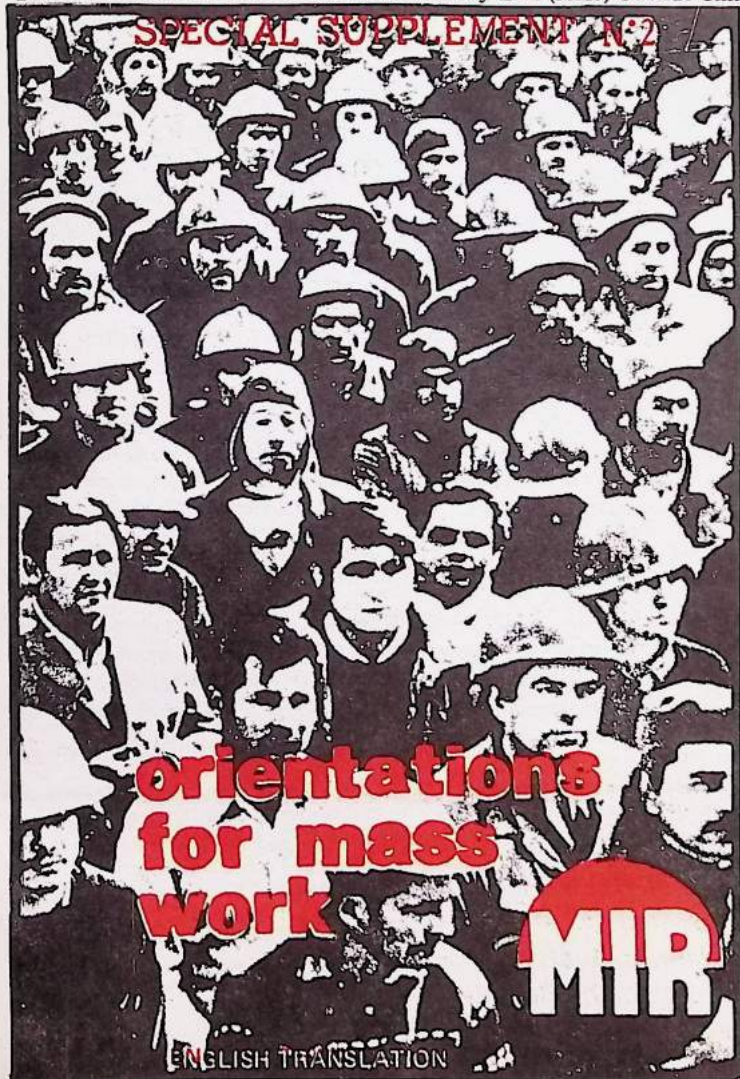


CHILEAN RESISTANCE COURIER

75¢

Bulletin of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) Outside Chile

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT N°2



**orientations
for mass
work**

MIR

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

introduction

Resistance Publications presents this Special Supplement to the *Chilean Resistance Courier* as a contribution to the English-speaking peoples' understanding of the real character of the Chilean people's Resistance movement. Revolutionary work among the masses in Chile today does not yet include such spectacular actions as those that characterized the final stages of the triumphant Vietnamese Revolution. It is still building the firm base for higher stages of struggle through an intense and complex process of strengthening the organization and unity of the Chilean working class and people. An understanding of this reality, on the one hand, strengthens the international movement of solidarity with the Chilean Resistance, while at the same time it is a political contribution to revolutionaries throughout the world.

The Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) understands that the Chilean people's struggle will be long and difficult and that it will develop in the context of a continental struggle against U.S. imperialism. This struggle will be closely tied to that of the North American working class and people, and to the struggles for liberation throughout the world, during this period of capitalist crisis.

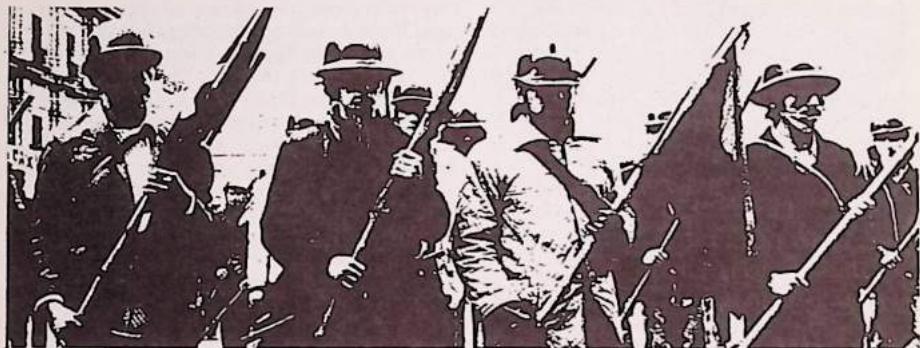
The four documents in this Special Supplement concentrate on several aspects of how the MIR analyses the state of the mass movement today in Chile and how it implements the legal, semi-legal and underground tasks of organizing among the trade unions, workers and other exploited sectors in order to build the united social and political force that will overthrow the dictatorship and build socialism in Chile. They describe the forms of organization and of struggle being developed in Chile today and the underground work methods of the Chilean revolutionaries in the mass fronts: factories, schools, the *poblaciones*, the countryside and the mass organizations which are still able to function. These documents also reflect the need for unity among the entire Chilean left and the MIR's tactics for building that unity through its grass-roots work among the masses.

In reproducing these documents, **Resistance Publications** seeks to go beyond the news of events to convey a deeper analysis of the development of the Chilean revolution. The advance of the Chilean people's struggle will be determined by the day-by-day steps taken to organize and lead the revolutionary social force which will win Chile's final liberation.

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ORIENTATIONS FOR THE MIR'S MASS WORK



THE REVIVAL OF THE MASS MOVEMENT

The following text has been taken from the document "A New Period for the Development of the Resistance and of the Issue-Oriented Mass Struggle," which was issued by the MIR's leadership in August of 1975. Space limitations prevent us from publishing the first and second parts of the document, in which the current political situation and the development of a mass Resistance are briefly analyzed, along with the situation of the working class and other oppressed classes and sectors. That analysis emphasizes those factors which have brought about the present living conditions, as well as the role these factors play in the different parts of the working class and in other sectors of the mass movement, including the rank-and-file of the Armed Forces. The last section, which contains specific instructions for Party militants in Chile, has also been excluded.

A. REACTIVATION OF THE MASS MOVEMENT

The process of activating the masses during the current period has not taken place only over the past few months, but actually had begun by the middle of last year. But until very recently the mass movement had been limited to the activation of the vanguard sectors of the proletariat, that is, core groups made up of the grass roots of the left and of the most advanced members of the mass constituencies. These vanguard sectors of the proletariat organized, sometimes under the direction of left parties, which were themselves reorganizing, and other times spontaneously, as rank-and-file groups of their parties, as Resistance Committees, or simply as underground groups within each constituency, carrying out activities (discussion, mutual support, underground

propaganda, etc.) with diverse levels of organization and effectiveness.

What is new about the present situation is that the activation and the development of the mass movement is extending itself to the social sectors which are the strongest and most advanced in their level of professional and trade union organization, and it is being expressed in an issue-oriented struggle which, although limited by the repression of the dictatorship, is growing. That is, this activation has extended beyond just the militants of the left, and the most advanced and politicized forces, with broader mass sectors taking part in the economic struggle.

Within the activated advanced sectors we need to distinguish two kinds:

1. The sectors which are advanced and strong in their trade union organization, and which therefore have more leverage in their demands, but which are ideologically backward. such is the case of the unions at the *Papelera* (Chile's privately owned paper and cellulose monopoly; many workers there were active in opposition to the UP government. *Trans. note*), of sectors of the copper workers, of the dock workers, of petit bourgeois shopkeepers and civil servants, many of whom, in the previous period, provided mass support for the reactionary bourgeoisie and the pro-coup forces. Because of this, the dictatorship, from the beginning, sought its base of support among these sectors and their traitorous leaders, in order to create a puppet, collaborationist trade union movement. This has given these trade union sectors a certain amount of leverage which, although clearly limited, is a little greater than the other trade union sectors which, being more radicalized, are more repressed. It is these ideologically backward sectors which generally have been the first to activate their trade unions. This phenomenon should not, nevertheless, confuse us about the policy which the dictatorship will have toward these sectors; it is certain that the repression will fall as heavily upon them as it has upon the rest of the trade union movement. Even now the increasing separation of the ideologically backward sectors from the dictatorship can be noted. The grievances and pressure of the trade union rank-and-file is so strong that even the traitorous trade union leaders have increased their criticisms of and brushes with the *gorila* dictatorship and with the bourgeoisie. The *gorilas* have already started to respond with repression.

The other activated sectors are those which, in addition to being advanced in the level of trade union organization, are also ideological-

ly advanced. These are the trade union sectors which have a tradition of radicalized struggle and left and revolutionary positions, such as the coal miners, and workers in textile, metal and machine industries, construction, etc. Because of this very tradition of radicalization it is more difficult for them to become active, since their leeway for organizing pressure and legal maneuvers is much more limited and they suffer from a much more brutal repression. These sectors are important because it is within them that the Resistance and revolutionary forces find the most favorable conditions to develop themselves and consolidate their leadership. Because of their deep radicalization and because of the harsh repression they suffer from, these sectors have more sympathy for revolutionary politics and are more receptive to forms of economic, political and military organization and struggle which are clandestine as well as legal.

It must be emphasized that in all advanced sectors the reactivation has, until now, predominantly taken the form of issue-oriented struggle and of pressure for the defense of trade union freedoms, within the limited legal boundaries permitted by the dictatorship. The structures for underground political struggle and organization are still the political parties and vanguard sectors of the proletariat. The left parties show progress in their reorganization and activity (more newspapers, more propaganda, and meetings, beginning approaches to mass fronts), but this has still not been translated, except in a few core groups, into organized political resistance activity, and even less into armed forms of resistance.

Finally, along side the proletarian vanguard and the advanced sectors, there are the rest of the masses which are not activated or have just initiated attempts at reactivation. These are the most backward sectors which lack legal issue-oriented organizations, or, if they have them, are weak and without any leverage, suffer a violent repression and are hit especially hard by the effects of the economic disaster and of superexploitation. But although these broad sectors remain in flux and are still not incorporated into the mass movement, we should not be confused about their attitude toward the dictatorship: discontent and anger toward the *gorilas* is wide-spread among all of them. What has happened is that, since they lack any legal structure within which to struggle for their demands and they lack the strength for illegal forms of struggle (or, more accurately, they lack adequate direction and organization), they still have no channels through which to become active. Their reac-

tion to the critical situation which confronts them is on an atomized, individual level, and it manifests itself at times in resignation, in delinquency, or at times in forms of spontaneous sabotage, slow-downs, anonymous criticism and silent hatred. We can conclude from this that the mere fact that they are not activated does not mean that these sectors support the dictatorship; on the contrary, they are against it and make up a potentially powerful force for the anti-dictatorial resistance.

B. REPRESSION, DIVISION AND ATOMIZATION

We have pointed out the process of activation of the vanguard sectors of the proletariat and of the advanced sectors, and the increasing hatred felt by the unactivated oppressed sectors toward the dictatorship. But we as revolutionaries should not ignore the other side of the coin, the effects of division and atomization which are also produced among the working masses by the repression and the critical economic situation.

The big shrinkage in the labor market, due to the recession, and the tremendous increase in the army of the unemployed have brought about a minimal demand for labor on the one hand and a surplus labor supply, on the other. The result is that the competition for jobs within the working classes is more acute than it has ever been.

The consequences of this situation make themselves felt within the labor movement, creating divisions. Great masses of workers have come to live with the nagging fear of losing their jobs and having to face hunger and misery for their families. Meanwhile, they see how thousands of workers and hundreds in their own industry are fired. Because of the repression exercised by the dictatorship and the bosses against the trade unions and their struggle, the ability of these unions to defend the worker is seen as being very limited, ineffective, almost impotent.

Nor is there a revolutionary political and union leadership to present them with new forms of struggle (illegal, armed) which might be effective. So it happens that there are many who, because of fear, prefer to rely on personal effort, instead of risking themselves in ineffective collective struggles, courting favor with the employer, submissively accepting superexploitation, wage cuts, the loss of economic



gains achieved in past struggles, anything in order not to be fired.

Repression also contributes to the divisions, by persecuting left and revolutionary trade union leaders, by destroying the local, provincial and national unions of the CUT which made possible the united struggle of different kinds of workers. Only rank-and-file unions and federations remain (their leadership mostly under the dictatorship's control), castrated of their legal right to make demands. Any attempt by the trade union movement to go beyond the narrow boundary of activity legally permitted by the dictatorship is heavily repressed.

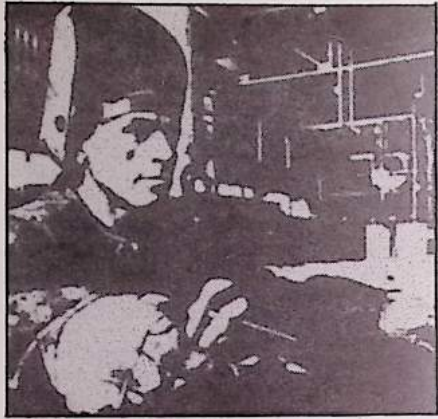
This situation of repression and division within the labor movement and within the petit bourgeoisie (salaried and propertied) make the task of developing a mass movement enormously more difficult. When the trade union movement most needs leadership and organs of local, regional and national unity to unite its forces, it lacks them, and their reconstruction, under the repression and with the absence of a coordinated resistance by the left, will be painful and difficult.

As revolutionaries and conscious workers we know that it is necessary, and we have committed ourselves to going beyond the limits of legal activity permitted by the dictatorship, developing new forms of underground organization, new forms of issue-oriented, political and armed struggle. The working class shares this understanding and is aware of the limitations of legal action, but, at the same time, conservative tendencies, the lack of experience in underground struggle, disunity and the fear of government repression make the development within the working class of new forms of organization and struggle very

difficult. This makes the work of revolutionaries doubly difficult, since it will mean a long period of education and experience for the masses before they can become part of the new forms of organization and struggle. The revolutionary resistance should make sure that the forms of struggle which it promotes are appropriate to the ideological and organizational strength of each mass constituency, in order to avoid a repressive response which would produce a set-back in the reactivation. But, at the same time, we should fight, without compromise, against conservative tendencies and against the illusions of those who believe that it is possible to continue to develop a greater reactivation within the present legal limits and within the traditional forms of issue-oriented struggle. The dictatorship is already hardening its repression against the labor movement and will strike even harder in order to stop the process of reactivation. If the labor movement does not develop new forms of organization and struggle, it will not be able to successfully confront the repression and the reactivation will run the risk of bogging down or of backsliding.

The trade union movement which is today reactivating itself is still weak. We as revolutionaries must be ready to carry out a harsh and difficult struggle to transform this beginning activation of the masses into a powerful and effective resistance movement. We should be aware that the issue-oriented and resistance struggle of the masses will not have the rapid and explosive success which it had in the pre-revolutionary period of the expansion of democratic liberties, which we passed through under the previous government. Now, under the dictatorship and the repression, progress will be difficult, slow and will suffer defeats and set-backs, before the mass movement is able to strengthen itself and achieve higher levels of struggle.

The same symptoms of disunity, weakness and fear within the trade union movement exist with even greater intensity within those oppressed sectors and strata which lack any form of legal organization for their struggle. Such is the case of the homeless *pobladores*, the unemployed, the peasants, the subproletariat, etc. Many of these sectors, together with those other worker sectors which have been fired, not only show great disunity, but even, what is more serious, of atomization. There are thousands of industrial and rural workers consigned to unemployment, who lack political and issue-oriented leadership which could reorganize them into semi-legal or illegal groups (Committees of Unemployed), promoting ef-



fective forms of struggle. There are thousands of peasants, semi-proletarians, craftsmen, self-employed service workers, etc., who have been dragged into the worst misery and are without any protection. These are probably the most "explosive" sectors, those who are living in anguish, the most desperate. These sectors, with effective leadership, with guidance in developing forms of organization and struggle, can be transformed into a powerful and violent force of resistance. But, without such leadership, the symptoms of atomization and aimlessness may become more profound and widespread.

In the previous period, from 1967 on, and especially during the first stage of the Popular Unity government, these social sectors, which were the most backward in their organization and had seen their demands go unanswered, were known for their explosiveness and their radicalization, and because of this they mobilized even before the most advanced worker sectors (seizures of land by the homeless, seizures of farms, recovery of Mapuche Indian land, etc.). But in the present period the tendency is in the opposite direction. The sectors which are becoming activated first are those which have the strongest issue-oriented organizations with the greatest leverage. The harsh repression against the masses will probably cause this tendency to maintain itself, and only the consolidation of the process of activation within the worker and petit bourgeois sectors which are strongest in their issue-oriented organization can provide the example and leadership which can activate the more

backward worker sectors and other poor strata in the country side and in the cities. The task of revolutionaries is to concentrate our efforts in developing revolutionary leadership among the vanguard proletariat and advanced workers, in order that, through them, we can later win the leadership of more backward sectors and advance their activation.

Finally, there is a sector that is particularly important for revolutionary and resistance struggle, where the problem of passivity and atomization is especially severe: the soldiers, the troops and non-commissioned officers of the Armed Forces. We have already indicated that here it is other factors which block their activation. Experience in proletarian struggle shows that, except for those politicized and revolutionary core groups (which are very few and quite isolated in our situation), the mass of soldiers is far behind the labor movement in activation and radicalization. In addition, it is generally necessary for the labor movement to break through the idolation in which the bourgeoisie maintains this sector in order for it to be attracted to and won over by the working masses and the people. This task must be constant, and must be carried out even in these difficult circumstances, in order to create the revolutionary core groups among the military which tomorrow will be the vanguard which will lead the mass of soldiers into the struggle of revolutionary resistance.

REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS FOR THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE MASSES

The following are the tactical positions which we as revolutionaries must promote during the present period of activation of the mass movement.

A. PROMOTE THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OTHER OPPRESSED CLASSES AND STRATA

Within the working class itself we should promote unity between workers of the different provinces, between the different trade unions, and the different federations, proposing goals and coordinating the development of the struggle.

The activation of the masses has just begun and the trade union movement, as much as the issue-oriented struggle of other social sectors (petit bourgeoisie, peasants, *pobladores*, etc.) has a long way to go to overcome its present weakness. In order to strengthen the mass movement it is necessary to promote unity between the working class and other oppressed classes and strata. Revolutionary agitation and propaganda must create an awareness within all oppressed social sectors of their common interests and demands, creating platforms for united struggle, promoting united action and solidarity between workers and peasants, between workers and the petit bourgeoisie, between those who have jobs and the unemployed, etc.

Revolutionaries must work towards unity with reformist trade union leaders and forces, with the traditional left and anti-dictatorial Christian Democrats. We must develop proposals and pressure at the grass roots level so that the left and the anti-dictatorial sectors of Christian Democrats raise one common platform and coordinate in a single front the thrust of issue-oriented and resistance struggles.

But revolutionaries must be uncompromising in their denunciation and exposure of yellow trade union leaders, traitors and collaborationists. Revolutionaries must be the main promoters of unity, but a unity for struggle and not for serving the dictatorship and betraying the working class. There must be a search for unity with all those leaders who wish to fight uncompromisingly for workers' demands against the dictatorship and the bosses.

B. LINKING THE ISSUE-ORIENTED TO THE RESISTANCE STRUGGLE

In addition to promoting the issue-oriented struggle, revolutionaries must insure that this economic struggle becomes an expression of the resistance struggle and that it links itself with the other forms of struggle against the dictatorship: ideological, political and armed. In other words, we must see that the trade union struggle becomes a trade union resistance, that the struggle of the peasants becomes a peasant resistance, that of the *pobladores* a *pobladores'* resistance, etc.

Conditions are favorable for linking the issue-oriented struggle to the mass resistance, since the repression and the politics of super-exploitation of the dictatorship give to any issue-oriented struggle the character of a struggle against the *gorila* government. Through agitation and propaganda which expose the class character of the dictatorship, revolutionaries must increase the understanding that economic struggle is also resistance struggle. We must expose the limitations of the legal, issue-oriented struggle permitted by the *gorilas* and the need to struggle for the overthrow of the tyranny as the only way to defend workers' gains and political and trade union liberties; and must expose and fight against traitorous leaders, who want to reduce the labor movement to the level of ineffective employee associations under the control of the dictatorship working in collaboration with the bosses' class.

In order to carry through our plan to fuse the struggle around economic demands with the resistance, we must work hard to improve our agitation and propaganda. On the one hand, we need to further develop our technical capabilities in agitation and propaganda, to be able to produce more quickly and in greater numbers our leaflets, newspapers, wall writings, etc.; to perfect our distribution, to reach mass constituencies more effectively; and to carry out simple forms of armed propaganda, which give a greater impact to our agitation. On the other hand, the content of our agitation and propaganda must be greatly improved, setting out the platform for struggle in general and for each constituency, addressing each social sector in its own language about its own problems.

It is very important that we distinguish what is propaganda from what is agitation, and that we use both correctly.

When we address ourselves to vanguard sectors of the proletariat, to the ranks of the left and to the most politicized and advanced members of each constituency, we rely on *propaganda*. That is, we try to explain and circulate as extensively as possible the revolutionary politics and ideology of the Party and of the Resistance. This is the function of our newspaper *El Rebelde*, the open letters to left and Resistance militants, etc.

When we address our selves to the mass movement, however, even to the most advanced sectors of the working class and of other oppressed classes, we should rely mainly on *agitation*. That is, we must deal with the particular realities faced by the mass sectors we are addressing, with the demands they are struggling for and the political perspectives which bring them together, making them aware of their contradictions with the dictatorship and with the bourgeoisie, and promoting their organization, mobilization and resistance and issue-oriented struggles. It is with this in mind that we must design our leaflets and fliers, declarations, slogans, wall writings and stamps, postal propaganda and publications by sector, and armed propaganda actions.

Our party and the revolutionaries during the present period have developed more propaganda than agitation, and this has been correct, because we have concentrated our efforts on the vanguard sectors of the proletariat. But now, since we are proposing to link the Party and the Resistance more closely with the trade union and issue-oriented struggle of the masses, we should further develop underground agitation, with armed support (without forgetting the propaganda campaign with the vanguard sectors of the proletariat, which will continue to be fundamental). Agitation should be directed to the concrete problems of each mass constituency, each class and social stratum. It is not enough to promote the resistance in general; on the contrary, the resistance must be organically linked to each constituency's struggle around its grievances. We must continuously promote forms of struggle and organization for the achievement of solutions. The voice of the Party and of the Resistance must reach members of the constituency around all the political and immediate issues which affect it.

C. CORRECT USE OF LEGAL AND SEMILEGAL TRADE UNION AND ISSUE-ORIENTED ORGANIZATIONS

Despite the limitations of the legal struggle, there exists an important margin for legal activity which revolutionaries and the Resistance have not fully explored. We must struggle against the mistaken scorn which many compañeros of the Party, of the left and of the Resistance, have for the legal mass organizations. Although these organizations' ability to struggle is severely limited, and they suffer from control by the dictatorship and offer an easy target for repression, they can carry out important tasks for the Resistance and people's movement, if they are correctly utilized.

In the first place, legal organizations (unions and other organizations such as neighborhood groups, mothers' centers, etc.) allow some leeway for issue-oriented struggle and for pressure which, although it is of little effect, helps in maintaining the forms of mass organization and provides some minimal protection; encourages class unity; allows for the carrying out of some agitation around demands which, although all political demonstrations are prohibited, can in itself generate an anti-dictatorship dynamic (for example, discussion of the Labor Code, repeal of Decree 198, election of union leaders, the right to strike, unemployment, etc.). It is a fact that the masses, as much from tradition as from the lack of any other form of organization, come together today in these legal issue-oriented organizations. It is within the trade union that economic grievances are discussed. Although limited by the repression, it is there that social, cultural and sports activities are carried out. It is within the neighborhood groups that the people's problems are put forward, even though there is no means to solve them. The only place for mothers to meet is the mothers' center; it is in the Church that Christians meet; it is to their professional association that the small businessmen and industrialists relate, etc. This is where the masses organized to struggle for their demands are meeting, even though they are weak instruments; and for this reason, this is where the revolutionaries and the Resistance should be, participating in this limited struggle, while they are agitating and working toward new

forms of organization and struggle.

Alongside the legal organizations, there are some issue-oriented organizations which, without being legally recognized, are allowed to exist by the dictatorship. Such is the case, for example, with committees of the unemployed, peoples' dining halls, community soup kitchens, collective solidarity funds, Christian communities, community organizations for housing, health, culture, etc. These organizations are able to carry out functions similar to the legal organizations and, for this reason, the Resistance should make every effort to have a presence within them.

Party and Resistance militants should participate in the activities of the issue-oriented organizations just like any other member, keeping in complete reserve their militancy as revolutionaries or in the Resistance. They should try to gain prestige and influence with the members of the front, working to contribute to the solution of grievances, mutual support and solidarity, but without exposing themselves politically. If the front is an industry, they should try to participate in the legal trade union activities (meetings, legal processes, solidarity with the unemployed, and with other unions, union newspaper, etc.), encourage social activities (the creation of day care centers, workers' cooperatives, trade union celebrations, medical services, support for fellow workers who have family problems, centers for alcoholics, vocational rehabilitation, etc.), cultural activities (theater and artistic group, cultural workshops, etc.), sports (sports tournaments with other trade unions, sports centers for workers and children, etc.). If their front is a *poblacion*, they should participate in the neighbors' meetings, encourage the organization of mothers' centers, of youth groups that can involve themselves in sports and cultural activities; organize people's dining halls, committees of the unemployed; promote organization and struggle around housing problems, community facilities, health and education; organize consumer cooperatives, etc., always working hard and gaining influence and leadership, but avoiding being identified politically. As in the case of these two fronts, trade unions and *poblaciones*, all the fronts have many possibilities for participating and working for issue-oriented actions and of legal and semi-legal solidarity which, although they do not provide a real solution to the problems of the front, will allow a certain level of cohesion to be maintained among its members and will help militants to win, through these activities, leadership and influence among their fellow workers.

In the second place, the very experience of these organizations and the legal and semi-legal struggle they engage in will help make the masses aware of their limitations and of the repressiveness of the dictatorship in all its forms. Thus, favorable conditions will be created for an understanding of the need to develop other forms of illegal organization and struggle, of political and military resistance against the dictatorship, through the underground agitation of the Resistance.

Finally, the use of legal and semi-legal organizations and issue-oriented struggle will enable the Resistance to camouflange its activities. Under the cover of legal organizations, cultural, sports, religious, community, youth, etc. activities can be developed which will conceal political and military resistance activities.

D. DEVELOPMENT OF NEW FORMS OF ORGANIZATION AND UNDERGROUND STRUGGLE FOR CONCRETE DEMANDS AND THE RESISTANCE

While legal forms of organization are being used, we must encourage and develop illegal and underground forms of organization and struggle, which are the only forms through which we can successfully confront the repression.

Given the legalistic tradition and experience of open struggle of the labor movement and of the other oppressed classes in our country, the process of incorporating the masses into forms of illegal and underground struggle is a long and difficult one. Because of this we should not propose a rapid incorporation of the members of a mass front into these forms of underground organization, since this would be an unrealistic goal. A better path is first to win over to these new forms of organization the vanguard proletariat, the militants of the left, the most ideologically advanced trade union forces (and those of other issue-oriented organizations). By winning over the best members and cadre we can create a nucleus of leaders,

agitators and organizers within the front which, gradually, depending on the special characteristics of the front, will develop propaganda and agitation, will work toward underground struggle and organization, and will lead the local resistance. Only by consolidating the Resistance and revolutionary leadership among the cadre of the vanguard proletariat, will we have a solid base from which we can win each mass front over to the organized resistance.

1. Which are the forms of underground organization which we should work toward within each constituency?

a) In the first place, we should work for the creation of Resistance Committees within the trade unions, Resistance Committees of peasants and of farm workers in the countryside, *pobladores'* Resistance Committees, teachers' Resistance Committees, intellectuals' and artists' Resistance Committees, women's Resistance Committees, youth Resistance Committees, Christian Resistance Communities, etc. Experience has shown us that we have committed errors which have impeded a greater development of the Resistance Committees, errors which we must overcome.

One important error has been to try to make the Resistance Committees have the same organization and operation as the base of the Party: small units of three members with a level of self-sacrifice, discipline and activity similar to that required of our militants. We have seen that to do this is to put a straightjacket on the Committees. The Committees must have a more flexible organization, because they are usually formed from core groups of friends, families, or members of a front, who vary in number (they could be three people, but they could be more, five or seven, etc.). The important thing is not their numbers, which should be adjusted to the natural groupings, as much as teaching them the principles for underground operation in regard to meetings and activities. Nor can we require a level of work and self-sacrifice as rigorous as that required of our militants. If a person is in a Committee and does not seek to enter the Party, it means that their consciousness and commitment are less developed than that of a militant. Their role must therefore be more flexible, and should be appropriate to the characteristics of the group. There will be groups or persons who will only want to contribute with postal propaganda, in giving an underground newspaper to their friends, or in helping economically. Others, however, will



want to take on a greater commitment, provide shelter to those being pursued by the Junta, pass out propaganda within the front, carry out acts of sabotage or armed propaganda, organize new Committees. The rule should not be to force members of a Committee, but rather, through a process of political development and careful convincing, to get them to develop a greater level of commitment and self-sacrifice.

Another problem is the sectarian image that people have of the Resistance Committees in many sectors, which see them as MIR support groups. This is due, in great part, to the fact that the reformist sectors try to create this image, and that there is no political front through which to work in a unified way toward the creation of Committees. This problem will persist as long as there is not a front of the left, but it can be largely overcome and corrected with a correct policy of unity at the rank-and-file level with the militants of other left parties. We should especially work with the revolutionary sectors or those who are close to revolutionary left politics to coordinate a common policy of creating Resistance Committees within the fronts, whether this means forming joint committees with them or just encouraging them to also form their own Committees.

Also contributing to this sectarian impression of the Committees is the fact that there is, in effect, a tendency on the part of many party militants to treat them as support groups. The

result is that Committees are created which have as their only program the support of the Party infrastructure, spreading Party propaganda, etc. It is correct that the Party receive support from the Resistance Committees, but they should not make this their only function. The Committees acquire their own independence, initiative and activity only if they link themselves to the mass front and if their members participate in the issue-oriented struggle of the trade unions, of the *poblaciones*, schools, etc, and develop resistance activities oriented toward their front (underground propaganda, recruitment for the Resistance, armed propaganda actions, actions in support of the issue-oriented struggle, etc.). In other words, if they become Committees of Trade Union Resistance, of *pobladores*, of peasants, etc.

The Resistance Committees are the main form of mass underground organization which we should work toward within the mass fronts. At present, those who make up the Committees are preferably the vanguard sectors of the proletariat, but future practice will show that new and broader mass sectors will become part of this basic form of underground organization.

b) Along with the Resistance Committees, within those trade unions and other issue-oriented organizations where we have strength and are able to, we should try to win over the recognized leaders (but make sure that these keep secret their membership in the Resistance) and create an underground governing board, which, from the shadows, can lead both the underground trade union resistance and the legal issue-oriented struggle. In order to achieve this it will be necessary to build within the fronts the unity and coordination of all of the left militants, or at least a major part of them. For an underground trade union governing board to really function and lead, it must have the strength of the majority in the trade union which it represents. Otherwise it cannot really act as a governing board should, and it would be better for it to limit itself to the creation and development of trade union Resistance Committees to build the strength that will make possible, in a later period, the establishment of an effective underground governing board.

c) Finally, we must work towards the underground reorganization of the local and provincial CUT's. But we should keep in mind that the reorganization of this organ of the workers

will be very difficult in the present period if the left is not united. Even so, revolutionaries must agitate for and demonstrate the need to reorganize the CUT. If, in any community or province, the level of unity of the left necessary to reorganize the CUT is reached, we should do it.

2. Which are the forms of struggle which we should encourage within the fronts?

The resistance activities of trade unions, peasants or any particular front should be begun with underground propaganda and agitation. Propaganda should be directed to the militants of the left and to the most advanced members that we find in the front. Agitation should attempt to reach all the members of the front, although the Resistance, or the Party, may be a small base. It should always make its presence felt through agitation and propaganda, denouncing the dictatorship, the bosses and traitorous leaders, agitating a platform, supporting the issue-oriented struggle, promoting the resistance, etc. Underground agitation and propaganda will always be our main arm of struggle.

The second level of struggle would be the development of illegal forms of issue-oriented struggle. It is necessary to understand clearly that the military-repressive domination of the dictatorship does not allow open forms of illegal struggle to succeed, such as strikes, land seizures, seizures of workplaces, marches, street-fighting, etc. For this reason, illegal forms of struggle must be of an underground nature during the present period, or else very quick actions, with armed support. These forms include sabotage, work slow-downs, intimidation or punishment of traitorous leaders and those who act as spies, underground issue-oriented agitation, armed actions in direct support of the issue-oriented struggle (threats to employers, expropriation and distribution of food within *poblaciones*, etc.). Finally there are the forms of struggle which relate to the political and military resistance struggle in general, actions to divert and wear down the repressive forces, punishment of torturers and traitors, preparation and appropriation of materials, sabotage, psychological warfare, etc.

In developing these illegal forms of struggle, we should always be careful that they do not have repressive consequences that cause setbacks in the front, and that they can be carried out successfully by the Party and its underground mass organizations of the front. That is to say, the actions carried out should be appropriate to the level of strength which

the Party and the underground mass organizations (Resistance Committees) have and the level of activation of the masses in the front. We should be guided by the principle of consolidating our advances, going from the simple to the complex, from the easy to the difficult, from the small to the large.

During the first period, it will be difficult to involve large sectors of the front in these forms of struggle and they should be carried out by the Party and by the Resistance Committees. But with the example and the encouragement of party cells and of the organized resistance, it will be possible to gradually involve more members of the front in these forms of struggle. For this, we should work toward the intensification of the simplest forms of illegal struggle such as limited sabotage, distribution of underground propaganda, making small wall writings, etc. When there are greater levels of activation and favorable opportunities, we can encourage forms which are simple but which require the participation of larger mass sectors, such as work slow-downs. Other forms of illegal, underground struggle, such as armed propaganda, direct armed actions, expropriation of provisions, major sabotage, etc., although they are simple, require at least a minimal level of organization and for this reason should be carried out by the organized Resistance, the Resistance Committees and the Party.

E. FOCUS OUR EFFORTS ON THE VANGUARD PROLETARIAT AND THE MASS SECTORS MOST ADVANCED IN THE STRUGGLE AND IDEOLOGICALLY

As revolutionaries we must concentrate our main efforts in the present period on what we have called the vanguard sectors of the proletariat. The main tasks within these sectors will be promoting the unity of the left and of the grass-roots resistance, in order to fight against reformist deviations and promote united action in the development of the organized resistance, linked to the masses' issue-oriented struggle.

struggle, to heighten the levels of consciousness and organization of the working class and of the people, to strengthen the working class and the people politically, ideologically, morally and militarily, and to generate within each concrete situation the revolutionary social force which will gradually change the balance of forces in favor of the working class and the people.

These are the general, permanent goals of the Party within any situation in the class struggle. Since these are the general goals of the Party, it is easy to deduce and understand that the permanent objectives of the Party in any given mass sector will be to work to heighten the levels of consciousness and organization of the masses within that particular sector and to politically, organizationally, ideologically, morally and militarily strengthen the masses within that sector. It means that, based upon the analysis which we make of the concrete situation within the sector, we can go about changing the balance of forces within this constituency, in favor of the working class and the people.

In order to do this, the Party, within this sector, cannot carry out its work according to preconceived ideas. If the Party really wants to be the vanguard and lead the masses within this sector toward the historical goals of the proletariat, it should be one step and only one step ahead of them, fused with their reanimation and struggle. Today we are in a favorable period which is characterized by several factors: a slow sharpening of the intrabourgeois contradictions; a resumption of the economic struggle of the masses, especially of the working class; a weakening of the economy as a product of the crisis of the system of national capitalist accumulation, heightened by the economic policies of the dictatorship; and the constant weakening of the Junta. Because of this, an excellent opportunity is presented for the Party to grow along with the struggles and battles which the masses are already beginning to carry out against the dictatorship, and which, based upon these issue-oriented struggles, lead to sharp conflicts with the dictatorship. There, with this reanimation in the fulcrums (literally, axes, or key centers—*trans.*) of development, combining legal struggle with semi-legal and illegal struggle, showing the masses new forms of struggle, combining all of them, not forcing anyone to carry out a particular form of organization and struggle, but teaching and learning from struggle, we will be heightening the level of political, organizational, ideological, moral

and military consciousness of the masses. Our work is not to develop one particular form of struggle or organization; our work and our duty is to develop and encourage *all* forms of struggle and organization which can be carried forward *in accordance with the concrete situation within a given sector.*

**ONLY BY GROWING
IN THE FULCRUMS OF
DEVELOPMENT,
ENCOURAGING TRADE
UNION, PEASANT,
STUDENT, PUBLIC
EMPLOYEE, CHRISTIAN
AND WOMEN'S
RESISTANCE CAN WE
CONTINUE ADVANCING
IN OUR STRUGGLE
AGAINST THE
DICTATORSHIP**

If the Party is not present or if it is organizationally, politically, ideologically and militarily weak within the fulcrums of development in each community, it is practically impossible for us to develop our work as a revolutionary vanguard within the masses. As correct and exact as our tactics may be, as aware as we are of our organizational forms and of the platforms of struggle to be developed, if all of this is not developed and directed by the rank-and-file of the party within the masses, we will not succeed in practice in being the real vanguard of the working class and of the people. We will not be able to transform the economic issue-oriented resurgence of the masses into the political, ideological, organizational, moral and military force of Resistance against the dictatorship. The working class and the people are not able to heighten their levels of organization and struggle against the dictatorship spontaneously; *only the Party, only the conscious vanguard* can transform this enormous energy into the revolutionary energy of the resistance, especially in Chile, where the working class and the people have little experience in illegal forms of struggle.



What does it mean to say that the MIR is strong in a fulcrum of development?

It means that the militants (full members of the party), *aspirantes* (members still in training) and sympathizers (first level of membership) in this fulcrum of development have the ideological, organizational, political, moral and military capacity to lead the sector, to investigate and acquire profound knowledge of the concrete problems of the masses in this sector. They discover what are the most deeply felt demands, what is the willingness to struggle, what are the legal, semi-legal and illegal organizations, which are vanguard workers, which are advanced workers and which are the collaborators with the dictatorship and with the bosses, etc., and, *based on this concrete reality*, have the ability to heighten the levels of political, organizational, ideological and military consciousness of the masses. But, can we do this where we do not have a minimum of party organization within the fulcrum of development? The answer is obvious: *Only where there are Party members and militants within the fulcrum of development* can all of these tasks be carried out, only with militants with the abilities that have been described can we transform and create the social and military strength which the Resistance needs to overthrow the dictatorship. To transform the economic issue-oriented reactivation of the masses within each fulcrum of development into an effective force for the Resistance is the *task above all other tasks* for the Party at the present time.

We need not assume that there first has to be a strong Party within each fulcrum in order to carry out the tasks which the reactivation of the mass movement and of the Resistance demand within each fulcrum of development.

On the contrary, *the Party can only become strong and grow within the fulcrums of development* to the degree to which it carries out the tasks which the Resistance requires. This involves a growth linked to the economic issue-oriented struggle of the masses; to the struggle for the right of trade unions, neighborhood groups, mothers' centers, sports clubs, etc. to exist without repressive controls; to the struggle for the recovery of purchasing power lost in the past two years of dictatorship; to the struggle to organize unions in the underground and to try to achieve their legal recognition; to the struggle to coordinate the local leaderships; to the struggle to reorganize the Federations, the CUT locals and Confederations of workers, peasants, students and white collar workers; to the struggle to unmask the sell-out and collaborationist leadership of the dictatorship and of its repressive organs; to the struggle of the Committees of Unemployed; to the struggle for university autonomy; to the struggle for the existence of the student centers; to all the struggles of the working class and of the people within the fulcrums of development. In a word, advancing resistance, by workers, students, peasants, women, public employees, Christians and all popular sectors.

The Party should be present in the fulcrums of development, encouraging these struggles. If it does not exist, it should develop, grow, and strengthen itself in the heat of these struggles. It should be fused with them, indissolubly linked with the masses, taking the vanguard role and leading a step ahead. The vanguard sectors should be organized into a base of party sympathizers; the advanced sectors of the left and all the anti-*gorilla* sectors into broad, underground Resistance Commit-

tees. The Resistance Committees should not be led bureaucratically by our militants, although we should explain our politics within the Committees and convince others of their correctness. We must combine underground struggle with economic issue-oriented struggle, trying to bring the most advanced and least corrupt trade union leaders, leaders of Neighbors Groups, of Mothers' Centers, etc. into the underground Resistance Committees; trying to coordinate the legal resistance with the underground Resistance. In a word; developing and encouraging all forms of mass struggle and organization, dialectically combining them, in such a way as to take most effective advantage of the strength of the economic issue-oriented struggle for the political, ideological and military struggle of the masses within each fulcrum of development.

SOME IDEAS ON BUILDING THE PARTY IN THE FULCRUMS OF DEVELOPMENT

The first thing that we must point out is that we must energetically combat, from the base level of the Party, all tendencies toward chaotic and unplanned work in relation to the development of the Party within the community. The Party must act in the community according to a plan, which clearly specifies which are the fulcrums of development. The Party cannot grow and develop according to "whatever contacts come along" . . . because "within this sector, although there are a lot of workers, we don't have any contacts," "reformism is strong there," etc. These and similar "arguments" should be fought and a broad discussion at the base level should be carried out on why the Party should develop based on the fulcrums of development.

In the past, during the UP period, the Party did not always operate with a work plan and did not carry out its growth in a scientific manner. During that period, it grew chaotically, the work and the sectors were not prioritized, human resources and materials were not assigned according to a rational distribution for each community. This often caused us to

develop ourselves within sectors which did not have an especially important weight within the community, that is, they were not the sectors which, through mobilizations, through their militancy and their level of organization, might have the strength to carry along with them and lead the other sectors of their community.

We can give an example which will make this clearer. In the Cerrillos area of Santiago, the Party and the *Cordon Industrial* developed and grew within small industries and some big industries, but not within the largest in the area. The largest industries there are: INSA, MADEMSA, CIC, Pizarreno and SINDEL-EN, where almost 50% of the proletariat of this zone are concentrated. The Party was very weak in four of these industries and was only able to develop any significant strength in one of them. In spite of the militancy, of the levels of organization and awareness within industries like Perlak, Sileros, INAPIS, Aluminios El Mono, Fantuzzi, Cintac, Compac, American Screw, Conservas Copihue, which were the key industries of the *cordon*, these did not have the political, ideological and economic strength to be the vanguard of both the working class and allied sectors in the community. One or two months before the coup, due to our strength in one of the big industries, it was possible for it to be integrated into the *Cordon Industrial*. It was after this achievement that it was possible to transform the latter into an organization which could unite and lead all the workers and allied sectors of the community; it was in that moment that the unity of the working class with the peasants and *pobladores* of the community was almost achieved, a unity which would have transformed the *Cordon Industrial* into the actual organization of popular power of Cerrillos-Maipu. The strength of reformism and centrism and our organizational and political weakness in the big industries prevented this historical objective of the working class and the people of the community from becoming a reality. What happened in Cerrillos-Maipu happened in almost all of the communities of Santiago. On September 11, the only fighting was carried out by the vanguard sectors of the working class and the people. This happened in Cerrillos, in San Miguel, in Vicuna McKenna, and in almost all communities. The situation would have turned out differently if the Party had been able to overcome the reformist leadership within the fulcrums of development.

Today we should orient our work toward the fulcrums of development, whether or not the

Party exists within these fulcrums. We should learn from our errors and correct them in practice, and we must fight against conservative tendencies within the Party which want to maintain unchanged the program of the past. Finally, we are distributing a list by community of the industrial fulcrums of development in Santiago.*

This all relates to party work within the fulcrums of development. Now, how should the Party plan for its growth within these fulcrums? Having a plan means that one intends to achieve certain *objectives* which the plan is directed toward achieving. Before setting the objectives, we must have information about the human and material *resources* which we can count on, as well as detailed information about the actual *situation* within the fulcrum of development. This will provide us with a perspective on the *outreach potential* of the Party within the fulcrums of development and of the *internal strength* of the Party within each fulcrum of development. Knowing in general what our capacities are and having made a list of the fulcrums of development in ascending-descending order, according to the importance of each work front, we will know within which fulcrum of development how to carry out our work. Each unit outside of the fulcrum takes three fronts. Only the head of the operation knows which three fronts are being worked. Each militant takes charge of a front.

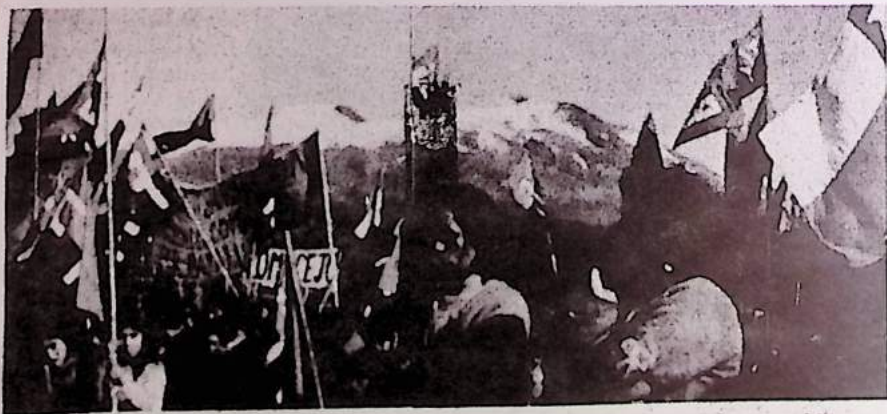
Now we will give an example of how work can be carried out within a fulcrum where the

Party does not have a single contact. The plan to be followed by a militant in charge of a front is more or less as follows:

a) Find out the names of *companeros* of the left, or get in contact with someone of the left within the industry. There is always a way to do this: possibly by locating the homes of the workers in the industry; locating a worker of another industry; names known by a veteran militant of the sector in the front; some Party militant who worked or lived within this front, who can make a list (verbally) of the *companeros* of the left; some friend who can provide information about this front, etc.

b) One evaluates the names on the list of *companeros* of the left according to the information one may have about them. If one has enough confidence in one of them (political confidence, not from friendship, since we assume that one has never talked with him), one can approach him directly, whether upon his leaving the factory or at his home. The first time, perhaps only to give him *El Rebelde*. The second time, one might start talking with him about what he thought about *El Rebelde*, whether he thinks that what is put forward there is correct or not, if he wants to continue reading it, etc. According to how the *companero* reacts in successive conversations, he can be asked to work with us. This can be done in the same way with four or five *companeros*. Of course, not all are going to want to work with us, but it is a big step forward if three want to, or even one.

* This list is not included in this publication.



As for the companeros towards whom one does not have enough confidence to approach them directly, one can begin by sending them letters, manifestos, declarations, pamphlets, *El Rebelde* (section by section), some newspaper of the Resistance, etc. The reaction to postal propaganda can be checked through the person who gave the name. If the reaction is good, then they can be approached directly.

- c) As soon as there are two or three companeros willing to enter the Party, they are organized into a unit of supporters (*simpatizantes*). Regarding the work program for a supporters' unit, one should see and study the *Manual de la Base*, in the "Miguel Enriquez" Collection.
- d) As soon as there is a supporter, the first thing that must be done is to get all possible information about the front:

1. Names of *vanguard* companeros of the fulcrum of development. By vanguard proletarians we mean that sector of the working class and of the people which is developed in its *political* class consciousness and for this reason is close to the Party. Some of these are militants of the left (PC, PS, MAPU, IC); some are members of the Resistance Committees; some are trade union leaders from Neighbors' Groups, Committees of the Unemployed, ex-members of the FTR, MPR, or FER (the MIR's political fronts in the union, *poblador* and student sectors, respectively. *Trans. note*), etc.

2. Make a list of *advanced* companeros of the fulcrum of development. The advanced sectors, in contrast to the proletarian vanguard, have developed a class consciousness through their own experiences of struggle and on many occasions may have been influenced by reformism, but have had long experience with labor struggles within the economic issue-oriented mass struggle. Some of them are leaders of unions, of federations, of the CUT, of community organizations, etc. It is important to note on the list those who are the least influenced by reformism.

3. A rigorous analysis of the different fulcrums of development (trade unions, Neighbors' Groups, Resistance Committees, etc.) helps identify the collaborators and leave aside those who are advanced but very corrupted by reformism. The former must be unmasked and denounced before the masses, in the course of the clandestine struggle of the Resistance.

4. Make an analysis of the concrete demands of the constituency and, based upon the general program for this social sector (see and study Bulletin No. 5), draw up a *platform for struggle*. The following considerations should be kept in mind doing this:

4.1. It should be unitary toward the rest of the parties of the left. It must be directed to the left and to anti-*gorila* sectors of the sector; we should agree to modifications which help unite and not try to impose a total program; we must be flexible on secondary issues, although not on the main points. We should always keep in mind what a platform for struggle is. It is another matter to try, through *reasoned discussions*, to convince militants of the left and anti-*gorila* sectors of the correctness of the platform that we are proposing.

4.2 It should cover economic demands as well as political demands. It should be a platform for struggle which reflects the feelings of the entire mass of the constituency. It should constitute an appeal as much toward the more advanced sectors as toward the more backwards sectors of the constituency. The platform of struggle is the vehicle through which the economic demands will be linked with the political struggle, with the ideological struggle, with the concrete forms of struggle which the concrete situation requires. It will be the axis around which the legal struggle will be indissolubly linked with the illegal struggle of the masses.

5. *Agitation and Propaganda*. In the course of the Resistance struggle, we will be discovering new vanguard or advanced companeros; the former we will organize into the Party, the latter, into the Resistance Committees in the sector. Also, we will be discovering new demands of the masses of the sector, which will modify and enrich the original platform for struggle by their inclusion. Also, we must continually study the national political situation, which can modify our platform of struggle (for example, some proclamation by the *gorilas* which affects all the workers, readjustments of salaries and wages, social benefits, etc.).

THE LEFT MUST DEFEND THE PROLETARIAT'S INDEPENDENCE

The following interview was given to *Correo de la Resistencia* by compañero Juan Olivares, a national leader of the CUT and a member of the MIR's Central Committee. Olivares was arrested in late 1974 and, together with other revolutionaries was tried by the dictatorship's courts in Trial 8474 against the MIR (see *CRC* #4). In June, 1976, he was freed by the action of the international solidarity movement.



Correo de la Resistencia:

Compañero Juan Olivares, you have just come from Chile. Could you tell us something about the present situation of the working class movement in Chile? What are its activities and its situation?

J.O.: As you said, I just recently left Chile, and I am a little distant from the work we carried out up to December, 1974 when I was arrested. Nonetheless, we had information in prison from the underground press, radio broadcasts from the socialist countries and our Party contacts. All this information allowed us to follow the working class and trade union movement's activities and that of many other sectors of the people as well.

First the workers began to organize to recover the benefits they had lost under the Junta. So, trade union activity reappeared in the form of grievance filings and salary demands. These were mainly channeled through the bureaucratic, sold-out union leaderships, headed by the right-wing (*Freista*) sectors of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC), in collaboration with the Junta. But the fact that they were expressed at all is due to pressure from the working class rank-and-file, which forced them to make statements and present petitions to the government, the Junta. However, they are no more than petitions since they nev-

er express a commitment by these leaders to the workers' trade union movement. In other words, they don't go beyond words on paper.

This, in some open and legal activities of the working class and in some public events, has led to declarations and demands being made against the Junta and in favor of the workers. The Junta's answer has been repression, the arrest of many union leaders and workers from important unions.

On the other hand, there is trade union activity which has no open expression, but rather a clandestine expression, organized by the vanguard sectors of the working class, led by revolutionary sectors. In this work we see the revolutionaries from the MIR in close alliance and unity with other parties. This is really a rank-and-file unity.

This union activity has also been pressuring the sold-out leaders, through propaganda, through scrupulous underground work, through pressures and threats against the bosses and certain government representatives in the factories and businesses. This has also helped to make these sold-out sectors express demands and the desire to organize to struggle against the junta to regain that which has been lost.

C.R.: You have mentioned the first phase or organization of the trade union movement in

1974. Could you tell us about your own experiences in that first phase, during the heaviest repression immediately after the coup?

J.O.: Well, we learned from practice as we went along. We believed that the working class had to be organized into underground unions, Resistance Committees and other organizational forms which would allow for creating the conditions and the methods of struggle necessary for the working class to confront the bosses and the *gorila* Junta.

First we had to contact all the union leaders we knew those with a firm commitment and political history of struggle in defense of the working class's interests—both economic and political interests.

C.R.: Did these leaders also belong to other parties?

J.O.: When we contacted these leaders, we evaluated how consistent their experience with the workers' struggle had been, totally aside from their party affiliation. We included Christian Democrats, Socialists, Communists, members of the Christian Left (IC), the MAPU and the Radical Party, *companeros* from the FTR and militants of the MIR who were part of the vanguard sectors of the working class; considering who could give the best leadership once vanguard sectors of the workers' movement achieved some level of organization.

C.R.: What was the answer?

J.O.: We received a favorable response. We believe that this is what made it possible for us to organize a network, first at a provincial and later at a national level, in Santiago and the rest of the provinces. And we organized small units, small cells—as they're still called—whose aim was to give an underground structure to the workers' movement as well as to take advantage of all the legal and semi-legal forms of organization, using all means at hand.

C.R.: What were the legal forms and what were the illegal forms, and what was the relationship between them?

J.O.: The legal forms were basically the filing of grievances (petitions), since there are no legal forms of struggle at this time. The legal forms included all the open activity channeled through the Ministry of Labor and other instruments of Chile's bourgeois institutions. We have taken advantage of all remaining legal resources, that margin of "freedom" left by the Junta, to present certain demands and

to demand the recognition of certain unions and federations which would allow the progressive reorganization of the trade union movement.

In addition we used legal means to show it was feasible to achieve certain partial victories and to thus unmask the collaborationist leaders and to denounce that this collaborationist union movement which the Junta seeks to control, was being infiltrated by imperialism through the leaders it had trained in the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

We can say in general that the semi-legal forms are those activities and organizations which have no legal basis, which are not authorized by the Junta, but which nevertheless have a *defacto* existence and organization, which in fact meet because there are certain tasks which must be carried out among the popular sectors. Since the Junta can not carry them out, it has to allow these organizations. For example: the children's food programs, the funds for the unemployed, the Church itself and its organizations, the youth centers, the mothers' centers, the neighbors' groups, etc. We take advantage of all these entities, which today have no explicit legal basis, as forms for carrying out our work and as covers for organizing, for influencing certain sectors, for reviving the trade union movement and for attracting other, more backwards sectors. We have achieved a certain degree of remobilization, though this has been limited, due to the left's and the MIR's capacities to develop this work.

As for the illegal forms, first of all we have the parties, their reorganization and reconnection, the strengthening and reconnection of all their rank-and-file militants, middle-level cadre and leaders. Next there is the building of Resistance Committees, made up of workers, mass sectors and white collar sectors, both as cells and in coordination with each other through more centralized leadership, in factories, neighborhoods, etc.

C.R.: Some sectors accuse the Resistance Committees of being attempts to replace, or substitute the unions, of being counterposed to the trade union organizations. What is your opinion on this?

J.O.: On the contrary, the Resistance Committees are a form of underground, political organization of the working class and the people, which by no means is contradictory with the workers' interests; nor is it parallel,



nor does it replace trade union organizing. We believe the working class vanguard needs to be organized and must be organized politically, not only in the Resistance Committees but also in the parties. The advantage of the Resistance Committees is that they can unite militants from different parties and also include unaffiliated workers.

C.R.: What do these Committees represent?

J.O.: We conceive of them as organizations, as political fronts of the Resistance, which include all the parties, all consistent compañeros fighting against the Junta, who want to overthrow the Junta and who also want to go beyond its overthrow. In other words, those who do not simply intend to replace the Junta with another bourgeois government but rather with one which will give representation to the workers, the masses, the people.

We believe that by thus building these Resistance Committees and encouraging the resistance activities of the various sectors of the masses we will gain strength and achieve these objectives. It is not enough to present political objectives in programatic form; there must be a way of implementing them, with methods of struggle which are different from those used previously by the working class and the people. We can no longer use the same methods of struggle; we have to go beyond the methods of trade unions and strikes to higher levels.

As we said before, the Resistance Committees are not contradictory to the trade union struggle. But the unions are legal and their potential for struggling against the Junta is limited. But they must exist, because they are the workers' broadest form of organization. The Resistance Committees are not the organ-

ization to struggle for the immediate demands of the workers, rather, they build and guide this issue-oriented struggle and they struggle within the unions to raise the level of consciousness and to raise the level and methods of struggle. Thus, they support immediate and future interests and objectives.

In addition, there is another type of organization which has been growing, mainly certain groups of workers who support trade union organizing but who work underground, building clandestine trade union organizations, since it is no longer possible to work with the legal unions. At this moment, there is a struggle among the workers to unify their ideas and to constitute a single organization at all levels (in accordance with the objectives of each level) to carry out various kinds of tasks. The proletariat must be organized to achieve its immediate, its medium-range and its long-range objectives: the struggle for material and democratic demands, the overthrow of the Junta, the formation of a Constituent Assembly where the proletariat will gain strength and, under its hegemony, lead all the other sectors of the people to socialism.

C.R.: Earlier you mentioned the participation and the favorable reception you found among other sectors of the left in trade union work. Has this spirit continued to prevail today in Chile?

J.O.: From the very beginning, from the moment of the coup, the workers understood the problem of unity. Immediately after the coup, every worker and every *poblador*, all the exploited sectors saw the need to unite, and they united in practice, in the struggle against the coup itself, to resist the coup. So Christian Democrats, Communists, Socialists, revolu-

The social make-up of the *Pobladores*

An increasing segment of the rural population is forced to move to more populated areas or big cities in search of a standard of living which is denied them in their places of origin. Throughout the society's development, these rural masses have grown and become an important part of the urban working masses.

Urban workers, for their part, have a duty as such to struggle for their share in consumption, to constantly defend the gains they have won and to see that these gains are broadened. At the same time, the propertied, white-collar, professional and student petit bourgeoisie and the middle strata in general must defend the share they have already achieved in urban consumption. These sectors seek to increase their level of participation not only for immediate, unsatisfied needs, but also because of the ambitiousness that comes from their position in the system. In effect, this sector is incapable of putting forth its own program within the society, and is constantly seeking to attach itself to the ruling class, to assimilate its values and tastes and to equal its standard of living. The ruling class takes advantage of this characteristic to keep these sectors from becoming part of a possible mass movement of the people.

But it is also true that, in each capitalist crisis, the ruling classes plunder the middle strata and force them into the proletariat by lowering their share of participation in consumption. This sector then has to struggle to defend its buying power.

A large percentage of the rural immigrants are not absorbed by the urban labor market. Together with a now increasing sector of the urban working class and of the middle strata who are in the same predicament, they find themselves forced to struggle to survive, and, temporarily or permanently, some of them become self-employed or part of the hidden unemployed. Others are consigned to misery and unemployment, forming the industrial reserve army required by capitalism. Subjected to inhuman conditions, many times they have no choice but to become beggars and criminals.

This is the composition of the *poblador* social sector in our country. All of the exploited, in one way or another, see themselves as part of it.

Common interests and specific interests

We are talking about a social sector with specific interests which unite its members. They are interests tied to the struggle for participation in urban consumption and to defend and broaden this participation.

But we are also talking about a diverse and broad sector, made up of members of all exploited classes, sectors and strata.

Bringing both characteristics together, we see that while members of the *poblador* sector are part of it and share the common interests of the sector, they also belong to their respective classes, sectors and social strata and share their respective specific interests, with diverse and varying degrees of contrast and difference.

As a sector, the *pobladores* thus make up an enormously broad and extensive amalgamation.

This helps us understand what often happens in our *poblaciones* (the neighborhoods of the *pobladores*).

As urgent, grave and immediate as the specific interests and needs may be, the unity of the *pobladores* is no abstraction. It is very concrete, and it begins and develops in relation to certain needs or interests which are vitally shared by all the members of a given *poblacion*. This is the basis of the strength, the explosive character and also the limitations of the *pobladores*.

In the diversity of its social composition, in its extensiveness, in the inter-play of possible contrasts and differences that this produces, lie its objective weakness and the sources of divisions which frequently come to the surface. This is the basic cause of the difficulty the *pobladores* have in prolonging the duration and intensity of their struggles.

But this also presents an area for local social alliances which, if they can at least coordinate the struggles of their diverse social components, become an extraordinary source of strength and continuity, making the struggle for the *pobladores'* basic needs more solid and effective.

The masses of *pobladores* are incapable of spontaneously resolving this contradiction among themselves. We see this daily in our *poblaciones*. Therefore there is a basic need for an alliance and concrete ties to the work-

ing class, under whose leadership the *pobladores* can merge their own struggle with the struggles of the people as a whole.

It is crucial for the most conscious sectors of the *pobladores* to understand this contradiction and its consequences, to study them, know them and channel them, working them out in each concrete work front. This will enable them to fulfill their responsibility to propel and steer the struggles of their front.

Geographical factors and sub-groups

The *poblador* sector lives out its existence in urban areas that have been set aside by the ruling classes to supply housing for the exploited, and in areas where the struggle itself has led to temporary or permanent land take-overs to meet this need.

These are the *campamentos*, the poor *poblaciones* and the housing projects for the middle strata.

But it is also to be found in a fragmented area, in the inner-city areas, wherever the exploited can find a place to stay, crowded together in slum housing, in the homes of friends and relatives, in unsanitary storerooms rented to several families and in the limited supply of available and always expensive rental housing.

The geography of the *pobladores'* existence is thus defined by their housing situation. It can thus be broken down into different human groupings with specific interests, which at the same time make the sector more diverse. The two most important groups are the women and the children.

The primary concrete interests of the *poblador* women are:

- the integrity, sustenance and progress of the family group;
- the health, sustenance and progress of each member of the family group;
- her own health, sustenance and progress;
- the improvement of her capacities and of the objective conditions which would favor the achievement of the above points.

The main concrete interests of the *poblador* youth are:

- to be able to enter the urban labor market under the best possible conditions;
- to fill the demand for labor under the best possible conditions;
- to have the opportunity to train them-

selves as successfully as possible to achieve the above two points;

- freedom to think, to express themselves, to organize, to understand the society they live in and the opportunities which it offers them, to choose their own path of development and have the opportunity to make this choice, to spend their free time in self-improvement and entertainment and obtain the means to do this;

- equality of opportunity;
- satisfaction of their vital needs.

Besides their specific interests as a human group, the *poblador* women and youth share the specific interests of the class, sector or social stratum to which they belong. These interests also condition the expression of their group interests.

The most advanced *poblador* sectors must understand the importance of coordinating the specific interests of the human groupings with those of the classes, sectors and strata existent within the *poblaciones*.

This should be achieved as part of the local social alliance itself, a necessary instrument within each front to give, as we have seen, greater continuity, strength and effectiveness to the struggle of the *pobladores*.

This is a very important point, both because of the extension and the influence which women and youth groups have in the *poblador* front, and because their specific struggles can only be successful in unity with the entire front, with the people and the working class.



The ruling classes and the *pobladores*

During the capitalist system's periods of normality, the ruling classes negotiate and profit from the immediate needs and demands of the *pobladores*, putting them off with partial solutions.

In order to maintain and consolidate their domination, the exploiters develop an intense ideological penetration, seeking both consensus and repression on this level. They use all the means at their disposal, focusing on the most backward strata of the *pobladores*.

When the exploited are beyond the reach of this repressive ideological program, they experience direct physical repression through the armed mechanisms of the state.

If it happens that the working class and the people have accumulated sufficient strength to move forward, and if this advance passes beyond the reach of ideological repression for good, and if this occurs along with other facts which signal the approach of a capitalist crisis, the ruling classes concentrate their efforts in dividing and wearing down the strength of the working class and of the people.

They do this by trying to incorporate the backward strata of the people into a reactionary social movement, which can help them weaken and halt the advance of the people and can become a social support for their own strategy. This is, one could say, the first phase of the ruling class's response during a period of crisis, its demagogic bourgeois populist face (bourgeois reformism.) We saw this clearly before the coup, in the behavior of the Freist leadership of the Christian Democrats and also in the bourgeois and petit bourgeois fifth column, reformism, which is useful to it as a public disguise.

If the exploiters succeed in building this reactionary social movement, through lies and deception, they launch their armed repressive apparatuses against the people with a *coup d'état*. They try to smash the popular advance and reestablish their privileges, even at the cost of thousands of deaths.

If the crisis of the system intensifies, and if in the meanwhile the working class and the people succeed in building a revolutionary leadership and higher levels of struggle, con-



sciousness and organization, then the exploiters will launch, without remorse, a counter-revolutionary civil war.

In both cases, the bourgeoisie uses the socially and ideologically backward strata. In the cities these strata are concentrated in the *poblador* sector. It tries to divide, wear down and block the popular forces, trying to pit the people against the people in order to stop the popular advance. The exploiters agitate demagogically for the needs of the *pobladores*, trying to turn them against the working class and its organizations. If the workers and the people have not developed enough strength, the bourgeoisie will forget its "democracy" and strike brutally.

The *pobladores* and the gorila dictatorship

Sharp contradiction of irreconcilable interests, repression at all levels

The interests of the *poblador* social sector are in sharp and irreconcilable contradiction with the gorila dictatorship. At all levels.

To analyze this, to recognize its reality and understand the main consequences for the

struggle of the *pobladores* is the job of their most advanced sectors and of the vanguard of the working class and of the people.

Let us see what, concretely, are the principle overall contradictions and their main consequences.

The first thing that stands out is that the anti-popular, pro-monopoly and pro-imperialist political economy of the *gorila* dictatorship is in blunt contradiction with the fundamental common interests and the specific objectives of the *pobladores'* struggle.

The dictatorship was imposed by the united ruling classes to solve the economic, political and ideological crisis which had plagued local capitalism for more than ten years. The bourgeois sector controlling big financial, industrial and import-export commercial capital seeks to resolve the crisis. Their intentions are in radical opposition and hostility to the *pobladores* and to their interests.

Let us see why.

A solution to the economic crisis is being sought through:

- the maximum reduction of the internal market;
- the maximum contraction of demand, that is, the purchasing power of the Chileans;
- the denationalization of the economy;
- the offering up of the country, defenseless, to the exploitation of foreign and imperialist capital. Foreign investment should come immediately and in massive amounts, seeking a good deal, and reorienting the economy toward the export market. Then most of what is produced in Chile will be consumed by the exploiters of other countries and not by the Chileans.

What are the consequences of this economic program?

The impoverishment, the misery and the hunger which we are suffering under the dictatorship.

In order to achieve forced capital accumulation, the dictatorship tries to reduce as much as it can the internal market and demand, and this means the most brutal superexploitation of the workers, an increase in unemployment and the continuing impoverishment of the majority of the population; the forced deprivation, impoverishment and proletarianization of the petit bourgeoisie; the hunger increasingly spreading among the majority of Chileans.

On the other hand, a maximum reduction of the internal market, combined with an effort to establish a totally export-oriented economy, has implied a brutal reduction in the buying power of Chilean citizens. The result has been the biggest recession ever seen in industries producing for the local market. This kind of industry, the most widespread in Chile, cannot sell its products because every day there are fewer people who can afford to buy them. Stocks pile up, unable to be sold, and profits disappear. To offset this "loss," the industrial bourgeoisie reduces its number of workers, increases unemployment, and lowers wages as much as it can. Thus, the present circle of poverty and misery continues to increase.

At the same time, the dictatorship has reduced fiscal spending, that is, the money at the disposal of the State. It has dismantled the previously State-controlled production and service apparatus in favor of export-oriented private monopolies, thus reducing to a minimum the main source of employment that existed in Chile. Such is the case in housing construction, health care and education.

The dictatorship has done all this in order to turn the country into one big factory, with natural resources and cheap enslaved labor. It is trying to create a good climate for investment that will attract foreign and imperialist capital. It seeks to promote the influx of capital in order to solve the crisis of accumulation of the local capitalists and thus reactivate the economy for the benefit of big business and imperialism.

Still, foreign investment has not come in at the rate, and in the amounts that the dictatorship urgently needed. The following factors have contributed to this: the steady weakening of the *gorilas*; the inability of the dictatorship to solve the problems of local capitalism; the struggle of the peoples of the world against repression in Chile; the deepening divisions within the ruling classes; and the slow but sure growth of the Popular Resistance.

In the last few days we have witnessed the demagogic publicity given to the fact that North American imperialism has made some loans to the dictatorship. But these loans are just enough to help the Junta keep its economic project afloat. They are certainly not enough to solve the underlying economic crisis. The dictatorship knows this. The loans are nothing more than a temporary patch that does not eliminate even the symptoms of this failure.

How does this affect the *pobladores*?

- *minimal job opportunities*, just enough to maintain the system, and consequently creating massive forced unemployment;

- *maximum reduction in the price of labor on the job market*, by paying starvation salaries; permanent job insecurity and massive or gradual lay-offs;

- *drastic reduction of the people's standard of living to less than the bare minimum necessary for most of the population*: higher food prices, decreasing buying power, massive hunger; higher clothing prices, decreasing buying power, insufficient clothing for the people; unlimited price rises in construction, for available housing, lots and rents; everything gained in the people's struggle for shelter and a plot of land, stolen. Since the system has no immediate need for a large labor force, less importance is given to the survival of the people: higher prices and unlimited commercialization of access to medicine is a massive and acute attack upon the people's health; cost increases and manipulation of education, for the purpose of producing a small number of professionals and a large number of salaried slaves who require a minimum of education; plunder, obstruction, cost increases and commercialization of the public school system; no access to higher education for the people.

These are the results of the *gorilas'* economic policies for the *pobladores* and for all the exploited people of Chile. No one with a minimal degree of honesty can deny this.

In other words, the unpopular, pro-monopoly and pro-imperialist economic policies of the dictatorship directly contradict, at all levels, the interests of the *pobladores*, taking away from the exploited classes, as much as possible, the share of urban consumption which they had achieved in earlier periods.

In order to carry out this criminal project, the dictatorship needs to enforce a brutal political repression against the exploited classes, sectors and social strata of our society, that is, against the immense majority of Chileans.

Pobladores: targets of repression



Since the *poblador* sector is the natural and primary rearguard of the exploited classes, and since it serves as the focal point for the struggles of the exploited demanding participation in urban consumption, it suffers both repression and an attack against its standard of living. It is in this social sector that the consequences of the unpopular policies of the *gorilas* are expressed most fully: through persecution, imprisonment, unemployment, poverty, hunger and death.

The battered, exploited classes retreat into the *poblador* sector. Here the oppressed population piles up, and hate for the system and the dictatorship builds among the exploited. Discontent grows, followed by protest and the will to struggle. Here leadership is needed, and here a way to end exploitation is sought.

And that is why the dictatorship permanently directs intimidating measures against the *poblador* front. It makes this front its preferred target for the penetration of bourgeois ideology, even though the effectiveness of such penetration is lessened by the blatant repression.

Nonetheless, the very extensiveness of the front diminishes the possibilities of repressive vigilance. To be effective, it would have to have an agent in every house. Groups of workers and vanguard elements living in the *poblacion* take advantage of this fact to fight for their interests under the protective breadth and extent of the *poblador* front.

There are community organizations "of the *pobladores*" which the dictatorship has

turned into covers for repression and encourages to function as such. But even these are used by the working class and its vanguard to take advantage of the small leeway provided by their legality and thus to carry on the struggle.

But new organizations are also created, and new forms of struggle are developed to carry out the Resistance by means of semi-legal and underground work. The working class and its vanguard are acting inside the *poblador* sector.

From the *poblacion*, the working class prepares its struggle in the factories.

The working class thus becomes the backbone, focal point and motor for the *pobladores'* struggle, while also making use of the advantages inherent in this geographically determined social sector (the *poblacion*) in order to promote their own struggle as a class.

The contradictions between the *pobladores* and exploited people, on the one hand, and the *gorila* dictatorship, big business and imperialism on the other, are absolutely irreconcilable.

The dictatorship is trying to resolve this contradiction momentarily through repression, oppression, super-exploitation and police control of the exploited. But this, far from resolving the contradiction, helps make it more acute.

For exploited people, and thus for the *pobladores*, this contradiction of interests will only be resolved when the capitalist system and the class of exploiters are overthrown; when the exploited classes, under the leadership of the working class, destroy the very foundations of the repressive bourgeois State; when the people as a whole begin to construct a more just society, a socialist society, in which the workers and the people firmly exercise the power to construct their future, freely and assuredly.

The exploited, and therefore the *pobladores*, encounter an obstacle between them and this socialist future: the *gorila* dictatorship. The point, then, is to destroy it.

The working class and the people are struggling to overthrow the dictatorship by strengthening and broadening the Resistance. For this reason, the *pobladores* of Chile, increasingly united with the working class and with the rest of the people, strengthen the struggle for their immediate demands, strengthen and increase the Resistance in the *poblaciones*, and put forward their short-term platform for struggle against the dictatorship with greater force.

Against the dictatorship and for socialism



MINIMUM PLATFORM OF THE CHILEAN POBLADORES

CHILE'S POBLADORES ARE STRUGGLING:

1. For the integrity of all members of the front and for better conditions for achieving a larger share of urban consumption.

a. complete respect for the human rights of the *pobladores* and of all the people.

— the right to life and liberty of all the *pobladores* and their imprisoned, persecuted and disappeared leaders;

— an end to the political persecution of their members;

— an end to torture, crime, abuses and massive robbery;

— an end to searches, raids and mass arrests in the *campamentos*, poor *poblaciones* and housing projects;

— the inviolability and respect for the integrity of every home and its members;

— the right to struggle for survival and for basic necessities without being watched over, terrorized, persecuted, arrested, tortured and/or assassinated;

— the right to protest all violations of human rights and to punish those directly and indirectly responsible;

— the right to life and liberty for all the *pobladores*;



POBLADORES IN THE RESISTANCE

— the right to mass resistance and self-defense against arbitrary arrests;

— the formation of Committees for the Defense of Human Rights, Committees of Relatives and Friends of Political Prisoners; for the formation of Solidarity Committees in each *campamento*, *poblacion* and housing project;

— the destruction of the DINA, and popular justice and punishment for all its members;

— an end to the State of Siege, legal facade for the permanent and continuous violations of human rights committed by the *gorila* dictatorship in the *poblaciones*.

b. the restoration and broadening of democratic rights for the *pobladores* and all the people.

— freedom of information;

— freedom of the press;

— freedom of expression;

— freedom of association and organization;

— freedom of thought;

— freedom of education;

— freedom of movement and travel;

— freedom to elect community leaders;

— the restoration of all democratic rights;

— an end to the State of Siege, legal facade for the suppression of all the *pobladores'* democratic rights.

II. For survival and for solutions to the *pobladores* urgent immediate needs.

a. bread, work, secure employment and the salary required to provide for a family.

— the right to work for all the *pobladores*;

— against firings; for the reinstatement of all those fired since the *gorila* coup, with wages similar to and in proportion to those they were earning before September 11, 1973;

— demand from the State and the bosses the right to steady jobs for all unemployed *pobladores*;

— against the wage slavery nature of the minimal employment program;*
— jobs for *poblador* youth;

— coordination among *pobladores*, workers' trade unions and workers' community organizations to struggle for full employment and salaries that provide for the needs of the family.

b. for a solution to the urgent and immediate needs of the *pobladores*; for decent living conditions.

The right to a nutritious diet for all the *pobladores*:

— price controls on all foods;

— popular control by the *poblador* organizations and small businessmen over the big food distributors; for coordination between *poblador* and small business organizations;

— food banks for children in all *poblaciones* with 2% of the fiscal budget set aside for emergencies, controlled by the local organizations;

— the proliferation of popular soup kitchens to all the *poblaciones*, with obligatory state financing controlled by the *poblador* organizations;

— free distribution of ½ liter of milk daily for all children under seven years of age;

— the unlimited defense and the broadening of paid maternity leaves (before and after birth);

— 150 pesos (approximately U.S.\$15) per dependent per month;

— work, jobsecurity and a high enough salary for all *poblador* heads of families.

The right to adequate clothing, for price controls on clothing:

— popular control by *poblador* organizations and small businessmen over large clothing manufacturers and distributors.

The right to housing:

— the defense of the lands acquired through struggle by the *pobladores* before the *gorila* coup;

— a plot of land and a house for every *poblador* family;

— construction of housing for the community, with funding from the Ministry of Housing controlled by the workers' and *poblador* organizations, and the Committees of Unemployed and Construction workers in each neighborhood;

— the creation of Committees of the Homeless, by neighborhood, *poblacion*, *campamento* and on a local and a provincial level, within the struggle for decent housing;

— electricity, running water, sewage and paved roads in the *campamentos* and poor *poblaciones*; the creation of Committees for Basic Urbanization to carry out this work;

— the formation of Committees to struggle for rent control and the repeal of the landlords' rental laws in the poor *poblaciones* and housing projects.



III. To reach out to and win over the soldiers, non-coms, lower officers and honest members of the Armed Forces who live in the *poblaciones* and housing projects so that they, as is their right and their duty, will join the struggle of the *pobladores* and of all the people.

- clarification, in writing and through personal conversations, of the similar nature of the problems facing *pobladores* and soldiers;
- integration of these soldiers into the local *poblador* organizations.

IV. For the inclusion of all the *pobladores* in the Popular Resistance struggle of the whole Chilean working class and people to wear down, weaken and overthrow the *gorila* dictatorship.

- guide the struggle of the *pobladores* against the dictatorship;
- unify all the *pobladores* and the people with the working class as the primary axis, in the broadest, most unified and most militant Popular Resistance Movement possible against the dictatorship;
- wherever a bootlicking leadership servile to the *gorilas* has been imposed upon the *pobladores*' organizations, commissions in the *poblaciones* should be created to guide the grass-roots struggle in these organizations for their own interests;
- the formation of coordinating committees of the left, committees of unity of the left and all possible and efficient forms of coordination and unity for the people in each *campamento*, *poblacion* or neighborhood;
- the creation of more and more Resistance Committees in each *campamento*, *poblacion* and housing project, by the most proletarian and conscious sectors of the *poblacion*.

The right to health for all the *pobladores* and all the people:

- a complete clinic in each *campamento*, *poblacion* and neighborhood, controlled by the workers' organizations in that neighborhood;
- the eradication of sources of infection and disease in the *poblacion*;
- price controls on all medicines;
- popular control by neighborhood workers' organizations and local druggists over large pharmaceutical laboratories and distributors;
- free medical attention for all Chilean children.

c. The right of all *pobladores* to education:

- the conditions and materials necessary to insure a basic education for all;
- free elementary education;
- free high school, university level and technical education for all young people and adults who want it;
- financial aid for all workers' children who study;
- the formation of youth and cultural centers to struggle for the specific interests of working and student youth in the community.

**STRUGGLE FOR BREAD, HOUSING, JOBS, JUSTICE, AND LIBERTY!
STRENGTHEN THE POBLADORES' STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP!
UNITE THE STRUGGLE OF THE POBLADORES WITH THE STRUGGLE OF ALL THE
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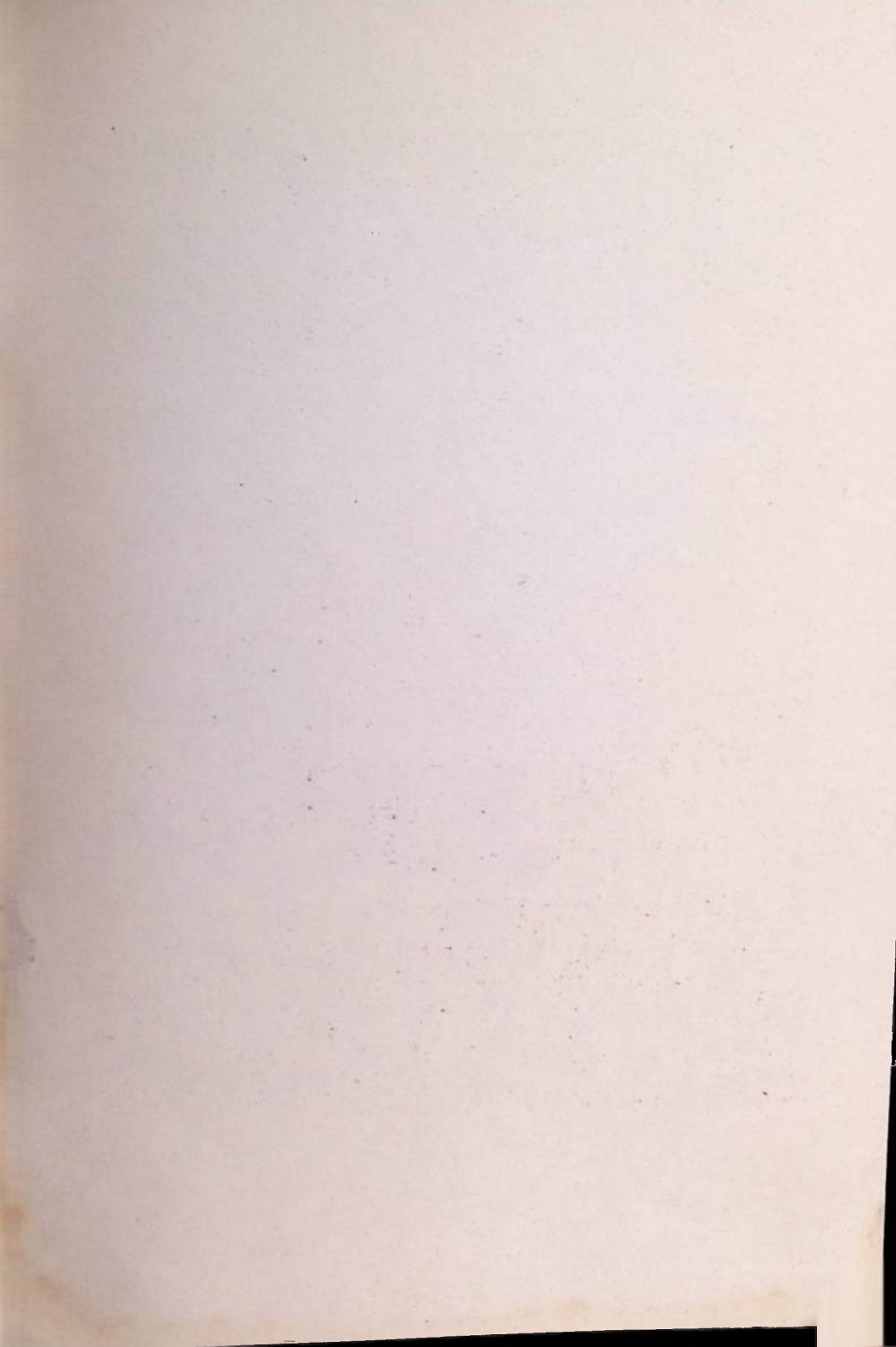
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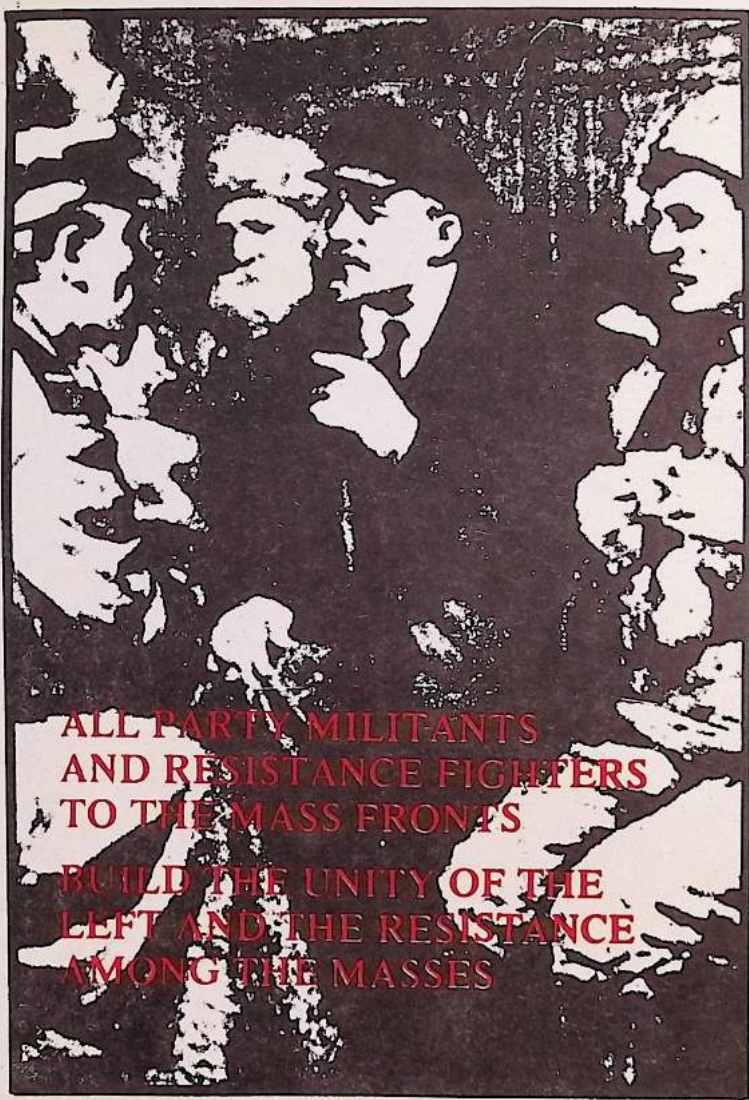
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