

The repression against the worker's and the oppressed in Puerto Rico exists at all levels of society, and is on the rise. There exists a double exploitation as a colony and as a class society. The question of Puerto Rican repression is a very broad one. The situation that exists in Puerto Rico is not understood here very well by the left or by the Puerto Rican movement itself. Several weeks ago an Iberian Conference took place around education. It was the first time that a conference of this kind was held outside of Spain. Education ministers and their agencies were represented from all Spanish speaking countries with the exception of Cuba, which protested its location. Among the participants were representatives from Chile, Argentina, Paragua, Nicaragua. The anti-imperialist revolutionary front denounced these representatives as pedagogues of genocide and murder etc.. they centered this denunciation because the Puerto Rican people understand what is happening there. The FREI recently understood the new strategy of education in Puerto Rico which is to penetrate the Puerto Rican consciousness in favor of imperialism. This has not been the only international conference in Puerto Rico. During the end of the Ford administration a conference took place representing the major imperialist power's-- the summit conference. The basis unity of that conference was the multinational corp. It was held in a Rockefeller owned hotel-- the agenda was the designs for statehood for Puerto Rico-- Ford's remarks were well thought out and not at all off the cuff. The ultimate purpose is to create Puerto Rico into a center of U.S. imperialism with imperialist allies in all of Latin America.

This was also denounced and demonstrated against even though at that time it was not clear what the level of conspiracy was. The demonstrations were sponsored by the PIP and the PSP, while the FREI, MSP, LSPR tried to take over the consulates that were represented at the conference. More recently attempts were made to hold a conference of lawyers of large law firms to readjust repression to be more affective. This conference was forced to be postponed due to the natural death of Randolph with a bullet in his heart and another one in his brain. Randolph was to preside because he was the head of the leading law firm in Puerto Rico for imperialism.

The u.s. navy and government has been attempting to control Cuelbra as early as the u.s. civil war. The secretary of state during the civil war Sewart approached Spain for the sale of Cuelbra-- Spain refused but in 1898 took control of it all. There has been an intense struggle to stop u.s. navy shelling and the practice of war games in Cuelbra in recent years. It has always been understood that in spite of u.s. aggressiveness there has always been opposition to statehood. This opposition does not take place out of selfless motives. The u.s. government needs a colonial government that will not deal with the needs of the people. This opposition was brutally exposed by Captain Parker on behalf of the naval commission at a senate hearing. He said the navy was not opposed to any forces in Puerto Rico as long as the navy was the only and ultimately final reeree in any conflicts.

To the present-- the struggle in Cuelbra which has been interpreted as a victory of Puerto Ricna people-- this has caused the u.s. navy to say that the people can be so hostile that in order to defend their interests statehood must be imposed--- all of this behind the situation in Vieques. The island of Vieques is larger than Cuabra and is being used as a playground for the navy and the marine corps. If we take all the different aspects, the education conference, the multinational ##### corporations, state and federal attorney's conference, Ford's statements and the navy, we can see an unveiling of a program of repression for Puerto Rico that is far more ferocious and intense than in the past and it is natural for imperialist aggression that it be concentrated on the independence movement, which is the highest expression of the class struggle in Puerto Rico.

There is an illusion that the repression in Puerto Rico can be halted or slowed down by replacing the independence with in the legal framework. This tendency is now reflected within the PIP and is rapidly moving to the right. In 1946 the independence party was organized and it has won the world championship for solely losing every election that it ever has participated in. In 1952 the PIP reached its peak in terms of support 126,000 votes. The support to the PIP was the result of 2 factors. 1. 1950 insurrection, 2. broad opposition to the Korean war. the 1950 insurrection stimulated the spirit of liberation of the Puerto Rican people-- Korea showed that sons of Puerto Rico were oppressing other subjugated people at the same time as punishment was coming down on the entire population for 1950. More Puerto Ricans died in Korea then in any other state in the u.s. Resistance to compulsory military recruitment has a history of mutiney etc.. "La Sangre en Huelga" What happened to the PIP? The electoral system with the colony is a tool of repression within the liberation movement and they were punished-- the government did a study of what sectors voted for the PIP. Most came from the youth who lived in the slums and in the countryside. The u.s. initiated a campaign of intense personal contact waged specifically at the youth-- it was these youth that were transported to the u.s. and the PIP lost that sector. The u.s. and the colonial labor department carried out this campaign. The repression against the independence movement does not only affect those who use arms but also those who want independence brought to them on a silver platter.

The Puerto Rican Nationalist Party is and has been repressed to the point of extermination thru jail, exile, and murder. The memory of this repression has been used to negate revolutionary heroism. The Nationalist Party was not the only organization that was repressed in Puerto Rico, since the Cuban revolution and before it. However today there has been a reemergence of revolutionary organization and many organizations emerged in the 1950's MPI, APM, LSPR, and the MSP-- they are undergoing now intense repression, thru the forms of harassment, surveillance, court processes, and armed action against them. Lega Socialista has now over 100 cases pending before the supreme court re: possession and transportation of arms. I would like to make clear that it is an honor to have those accusations charged against the LS. The central offices of the MSP have been bombed and randomly fired at. This is a favorite sport of the uniformed police. The PSP in spite of its move into electoral politics still is receiving a brutal campaign of harassment and a slander campaign against the Party, especially because of their relationship to Cuba.

The Labor movement--- there has always been a distinction between a worker's movement and a labor movement or rather a trade union movement. the struggle of working people can be summed up to obtain their historical necessity for revolutionary organization to take power-- the trade union movement is something else. It should be remembered that Karl Marx was far more intelligent than George Meany and far far more intelligent than Samuel Gompers and more intelligent than the Free Mason labor leaders. Marx was never a trade unionist-- read the 18th Brumaire of Bonaparte and it will be clear that Marx said the trade union movement will be assimilated into capitalism. Puerto Rico is a colony which makes looking at Gompers and Meany very important. The trade union movement in P.R. suffers from the cancer of bureaucracy and sell out policies and more suffers the cancer of colonialism. This explains that most unions are affiliated to international unions led by u.s. imperialism, they are as international as the pentagon. We must clarify to be fair that the trade union leadership in P.R. can be just as useless as a yankee trade unionist. A series of attempts have been

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made to build a trade union movement. They have good intentions but not the slightest possibility of growth-- because they represent in certain ways yankee intrests and the repression they face makes their ability to sustain themselves impossible. The trade union movement has grown only in connection with the growth of the independence movement and has been weakened when the independence movement is weak. Throughout history of labor struggles this has been the case. The 2 most important strikes one the sugarcane strike in 1934 led by Don Pedro in which 137,000 workers participated, and then the dock workers strike in 1938 out of which a general confederation of workers emerged.

To defend the workers struggle in Puerto Rico against imperialist aggression and colonial exploitation is to defend the independence struggle and the struggle for socialism. Puerto Rican, Native American, Black and Chicano and white workers need each other to destroy the Yankee federal state. The task of Puerto Ricans here and in P.R. is to destroy the u.s. state.

Discussion

There is a need for one single independence organization, and that vanguard is being created it is away from the eyes of the state and therefore some independence forces themselves. The public independentista is an unarmed guerrilla-- this is a very complex problem and the repression in some way aids that process. Marx said that in order for revolution to be successful it must confront the enemy. This is why the problem of forging unity will not be resolved on a public level but only on a clandestine level. The clandestine movement must attack where the contradictions are visible so as to be understood by the people. The clandestine movement needs political and military conception, but this is a problem of strategic and tactical leadership.