

DE PIE Y

THEORETICAL
JOURNAL OF
THE M.L.N.



EN LUCHA

- **Puerto Rico's Not So Manifest Destiny**
- **On The Chicano-Mexicano Question**
- **Long Live The Armed Struggle**



Evaluation of a campaign

It is the duty of every revolutionary to extract the lessons of victories and defeats in order to learn and advance the struggle against imperialism. It is in this constructive spirit that we submit for the consideration of the independence movement, this brief evaluation of the political events that we consider of major importance, occurring during the celebration in our nation of the Panamerican Games. We expect all the revolutionary comrades and organizations to read and discuss this evaluation and if possible, make public your own conclusions.

The Political Framework

The celebration in our nation of the 8th Panamerican Games was preceded and accompanied by a total mobilization of the national and foreign repressive forces: not only were the police and national guard mobilized, but also the FBI, Secret Service and the CIA. Many independentistas were persecuted and harassed. Attempts were made to intimidate various labor leaders. The coming and going of military vehicles and the presence of national guardsmen in combat fatigues carrying M-16 rifles were common sights. For almost one month, Puerto Rico lived an undeclared state of siege.

In addition, the propaganda offensive was stepped up. The pages of *El Vocero* and *El Nuevo Día*, beginning one month before the Games, were filled with alleged threats and terrorist conspiracies. Every robbery appeared in the press as an act of a "subversive commando". Every crime was the work of "extremists". They were even ridiculous enough to state that a submachine gun found in the possession of a mafia member was part of a cargo destined for the possession of a mafia member was part of a cargo destined for "terrorist", and that it was of the type used by Palestinian Commandos in the Olympic Games at Munich.

Before this colonial outcry of "subversive conspiracies", the only "terrorist" actions carried out were unclaimed attempts against members of the national guard. It is important to state that none of the clandestine organizations operating in Puerto Rico carried out any action to disrupt the Panamerican Games. Why?

Although we cannot speak on behalf of all the clandestine organizations, we understand that it would not be contradictory to say that the reason no actions were carried out during the Games was the same for all: the strategy of people's war is based on the necessity of uniting the people around anti-imperialist objectives and national liberation. To disrupt a sports event would not have advanced, in any way, this strategic objective. Although we are frequently accused of being "militarists", our organization considers that military actions are always subordinate to the political criteria and necessities that can be clearly supported. As Mao once said: the gun is subordinate to politics.

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July 3rd

July 3rd was the first anniversary of the revolutionary takeover of the Chilean Consulate by the compañeros Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marcano. The daring action carried out by the two young patriots shook the consciousness of an independence movement weakened by years of reformist and legalist struggles.

Unfortunately, the incarceration and exile of these compañeros has not resulted in a unitary movement for their liberation. Orphans of political support, they are progressively isolated from the collective memory of an oppressed people that imperatively needs revolutionaries they can emulate. In that sense, it was encouraging to see the picket sponsored by the Socialist League in commemoration of the takeover of the Consulate, and the support demonstrated for all the prisoners of war in the unitary activity on July 4th.



We must remember the words of Nydia and Pablo about the possibility of an exchange of the 4 Nationalist compañeros for northamerican spies imprisoned in Cuba:

"This exchange, far from being a comfortable outcome for our liberation movement or of the good purpose that formed it, represents a weakness or recognition of the weakness of that movement. Until what point can we continue glorifying before the working class and marginalized sectors in Puerto Rico as their representatives, when in practice (despite popular support) we have not been capable of saving and reinvidicating those who with their sacrifice nourish and give meaning to our struggle."

It is precisely raising the banner of unconditional freedom for all political prisoners and converting that struggle into a revolutionary struggle, one of the ways in which the independence movement can truly earn the role of the vanguard.

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Puerto Rico: Not So Manifest Destiny

INTRODUCTION

Over one year ago, the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN) issued a discussion document which outlined the combination of factors needed to win the independence of Puerto Rico. The four prong strategy included the following: a strong united revolutionary movement on the island; a widespread and committed international support; an anti-imperialist solidarity movement within the U.S. capable of organizing advance sectors of the white working class; and a rear-guard base among Puerto Ricans in the U.S. able to reinforce and defend a revolutionary struggle on the island.

While all three points are interesting, in themselves, in that for the first time the U.S. ruling class admits (not only in *Forbes*, but also in *Fortune*, the *Nation*, and in the *New York Times*--all in the month of August) that Puerto Rico is a nation which is impossible to integrate: "Puerto Ricans might insist that Spanish continue as the island's official language, something Congress might refuse," says the *New York Times* (Editorial, August 21, 1979). What is most startling, however, is the revelation of the importance of the Puerto Ricans in the U.S. in regards to the status issue. Jerry Flint, in the *Forbes* article, while analyzing congressional reaction to a de-

Puerto Rican residents of the U.S.; only that way can the terrorist threat be contained." It, thus, becomes quite clear to the reader that the imperialists have an obvious conception of the significance of the rearguard struggle as outlined in our discussion paper a year ago.

If the number of ruling class publications, in August, dealing with Puerto Rico are any indication, then it is clear that "the Puerto Rican connection is the most intimate...the most dangerous in many ways," for the ruling establishment. Even through all the articles pose an uncertainty about Puerto Rico's future, they all acknowledge two facts which independentistas have steadfastly sustained: 1) that Puerto Rico is a nation; for example, *Fortune* states, "historically the admission of the first truly Hispanic state would also raise questions that have never been posed before"; 2) that the present status is a political farse. What such famous Puerto Rican jurists, such as Pedro Albizu Campos and Vicente Geigel Polanco, advance more than a generation ago concerning the so-called "commonwealth" (hailed at that time by the Harvard-legal mind Carl Friedrich and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren), the *New York Times* has finally had to admit that the "Constitution makes no provision for a semi-sovereign entity." (Editorial, August 21, 1979).

In conclusion we can say that the final crisis for U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico--the crisis Albizu Campos talked about in the 1930's--is finally unfolding. U.S. imperialism is finally awakening to realize its nightmare (the spectre of Northern Ireland looms over then, as is clerally indicated in the *Forbes* article) that if Puerto Rico is its Achilles heel in Latin America, then the Puerto Ricans in the U.S. are its Trojan Horse who bring with themselves a Pandora's box and within it a storm they would not be able to contain.



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On August 6 of this year, the article which appears below was published in one of the most important organs of the U.S. ruling class, *Forbes* magazine. In this article an analysis is made of the major obstacles to the imperialist strategy of statehood for Puerto Rico; it includes the following factors: that Puerto Rico is a nation--a Spanish speaking nation at that; that there does not exist overwhelming support for statehood among the Puerto Rican masses; and that the 2.5 million Puerto Ricans on the U.S. mainland are a factor to be reckoned with.

mand for statehood, states that the idea of imposing statehood on a large minority--and the possibility of terrorism--also might give Congress pause. Such violence could go beyond tearing down a few American flags before the Pan American Games. One tiny terrorist group, the New York based F.A.L.N. ... is credited with 90 bombings and 5 deaths in 5 years.

He goes further to state that "Governor Romero must build a genuine consensus among the island's citizens as well as among

Will Puerto Rico become the U.S.' Northern Ireland? Our first Spanish-speaking state? Or something else? We may soon find out.

Puerto Rico's not-so-manifest destiny

By Jerry Flint

PUERTO RICO WOULD MAKE one strange state. The official language wouldn't be English; half the folks would be on food stamps; there might be resident terrorists throwing bombs on the island and the mainland; and they might not get around to paying full federal income taxes for 10 or 20 years.

If this seems strange to most mainland dwellers, it sounds strange to many Puerto Ricans, too. Puerto Rico a state? Like New York or Alaska or North Dakota? Unlike most of the modern Caribbean, Spanish-speaking Puerto Rico is not an independent country nor do any but a tiny minority of its people want it to be. The question is: What exactly do the majority of them want, these people of mixed race whose culture is part Spanish, part American, whose small island came under U.S. rule after our victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898? Now they are citizens of the U.S. in a vague association with the U.S. known as commonwealth, but without full political rights in their homeland.

But this status question that has bedeviled the island for decades appears to be pushing to conclusion. The options: Puerto Rico could become the 51st state; it could remain a commonwealth; or it could move toward independence.

The issue so divides the island that the will of the majority might not be accepted if statehood comes. This is a Spanish society and talk of violence comes easily. Says one of the island's most prominent private citizens: "We're talking about civil war. It's only a small group, maybe 2,000 or 3,000, but they would create havoc. They would probably blow one or two [U.S.] senators to pieces. It would be permanently violent."

"You will be buying a problem for a long time," warns Senator Miguel Hernandez Agosto, president of the pro-commonwealth, antistatehood Popular Democratic Party, the second-largest po-

litical force on the island.

"We're not Eskimos or Hawaiians. We are a distinct nation. There is no possibility for statehood," says Ruben Berrios Martinez, leader of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, which demands an independent socialist state. And on the far left, under a red flag, there is the tiny Marxist-Leninist Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Its leader, Juan Mari Bras, cuts no such dramatic figure as Fidel Castro does, but Mari Bras would dearly love to emulate the Cuban caudillo. "Undoubtedly the only alternative would be armed struggle, even after statehood," he threatens.

Those are the threats of the opposition, attempting to frighten an American Congress from accepting the majority will if statehood wins a majority in a



plebiscite. But Puerto Ricans battling for the 51st star are just as forceful.

"I believe in democracy and I'm not being cynical about it or sarcastic, no, I'm being very, very frank," says the island's elected Governor Carlos Romero-Barcelo, a handsome, gray-haired man who clenches his fist and speaks slowly to make his point. "I would feel uncomfortable being denied participation in that [U.S.] democratic process and having my children disenfranchised." His pro-statehood New Progressive Party now controls the local legislature, and if it is victorious again in 1980 he pledges to hold that status plebiscite in 1981, win it and take the demand for the 51st star to Congress. Adds one of the governor's associates, if opponents who talk violence want confrontation, "they will find us ready." The implication of that statement will not be lost on the *independentistas* who have not forgotten the decisive and bloody defeat the Puerto Rican National Guard inflicted on the independence uprising in 1950. There is no question of the U.S. regular Army being used—of mainland troops firing on Puerto Ricans. The National Guard and local police are efficient and determined.

It would be wrong to think of the problem in purely economic terms. Dr. Francisco Pabon, director of Puerto Rican Studies at the State University of New York at Buffalo and an accomplished maker of documentary films, explains the situation: "There is a painful ambivalence here, especially in the educated middle class. We enjoy the benefits of the American connection but are deathly afraid that our own quite different vision of life will not survive. We are, after all, only 5 million in a sea of 250 million." Even the pro-statehood people desire to maintain their cultural identity, holding on to their own Spanish language, their own teams in the Olympics, even their own Miss Universe entry. That couldn't happen under statehood, say opponents. "Our children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren will talk less Spanish and after a generation, and certainly after two generations, my name will not be [pronounced] *Ernandez* but *Hernandez*," says Senator Hernandez of the commonwealth faction.

Would statehood put an additional burden on the U.S. taxpayer? Puerto Rico would then be entitled to its full share of the federal treasure chest, not just for welfare-type grants but for such capital projects as schools and transit systems. With two U.S. senators and seven representatives, it could compete for the big bundles. "We never had a chance to compete for Cape Canaveral because we're not a state," says Governor Romero. However, as a state Puerto Rico would also be contributing to the federal treasury, with the balance uncertain.

Puerto Rico's economic troubles are
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On the Chicano/Mexicano National Question

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

Rebeldia will publish, beginning with this issue, a series of articles on the chicano/mexicano national question. This analysis first appeared in a pamphlet form as a publication of La Causa, Inc., and subsequently in an instalment basis in the journal of the Mexican revolutionary left, Punto Critico. While we agree with many of the criticisms level at the reformist and revisionist North American left, particularly his criticism of their opportunism in regards to the chicano/mexicano national question, we are disturbed by the fact that Antonio Rios Bustamante leaves out the significant role which the Mexican revolutionary forces must play in the definition of this most important question. His position, if led astray, ends up where C.A.S.A. is at this particular moment, in alliance with the reformist, and revisionist sectors of the Mexican left.

Over two years ago the chicano/mexicano members of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN) presented a discussion paper to the National Conference on Grand Jury Repression clearly outlining the necessity of the participation of the Mexican revolutionary left in the debate, and in the direction of the issue of the national question. The position advanced, at that time, was the result of many years of practice which demonstrated the indispensable need of the participation of Mexican revolutionaries in that process. It also arose out of the realization that what unites chicano/mexicanos and Mexicans, and what ultimately must unite all Latin American revolutionaries in common strategy. This common strategy transcends national boundaries and goes above the particular conditions of any given nation--the legacy of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara--it is the strategy of peoples' war guided by Marxist-Leninist thought.

As we enter the decade of the '80's, and as the imperialists attempt to consolidate their worldwide strategy of trilateralism, it becomes even more important for revolutionary chicano/mexicanos and Mexicans to strengthen their bonds. The revolutionary unity of the chicano/mexicanos and Mexican peoples is what the U.S. imperialist fear. It is no accident that lately they have been intensifying their repression around the so-call border. It is not so much the migration of Mexicans that they fear, as is the potential unity of nearly 100 million people who can wage war from within and without the imperialist borders. It is within this context, to promulgate the unity of chicano/mexicanos and Mexicans, that we are publishing these articles.

MEXICANS IN THE UNITED STATES & THE NATIONAL QUESTION

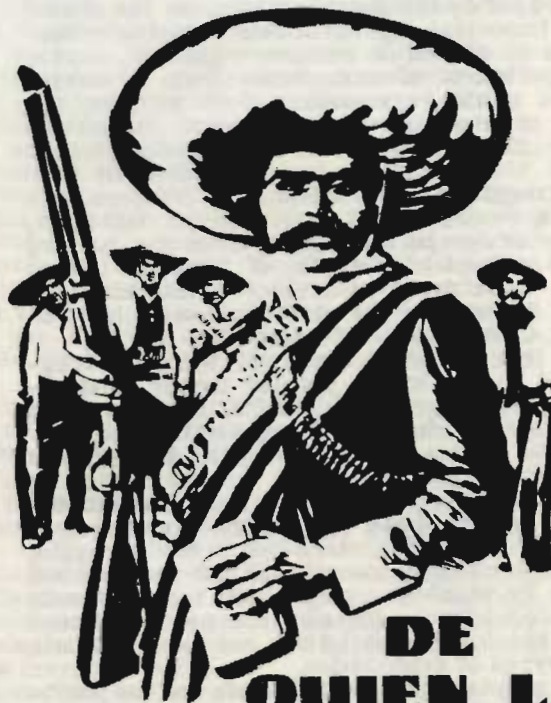
Over the last six year several polemics on the National Question in reference to people of mexican descent in the United States have appeared. There are positive aspects to this recent development. Marxist writings on the Mexican in the United States are a significant development politically and intellectually. Undeniably Marxism is now a presence in the Mexican community, politically and intellectually. All of the recent polemics call for social action, stress Marxist analysis as useful, and apply or call for the application of class analysis to explain and change the reality of today. This class analysis, even if crude by universal Marxist standards, points to the richness to be gained by it in explaining both the historical experience of domination and the internal complexity of the Mexican community. In regards to data and interpretation the most relatively novel contribution in the polemics is the attention given to the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century development of the Mexican people which even in the schematic state of position papers demands a re-evaluation by mainstream as well as activist writer. Not least the published polemics and organizational competition visible in polemics are an indication of the greater awareness among the United States political left of the importance of the Mexican people and the study of Mexican history.

The criteria used in this essay for examining these polemics are as follows: their understanding of the National Question; their understanding of the question of nationality; their understanding of racism, the struggle against it and attitudes on chauvinism; their positions on annexation, the border, and immigration; their positions on self-determination,

and proletariat internationalism; their use of historical data and the interpretation of history; and their use of Marxist analysis. Six polemics in order of publication are analyzed.

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LA TIERRA ES



DE
QUIEN LA
TRABAJA

Long live the armed struggle

1978 was a year of major importance for the struggle to free our nation. As a result of popular discontent, the annexationist and abusive colonial politics of imperialism and the present colonial government, there has emerged in our nation various armed organizations of a clandestine character that have carried out accurate and successful actions against the regime.

The organizations that stand out are the Popular Puerto Rican Army (EPB) (Macheteros), the Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), the Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution (OVRP), the People's Revolutionary Commandos (CRP) and other groups of more recent creation, such as the Movement for Revolutionary Action (MAR). In addition to these organizations that have appeared in Puerto Rico, we have seen consequent revolutionary actions in the United States by the organization known as the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN).



Between all these revolutionary organizations numerous armed actions have been carried out in our national territory as well as in the United States. This signifies the introduction of new forms of struggle that are of major importance in our national struggle. Among the actions carried out by the armed groups, we can enumerate important expropriations of explosive materials in places of extreme vigilance, daring expropriations of armaments from armories located in the very centers of the metropolitan area, explosive devices planted in the offices of the Coast Guard and recruitment centers of the Northamerican Navy in solidarity with the struggle of our brothers in Vieques, explosive devices planted in federal buildings, and in order to mention it, even the burning of the offices of the ADA of Franklin Delano Lopez by a group of a clear autonomist tendency known as the Anti Annexationist Patriotic Committee (COPAAN).

All this has been realized without recognizable losses to the popular forces, that although organizationally divided, demonstrate a good sense of clandestine organization and serious possibilities for continuing the development of the armed process.

We, the Revolutionary Workers Committees (COR) support these revolutionary armed sectors, since we understand that armed struggle, correctly utilized, constitutes the fundamental means by which our people will reach not only our independence, but also the more profound goals which are socialism and the termination of all types of exploitation.

We maintain that imperialism and its political, economic and social structure destined to exploitation can only be defeated by the army

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of revolutionary violence. The enemies of our people tenaciously oppose changes in those structures that are detrimental for maintaining power. They will not yield to any changes that endanger their positions of privilege. They have demonstrated that with all clarity. Whatever victory is accomplished by our people will be the result of the most combative struggles we can wage.

The clandestine armed organizations have begun to clear the road. It corresponds to all the clandestine organizations of an organizational character to offer all our support and solidarity. Up front although we are not together, the same ideal moves us and that should be our unitary base.

We exhort all the armed organizations that operate in our nation to continue their work in that direction. They will always find in the COR, the moral support that our condition as revolutionaries imposes in this historical process of struggle.

LONG LIVE THE ARMED STRUGGLE!
LONG LIVE THE CLANDESTINE ORGANIZATIONS!

Taken from EL MARTILLO, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Committees (COR), May-June, 1979
Reprinted from CORREO DE LA QUINCENA, Organ of the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP), Vol. XVI, Num. 325-329



ORGANIZACION DE VOLUNTARIOS POR LA REVOLUCION PUERTORRIQUEÑA (OVRP)



FUERZAS ARMADAS DE RESISTENCIA POPULAR

Conference in Mexico

The following article was published by the Revolutionary Workers Committees (COR) of Puerto Rico. It clarifies the obstructive, sectarian role of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) in pushing the United Nations Resolution on Puerto Rico (1978) which includes "free association" as an alternative to independence. The result has been the withdrawal of many open and revolutionary organizations from the work towards the Second International Conference in Solidarity with Puerto Rico scheduled for September 12, 1979 in Mexico City.

The position of the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP) has been not to participate in the Conference for two reasons; because it provides an alternative to independence, and because it is being hosted by a country whose institutionalized "revolution" openly collaborates with our colonizer and whose open policy of repression against the revolutionary left in Mexico only benefits the imperialists.

The Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN) supports the principled position assumed by the Puerto Rican Socialist League and COR. Mexico's policy of repression against leftist revolutionaries forces us to denounce the obvious contradiction of being host to the Conference. A government that oppresses its own people does not merit the honor of hosting a Conference to support the national liberation of our people. Nor can we support any alternative to independence. We cannot play with the survival of our nation, nor with the lives of our brothers in arm--the Mexican revolutionaries.

The position outlined below by the COR is the same position which Juan Antonio Corretjer put forth in Mexico on his recent journey to that country which took him and a combined MLN-LSP delegation from Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua, to Guadalajara and Mexico City. He was warmly received by the Mexican masses in every public appearance he made. In response and in gratitude for his act of solidarity and to demonstrate their commitment to our national liberation, the people of Ciudad Juarez under the leadership of the Comité de Defensa Popular, on August 13, 1979 named one of their colonias, Andres Figueroa Cordero.

ES IMPOSIBLE EN AMERICA LATINA EL TRIUNFO DE LA REVOLUCION PACIFICA, PERO ADEMAS EL TRIUNFO INSURRECCIONAL... EL TRIUNFO ES POSIBLE SOLAMENTE MEDIANTE UNA LARGA LUCHA ARMADA LIGADA A LAS MASAS. SANTUCHO



On March 22nd a meeting was held in the Puerto Rican Bar Association by the Preparatory Committee for the National Committee to Support the 2nd International Conference in Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico to be held in Mexico later this year. Representatives of almost all the political sectors of the left in our nation were present at the meeting.

According to the information we received of the Preparatory Committee's work, there was a consensus of the political declaration that would be presented at the meeting for ratification and would be reaffirmed in Mexico. The declaration presented at the meeting was the result of the agreements reached by the Preparatory Committee which included members and representatives of various left open organizations with the exception of the Puerto Rican Socialist League.

The political declaration was written in a manner in which no mention was made of the Resolution of the United Nations Decolonization Committee approved by the General Assembly in 1978. That Resolution recognized "free association" as a valid alternative for the solution our condition as a colonized nation. Various political organizations stated that the inclusion of the resolution in the political declaration would hurt the participation of a sector of the revolutionary left and individuals who were willing to cooperate with the National Committee's work.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), obviating from what should be a position of consensus in the politics of a front, attacked the agreements of the Preparatory Committee. In the meeting of March 22nd they presented an amendment to the political declaration that included support for the U.N. resolution. The P.S.P. leadership took advantage of a meeting constituted by invitation only. It was clear to all that the majority of persons invited were either members or sympathizers of their organization and positions. After another of the known attacks against armed struggle and the clandestine organizations by its Secretary General, the PSP obtained the approval of the political declaration with the abovementioned amendment. We doubt that the PSP would have received this approval at an open meeting.

With its obstructive, sectarian hegemonist attitudes the PSP again buried the possibility of collective work in an important international event. It was a repetition of the practices utilized during the work of the National Committee to Support the 1st Conference held in Havana in 1975.

The left organizations that participated in the work are familiar with the obstructive, sectarian practices, the hegemonist attitudes, and the vicious, insulting anti revolutionary attacks of PSP members, especially those of Juan Mari Bras, against organizations that oppose its pretensions of domination and control.

Before the March 22nd meeting, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), Popular Socialist Movement (MSP), and the National Committee to Support Vieques withdrew from the work of the Committee as well as other persons who represented sectors. Included among those persons were: Federico Cintron, Norberto Cintron, Maria Carrera and Carmen del Toro. We have no doubt that the companeros of the Nationalist Party will also withdraw from the work.

Traditionally, the false image that the PSP has created at the international level with the help of governments and parties that are sympathizers of our independence has constituted and continues to be the principal factor for its hegemonist attitudes. They have never ceased in their attempts to project themselves as the only representatives of the liberation movement of our nation.

rooted in its geography: a small island, 111 miles long, 36 miles wide, roughly the size of Connecticut, 900 miles from the mainland; its population, 3.4 million crowded together and held down only by mass migration (2 million Americans of Puerto Rican descent now live stateside); and its lack of natural resources—most of its energy comes from high-priced foreign oil. For centuries poverty was a natural state.

After World War II a charismatic leader, Governor Luis Munoz-Marin, bootstrapped his country into its present not-quite-a-colony, not-quite-a-state relationship with the U.S. He pushed the unusual commonwealth status which, after a burst of nationalist violence (including an assassination attempt against President Truman and an uprising on the island), cooled the status fight, and with tax incentives began to lure industry for his "Operation Bootstrap."

"No one thought it would be a success because nothing ever worked in Puerto Rico," said Alex Maldonado, editor of *El Mundo*, a major San Juan newspaper. "But 2,000 companies came. People started to work. We were worth something. In that euphoria, we saw a shining new political status, a middle road to freedom." In commonwealth, said another Puerto Rican, "we had created a funny-looking suit to fit the body; but if you have a funny-looking body you need a funny-looking suit."

But euphoria collapsed in the 1970s. Other states began playing the industry-incentive game better than Puerto Rico, and the 1973-74 recession wiped out 25,000 industrial jobs, a fifth of the gains won by Bootstrap. Companies seeking cheap labor drifted to Haiti or Taiwan. "In the last four years [1973-77] a net of 200 jobs were created in the industrial sector, public debt tripled [to \$6 billion] and the resources to finance it diminished by 25%," says José Madera of Fomento, the Economic Development Administration. With unemployment soaring—16% officially and 30% unofficially—Puerto Rico went on food stamps.

But whereas on the mainland food stamps were intended for the poor minority, in Puerto Rico, where personal income per capita is \$2,700, more than half the population signed on. Even the land went untillied. "This is a nation of rice and beans, and now we don't even grow our own rice and beans," says one Puerto Rican. Even Communist Mari Bras complains that "these food stamps are developing a sense of dependency, encouraging people not to work." "The Communists are threatening to kick ass if they take over," says a Puerto Rican with friends in Mari Bras' radical party. "They say they are going to put people back to work again." (Little wonder the radical party is supported only by a handful of intellectuals who look to Cuba,

China and Cambodia for inspiration.)

No one knows how to stop the welfare process, once started. Governor Romero says: "They say food stamps develop laziness, but I think it is only for that generation that worked only to eat." Their children won't be satisfied with just food or food stamps, he goes on. "It will be the television set they want to buy, their furniture, their car, a better home, money to go on vacation, those will be the motivations to work. When there was no welfare there were beggars. So now instead of begging we have welfare." He has a point. Whatever the prob-

out his welcoming speech, but he held his ground and shouted back at them. His statehood party won 48% of the vote in the election of 1976, and he says his latest poll shows 59% for statehood.

Of course, the statehood demand, if approved in a plebiscite, would pose problems for the U.S. Congress. Statehooders insist it would have to be phased in over 10 or 20 years, particularly those U.S. taxes, and Spanish would have to remain the official language. That doesn't appear to pose a constitutional problem.

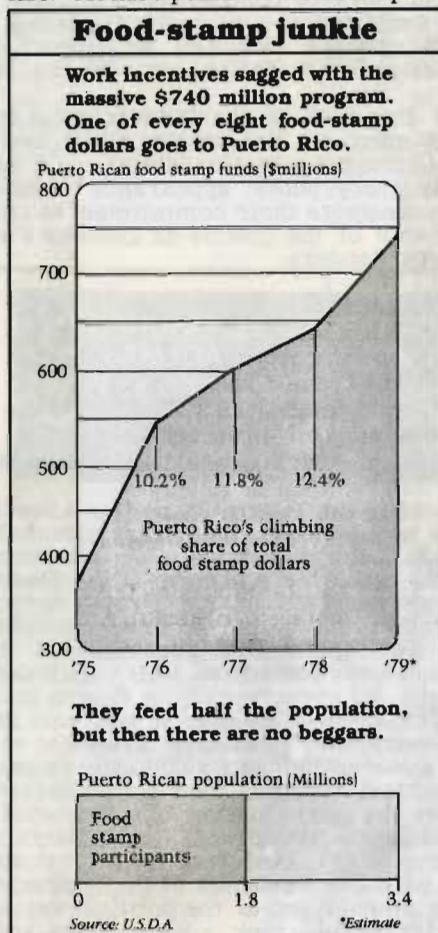
The Commonwealth Party, in contrast, contends that Puerto Rico needs more autonomy, not less, to make commonwealth work again. For example, it might need the power to levy tariffs (to protect local industry) and to veto some acts of Congress.

Congress understandably hesitates to grant all-but-freedom under commonwealth status while continuing to supply the benefits of the U.S. Treasury and U.S. citizenship; and yet the idea of imposing statehood on a large minority—and the possibility of terrorism—also might give Congress pause. Such violence could be beyond tearing down a few American flags before the Pan American Games. One tiny terrorist group, the New York-based F.A.L.N. (Armed Forces for the Liberation of Puerto Rico), with no more than one or two dozen members, is credited with 90 bombings and 5 deaths in 5 years.

The statehood forces, then, need more than a tiny majority to win their star; Governor Romero must build a genuine consensus among the island's citizens as well as among Puerto Rican residents of the U.S.; only that way can the terrorist threat be contained. It may not be easy. The statehood drive "will crystallize all nationalists on one side," says Ruben Berrios of the Independence Party. Berrios is hoping that the campaign for statehood will drive most of the procommonwealth people into his party, which espouses independence but friendly trading relations with the U.S.

But if—despite Berrios' claims—a true pro-statehood consensus can be built, then the American Congress must be willing to accept the will of the majority even if a handful of Puerto Ricans never do. "Are we going to be terrorized by a minority?" asks Joaquin A. Marquez, who runs the Puerto Rican office in Washington.

All that spells trouble for Puerto Rico and for the mainland. It would be convenient if, somehow, the U.S. could avoid the whole mess. But we can't. This North American nation is increasingly involved with the Latin American world to our south and the Puerto Rican connection is the most intimate part of that association—the most dangerous in many ways, the most hopeful in others. ■

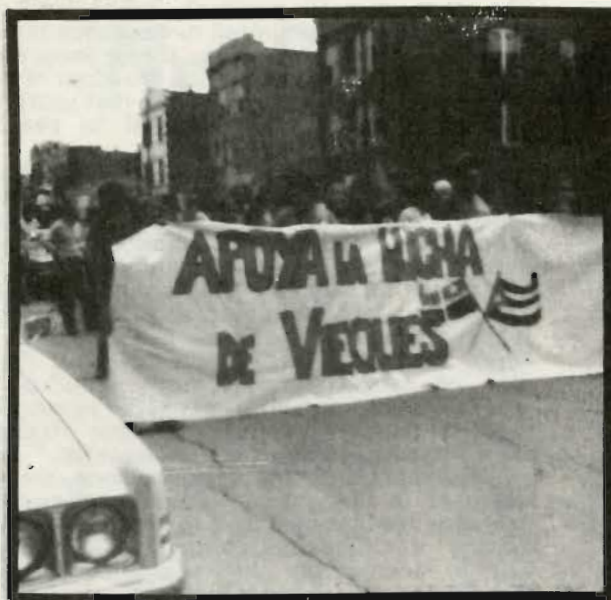


lems, Puerto Rico is not Jamaica or Guatemala. It has in fact one of the highest standards of living in all Latin America.

Nevertheless, the island's political and intellectual leaders were depressed enormously by the failure of Bootstrap to solve all their problems. "We've had our golden era and it's over," is the way one long-term resident described the attitude. From that malaise came the drive to settle the status issue and get building again, this time as a state.

Governor Romero is forcing the issue. At July's Pan American Games, for example, he demanded that "The Star-Spangled Banner" be played and the American flag raised, along with playing the anthem and raising the single-star banner of Puerto Rico. Nationalists packed the stadium to boo and drown

From Page 2



July 4th

For us, the act of greatest significance during this campaign, was the Act of National Reaffirmation on July 4th. The march and rally was organized by the Committee of National Affirmation, which consists of the National Committee Against Repression and the National Committee to Support Vieques. The Committee of National Affirmation also received the support of 16 political, labor, and other such organizations.

This unitary and anti-imperialist activity was carried out despite the indifference of the leadership of the PIP and the sabotage perpetrated by the leadership of the PSP. Regarding the leadership of the PIP, we are not surprised by its attitude since in the past few years they have not participated in unitary activities with other sectors of the independence movement. Nevertheless, it is necessary to show that the PIP permitted its militants to participate in these activities as individuals, which many have done.

What is not understandable nor justifiable, was the attitude assumed by the leadership of the PSP. It is widely known that Juan Mari Bras prohibited the militants of the party from participating in the unitary march on July 4th, citing that the PSP does not recognize the Committee of Vieques and the Soto Rosado Committee as "fronts of struggle".

This openly sectarian attitude of the leadership of the PSP quickly received the repudiation of the base of that party; many members of the PSP participated in the unitary activity on July 4th. This situation, in which for the most part major sectors of the PSP defy party discipline is an undeniable indication of the process of disintegration that the party suffers from since the elections of 1976. On the other hand, it demonstrates that no matter what organization they belong to, honest revolutionaries are committed only to revolutionary principles, and not with parties or leaders that pretend to be the "vanguard" with sectarian positions that contradict those principles.

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Our understanding is that if the leadership of the PSP persists in its sectarian positions and continues directing the party blindly toward colonial elections, it is hopelessly destined to disappear as a political force, or even worse, become a counter-revolutionary group.

The Struggle Against the Navy

The Act of National Affirmation brought out, once again, one of the most serious contradictions in the struggle against the Navy in Vieques: the contradiction arising from the vision that the struggle of the people of Vieques "is not a political struggle". This argument, wielded by the leader of the fishermen, Carlos Zenon and Ismael Guadalupe, President of the Crusade to Rescue Vieques, is not only false, but also appears to cover up other much more profound motivations.

What does this "apolitical" position signify? It would signify that the struggle for the rescue of Vieques is exclusively between the people of Vieques and the Navy: a regional struggle which only involves local questions. Nevertheless, the struggle of Vieques is simply one more manifestation of imperialist oppression over our nation - and as an imperialist manifestation, is intimately linked to all the other manifestations of imperialism, be they political, economic, military or ideological.

We understand that refusing to participate in a unitary activity like the march held July 4th because "other political plans are involved that have nothing to do with the struggle of the people of Vieques", is a completely incorrect position. All the political plans involved in the Act of National Affirmation have the same root and a common enemy - yanki imperialism. Isn't the Navy bombing Vieques precisely because Puerto Rico is a yanki colony? Weren't the 21 companeros arrested in Vieques political prisoners? Aren't the combatants for the liberation of our nation assassinated or for the most part, incarcerated? Isn't yanki monopoly capital behind all these repressive manifestations - an imperialism that lives off the sweat and blood of dozens of peoples throughout the world.

The only way the people of Vieques can save their land is understanding the link that exists between one manifestation of imperialism and all its other manifestations. When this is understood, they will understand that the struggle to save Vieques is more than a struggle against the Navy - it is a struggle of an anti-imperialist character and above all, a revolutionary struggle of the people for their liberation. And not only a struggle of the people of Vieques, but also a struggle of all Puerto Rican workers.

We understand that it is a fundamental task of the political organizations and the National Committee to Support Vieques to show, not only to the people of Vieques, but to all the honest companeros that are in the struggle, the necessary and unbreakable unity that exists between the struggle of Vieques and the anti-imperialist political struggle.

Political Prisoners and the Anti-repressive Struggle

The celebration of the Panamerican Games brought out two important issues for the consideration of the independence movement.

In the first place, it destroyed the illusion that the yankis would liberate the four Nationalists companeros before the games. It is evident that the Nationalists will be free only when one of two things occur: when popular pressure, at the level of mass struggle as

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well as armed struggle forces imperialism to free all political prisoners, or if this situation does not occur, when imperialism deems it convenient for them. It is the duty of the Puerto Rican independence movement to choose the alternative.

Secondly, it demonstrated by the heightened repression, that it becomes more necessary to develop a combative and unitary anti-repressive struggle. At this moment, the minimum conditions exist to initiate this struggle as two committees exist with similar purposes: the Committee to Free the Nationalist Prisoners and the Soto-Rosado Committee. We feel that it would be beneficial to the struggle for these two Committees to discuss the possibility of unitary struggle around these minimal points

of consensus:

- 1) Freedom for the Nationalist Prisoners
- 2) Freedom for Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marcano
- 13) The defense of political prisoners and persecuted persons
- 4) Denunciation of the massacre in Cerro Maravilla
- 5) Denunciation of other cases of political repression

The Road to Follow

We understand that the Act of National Affirmation that took place on July 4 shows the independence movement the road to follow: only unity over the questions we have in common and unitary anti-imperialist slogans, can push forward the struggle for our independence.

The fact that 16 political, labor, and other such organizations united to denounce the massacre in Cerro Maravilla, the presence of the Navy in Vieques, and for the freedom of political prisoners is an indication that unity is not only desirable but fundamental to reach the objectives we have outlined.

It has also demonstrated the necessity of permanently overcoming the partial vision of a struggle for objectives that have a common enemy; imperialism. We must accustom ourselves to the fact that a committee originally organized to support the struggle of Vieques struggles also for other anti-imperialist objectives, such as the freedom of political prisoners and the anti-repressive struggle. It should also be natural for a committee for political prisoners and an anti-repressive committee to directly involve themselves in the struggle to save Vieques. Here is true solidarity.

We exhort all the organizations that participated in the Act of National Affirmation to evaluate the activity and to seriously consider unitary work around common objectives. One way to accomplish this would be to convert the Committee of National Affirmation into a permanent center of coordination for future unitary activities.

The companeros have the word.

The Salvation of our Nation lies in people's war.

People's Revolutionary Commandos (CRP)
Reprinted from *De Pie y En Guerra*, Organ of the People's Revolutionary Commandos (CRP)
Vo. 2, #3.

Important Statements

The following statements were made by Juan Antonio Corretjer, Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP) and transmitted over the island-wide radio program RADIO RELOJ.

The first statement issued and transmitted on Friday and Saturday, August 10 and 11, deals with the naming of a colonia, in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, after the patriot Andres Figueroa Cordero.

The second statement issued and transmitted on Friday, August 24 deals with the cruel process and harsh sentencing of Catholic Bishop Antulio Parrilla, S.J.

Juan Antonio Corretjer, Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist League, is speaking. We have received word from Mexico, from the Comité de Defensa Popular, informing us that a new settlement of home steads near Ciudad Juarez will be named Andres Figueroa Cordero, as a symbol of revolutionary solidarity with the

armed struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico.

The Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña also takes this opportunity to condemn the assassination of the Secretary General of the Proletarian Party of Mexico, Guero Medrano who was murdered in Oaxaca by General Castillo, Chief of the 18th Military District of the Mexican Army.

The process and sentencing of Antulio Parrilla is an infamy and a disgrace.

Parrilla was forced to undergo a military police trial, whose origins are in the central offices of the F.B.I., in Washington, who instigated and ordered it, and in the Navy, the protagonist of the whole process.

In spite of the human figure of Judge Torruellas, when he opened his mouth the cannons of the U.S. Navy in Vieques spoke.

We express our solidarity with the patriot Parrilla and call upon that of all Puerto Ricans for the sentenced patriot.



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CONFERENCE IN MEXICO

The Revolutionary Workers Committees (COR) understand that no revolutionary political organization that supports independence as the only recognizably alternative for the liberation of our nation should collaborate in the work towards the celebration of a conference that was called to gather support for our independence from other nations of the world and which is being manipulated to gather support for a Resolution that includes formulas of free association. That Resolution was constituted in collaboration with colonial parties and leaders who have traditionally cooperated with the yanki government in creating the rotten condition that permeates our nation today.

We make a call to all revolutionary left organizations so that either separately or in coordination we make clear our repudiation of this Conference on the basis of the positions being advanced. At the same time, begin to make clear that the PSP represents a small minority in the Puerto Rican national liberation movement.

Combat sectarianism!

No to the formulas of free association!

Independence is the only alternative!

Taken from EL MARTILLO, Organ of the Revolutionary Workers Committees (COR), May-June, 1979. Reprinted from CORREO DE LA QUINCENA, Organ of the Puerto Rican Socialist League (LSP), Vol. xvi, Num. 325-329.

Chicano/Mexicanos and the national question.

Toward Chicano Liberation (Communist Party-USA, 1972)

Viewed in the context of six decades of organizational experience and five decades of theoretical analysis of the struggle of Mexican people within the United States, Toward Chicano Liberation by the Communist Party-USA is a disappointingly poor theoretical and historical analysis of the National Question. This tightly written and carefully formulated document presents a historical account of the period since the end of World War II. Its primary thrust is a reform program for mass work. The description of the immediate historical period in the Mexican movement and the conditions of life of the Mexican people is fairly accurate but superficial. The document fails primarily by understatement and in some cases omission. Certainly this document falls short in relation to previous CP-USA positions of 1949 and 1953 and in conceptual framework to the seminal United States Marxist Leninist analysis "The Mexican Question in the Southwest," by Emma Tenayuca (The Communist, Vol. 18, March 1939). The roots of later positions by other contemporary socialist groups are in the Communist Party statements, thus because of this as well as because of its present position the party shares the position of the Trotskyites and Maoists in depreciating the historical development and political question of the Mexican people within the United States.

Toward Chicano Liberation refers to the achievements of the nationalities and former oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union and argues unconvincingly on the positive impact these have had on the consciousness of Mexicanos. It fails to state those achievements which have the greatest bearing on the National Question--the implementation of the right to self-determination in respect to national federation, national autonomy, regional and local autonomy which the

Soviet Union has developed as its administrative response to the National Question within its borders. Worse still is the failure to apply the Soviet theoretical and practical knowledge of the National Question to the concrete ex-

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perience and specific conditions of historical development of the Mexican people within the United States.

Toward Chicano Liberation uses the term "Chicanos" primarily in a subjective sense and the people are defined as a "specially oppressed people," who are "native to the southwestern territory" and related to Mexico by history and continued numerical and cultural reinforcement, retaining language as a major factor in sustaining national identity. "Chicano" identity is not made precise (pg. 1). Later the people are referred to as a "national group" (pg. 1) suffering from national, racial, cultural, and economic oppression. A "new culture" is alleged to exist but not explained. Special national forms are identified as the principal organizational forms for struggle and the solution to oppression is seen as providing special compensating opportunities to make up for the long period of special deprivation (pg. 4). The "party" does not practice its own line evidently.

The gist of the position offered for the future is that socialism will eliminate all aspects of oppression and made possible "full all around independent development of Chicano Culture" (pg. 7), thus social equality is the promise. No reference is made to independent, autonomous political or territorial development. The CP-USA is ambiguous in regard to electoral politics. Other later CP statements indicate that the political form of liberation, after the achievement of socialism, will be equality with all other nationalities within the existing general state political, administrative, economic and territorial frameworks and institutions. The "party" does not further clarify its position.

BOOKS AND LITERATURE AVAILABLE

Puerto Rican Nationalism: A Reader - English.....\$5.00
By Jose E. Lopez - 1977 - First Edition - 218 pages

A collection of works which include the most important original material available in English about the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. Introductory note on the historical development of United States imperialism in Puerto Rico.

Trilateral Commission: The New U.S. Imperialist World Strategy...\$3.00
By M.L.N. Political Studies Commission - English
1979 - First Edition - 84 pages

A topic which has had little analysis, but which is essential to understand in order to program for the coming decade of the 80's.

Disarm the Police or Arm the People - English.....\$2.50
By Colorado Committee Against Repression

An analysis of the growth of repression against Chicano/Mexicano, Puerto Rican and other 3rd World people in the U.S. (i.e. police, F.B.I. and Grand Jury repression).

Toward People's War for Independence and Socialism in Puerto Rico: In Defense of Armed Struggle - English.....\$2.50
By Interim Committee for a New Puerto Rican Solidarity Movement

The book contains speeches and articles by leading forces in the revolutionary public Independence movement as well as statements and communiques from the armed clandestine organizations.

***La Patria Radical - Spanish.....\$4.00
Por Juan Antonio Corretjer - 1978 - Fourth Edition - 150 pages

***La Lucha Por La Independencia de Puerto Rico - Spanish.....\$3.00
Por Juan Antonio Corretjer - 1977 - Fifth Edition - 149 pages

To Order: MLN
c/o Rebeldia
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***These two books will soon be available in English.