

OUR STRUGGLE FROM WITHIN



Movimiento de Liberación Nacional

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OUR STRUGGLE FROM WITHIN

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NOTE: The positions herein contained do not necessarily reflect the
official political line of the MLN (Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional).
This is intended to be more of a discussion paper, than a political
statement.

REPRESSION, THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION AND A
TENTATIVE PROGRAM FOR COMBATING BOTH.

In order to fully grasp the true meaning of the growing repression in the United States, particularly as manifested in the activities of the F.B.I. and Grand Juries, and in the increasing police repression against our third world communities, it is important to understand its direct relationship to the global situation of monopoly capital. Since the end of the Second World War, the imperialist hegemony over most of mankind has been on the decline. China, Korea, Cuba, Viet-Nam, Cambodia, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola are just a few examples. Aware of this reality the imperialists have digging trenches. The best indication of the course to be pursued in setting up these trenches is to be found in the conclusion of the Trilateral Commission.

The Trilateral Commission was convoked on orders from David Rockefeller in 1973. It is one of the two projects which the Council of Foreign Relations (C.F.R.) - a gathering place for this country's elite, particularly, the small ruling class and its cohorts, to actually blueprint and shape U.S. foreign policy a task they have engaged in since the end of World War I - drew up in light of the inevitable victory of the Indochinese people of Viet-Nam and Campuchea. Even though the members of the Commission describe themselves as a group of "private citizens of Western Europe, Japan, and North America" who have as their paramount goal the promotion of closer cooperation among these regions, the real motive for the Commission and of the 1980 Project (the other CFR project) "is to develop new ideas and institutions which can channel and control change in the international system." Thus, the authors of the 1980 Project state it "must therefore come to grip

strategies for modifying the behavior of all relevant factor in the international community--individuals, governments, agencies within governments, elite groups, industrial firms, interests groups, mass societies, and other groups and organizations at the subnational and transnational level."

Both projects are aimed at maintaining the decisive role of the U.S. on the international situation of the so-called "free world". However, there are some noticable differences in terms of responsibilities. The American efforts will center on the over-all management of global affairs and not in regional enterprises. This latter duty is assigned by the Commission to the sub-imperial junior partners of the Third World: Brazil, Iran, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, et al. In actuality, the "free world" is divided into three parts: the wealthy capitalists nations of Western Europe, Japan, North America; the richer nations of the Third World- Brazil, Iran, et al; and the poor nations of the Third World which will be induced to fall in line by the sheer weight of industrialized "democracies". This division of the "free world" insures that it will no longer be necessary for the U.S. to play the role of the "policeman" of the "free world." For example, if copper-rich Katanga wants to secede from Zaire, Morocco will send its troops in. If there is a need to safeguard U.S. nuclear submarines in the Far East, the burden would fall on Indonesia to dispatch its armed forces into the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, rather than U.S. troops. The massacring of more than 60,000 people in one year will, thus, not raise any passions in the U.S., or drain off American resources as in Vietnam. Or, if the people of Oman decide to free themselves and, therefore, threaten U.S. domination of the Persian

Gulf, then it would be up to Iran to crush the Omanis.

How does this new imperialist international designs relate to the ever increasing crescendo of domestic repression in the U.S.? It is important to realize that these plans are primarily concerned with the question of "governability", or as they refer to as the problem of the "excess of democracy". The contention of the mastermind behind these plans is that the solution to this problem is a "greater degree of moderation in democracy".

The question of governability and its solution are best analyzed in one of the Trilateral Commission's most important reports, The Crisis of Democracy. Authored by three individuals each from one of the regions (U.S., Western Europe, Japan), this particular report focuses on the "problems of democracy.

Samuel Huntington, the American author, sustains that while all three areas confront similar "problems" of democracy, none so acutely as the U.S. For him, during the sixties, the U.S. saw an excessive shift to society and against government. Such an occurrence posed a major problem since there was too little authority and Huntington's thesis contends that true governability can exist only where there is a balance between "power and liberty, authority and democracy, government and society".

Huntington outlines the three major threats to governability in the U.S.-the media, the intellectuals, "and the previously passive or unorganized groups in the population", these include the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans. The solution to this problem of governability is to restore order and the prestige and authority of central government. In order to achieve this, however, it is necessary to maintain "a measure of apathy and non-involvement of certain individuals and groups". Thus the preservation of an orderly governmental process is

contingent upon the ability of forcing the "newly mobilized strata (Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans) to return to a measure of passivity and defeatism." How is this to be accomplished?

The answer has already been advanced by the same men who now compose the Carter Administration. This brings us to the second point that connects the present U.S. foreign policy and the domestic repression. An exceedingly large number of the "private citizens" who constituted the Trilateral Commission have, in fact, made their ways to the inner circles of present Administration. The list includes such powerful figures as Zbigniew Brzezinski (National Security Advisor), Walter Mondale (Vice-President), Harold Brown (Secretary of Defense), Michael Blumenthal (Secretary of the Treasury), and Cyrus Vance (Secretary of State). This is the same Cyrus Vance who became President Johnson's trouble-shooter in the Canal Zone (1964), and in the invasion of the Dominican Republic (1965), and to the Detroit Riot (1967). While in Detroit, as an expert on civil disorders and riots, he worked closely with Warren Christopher (presently second in command in the State Department), on an army plan to put thousands of American civilians under surveillance to "prevent urban rioting."

It is also interesting to note that it was the same Zbigniew Brzezinski who in an article that appeared in the New Republic in 1968, criticized the authorities for their vacillating positions in the face of growing domestic unrest. He wrote: "force must be designed not only to eliminate the surface revolutionary challenge, but to make certain that revolutionary forces cannot later rally under the same leadership". He further stated in the same article on revolution, "if the leadership cannot be physically liquidated, it can at least be expelled from the country." It is not coincidental that the F.B.I. has been expousing a similar policy particularly

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as far as Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos are concerned.

Each day the true motives of the Trilateral Commission and the 1980's Project reveal themselves as far away as Timor and Oman, and as near as the Chicago's Plan 21 (a plan to transform Chicago into a "middle-class" city, designed by the same elements of the ruling class who created the Trilateral Commission), the New York's BIG MAC (the real government of New York-controlled by finance capital, particularly David Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank), and the Southwest's Four State Commission. It should not be surprising that as the U.S. downplays its direct military role abroad, it increases its repression at home.

It is not accidental, therefore, that the 1970's has seen the evolution of a highly sophisticated policy of internment aimed particularly at the leadership of those "ungovernable" segments of this society. The utilization of this policy emanates from the realization of the historical effectiveness of concentration camps. The U.S. judicial and prison systems are the most easily accessible instruments for this repression, since U.S. jails have traditionally had an over representation of Third World people--i.e. more than half of today's quarter million inmates are Blacks, Chicano/Mexicanos, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans. Thus, as a result of the intensified repression exercised upon the struggles of Third World peoples, their leaders and activists have been captured and imprisoned. Jails have become more and more internment camps primarily used to destroy, contain, and suppress the liberation struggles of Blacks, Chicano/Mexicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans.

A manifestation par excellence of this new course is the ever increasing imprisonment of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and Indians with-

in the last few years as a result of their principled position of non-collaboration with the FBI and/or Grand Juries. During the past two years, the Chicano and Puerto Rican movements have been on the top list of priorities in terms of this incarceration process. The reasons are obvious, both movements have national and international implications, thus, putting in jeopardy, some of the designs of the Trilateral Commission -- particularly those concerned with the question of governability. It is no wonder, then, that those imprisoned and/or subpoenaed have deep roots in their communities because of their long and continuous commitment to social change; they have been involved with a wide range of struggles, from organizing grassroots movements for a meaningful bi-lingual education, to finding sources of financing people's programs, to actually creating alternative institutions, such as La Clinica Del Pueblo, the Rafael Cancel Miranda High School, and the Borinquena Campus and Escuela Tlateloço.

But, perhaps a problem of greater magnitude is the ever increasing police repression across the country from Oakland, California to Hartford, Connecticut, from El Paso, Texas to Chicago, Illinois, since it constitutes on a massive scale, the execution of the Trilateral Commission's plan within the U.S.

The question of police repression and terrorism, however, is not to be understood as isolated acts of police abuse by a few rotten apples, but as a military attack upon whole groups of people. This attack is advanced on two levels: 1) on an indirect level, an all out campaign is carried forth to engender the residents of Black, Latino and Native American communities with a fear of gangs and other "criminal elements". The solution to this neighborhood "terror" is to increase police vigilance and police "protection". A program of neighborhood beat representatives

is, thus, inaugurated. The manifest purpose, of these beat representatives, is to keep their eyes on "criminal" activities, but their latent and real function is to serve as a spy network so as to contain and even disrupt whole communities of society's "ungovernable" sectors. Most of the beat representatives are usually tied to the big city political machines; 2) on a more direct level, a wave of police repression which has reached phenomenal heights is unleashed against third world communities. In the past three years hundreds of Blacks, Latino and Native American youths have been murdered in cold blood by fascist and racist cops across the country.

It is of great importance that at this juncture, we develop a program aimed at educating and organizing Third World communities around these wholesale military tactics so as to disrupt, from the entrails of the monster, the ruling class' plans. In the process we will be undertaking a giant task for all mankind; for united we have the potential to disintegrate, from within, the federal system, as Juan Antonio Corretjer, Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist League has stated; "we have the ability to weaken it to the point of impotence. The example of the internal colonial subjects and of the national minorities will end up by awakening all of the workers of the United States. By then, the socialist revolution will be a reality built upon the ruins of the imperialist state."

A major step towards concrete unity, at least between Puerto Ricans and Chicano/Mexicanos, was achieved in the successful campaign against grand jury/FBI repression during the past two years. This campaign was waged with the highest political common denominators, yet it reached deep into the barrios and made significant headways in the church and

liberal communities. A similar policy should be pursued in regards to any program around the issue of police repression.

Thus both long range and short range programatic points around the issue of police repression should reflect the highest political level of our peoples. A short and long range program should include the following: 1) an identification of the magnitude of the problem of police repression; 2) an identification on a nation-wide basis, of bona fide community groups involved in local struggles to combat police repression and terrorism; 3) the coalescing of an interim body of representatives from these groups that will discuss the tactics and strategies to be presented to a national conference on police repression--these tactics and strategies must be based on the above stated premise that police repression is part of an all out attack upon our communities and part of a general plan by the ruling class of this country to contain and disrupt Third World communities; 4) the convocation of the national conference that will develop a working plan which will include tactics that run the whole gamut from the demanding of congressional hearings around the issue of police repression (this will bring our communities to work in concert with civil liberterian and church groups), to the development of plans for community self-defense against police attacks to the substitution of grand juries by People's Tribunals.

This is a mere outline of the task before us. If we move swiftly and rapidly we, the oppressed peoples, can definitely disrupt Carter's Trilateral Commission's plans.

If it is understood that the repression the ruling class is unleashing against oppressed people is a well-engineered plan, then it is easier to

identify the enemy and to personify him. Community struggles and the movements of oppressed people are the leading forces for revolution in the United States because they are at the center of the principle contradiction of this society, at this point and time. Third World community struggles, today, (whether for jobs for all, quality education, decent health care, or against police repression) represent a clear and present danger to the ruling class in this country; not because of their reformist character, but because of their revolutionary potential. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Carter Administration is pouring billions of dollars into the cities, particularly, into the development of community-based Saul Alinsky type organizations. This policy, similar to that pursued during the earlier part of this century to coopt the workers' movement, is designed with the ultimate objective of controlling the "ungovernable" sectors of this society so as to insure "domestic tranquility" for the survival of monopoly capitalism.

In summary it can be said that when the Trilateral Commission addresses itself to the problem of governability, it does not expect the ruling class to be the one to exercise "more self-restraint". It does intend that the "newly mobilized strata" of society exercise a greater degree of "moderation in democracy". This is to be achieved at any cost. So at present a subtle coercive politik of internment, on the one hand is being pursued against the leadership of oppressed peoples, and, on the other hand, open warfare is being waged against oppressed communities by local cops. In the whole process it has to be clearly understood that U.S. jails are becoming Amerika's concentration camps. But, in all this we should remember, what Che Guevara said: "we are fighting the most important fight of all, because we live in the heart of the beast".

ON THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST VANGUARD IN THE U.S. AND
ARMED STRUGGLE BY PUERTO RICANS IN THE U.S.

Some sectors of the left allege that this is not the right moment for armed groups within the U.S. since the Leninist center to direct the masses does not exist.

This position is correct when viewed from the perspective of the struggle for Socialism in the U.S. and the anti-colonialist factor is removed - in our case the struggle for the liberation of our homeland, Puerto Rico.

From the perspective of this pseudo Puerto Rican left it is necessary to abandon the option of rearguard struggle - in other words the extension of the Puerto Rican revolution to the U.S. to destroy the political-military superstructure which the enemy is trying to impose on us. This would be like fighting with one hand tied behind the back in a fight between the Puerto Rican midget and the giant enemy.

If the giant is socialized, then independence is possible.

A grave contradiction exists between this position and ours.

We maintain that they apply the Marxist-Leninist Mao Tse Tung principle in a mechanical way. Their position represents a distortion of the reality of the national liberation struggles; it places the political development of the colonial power before that of the independence of Puerto Rico. It is a falsification of the role of the people of a colonial country and negates the part played by the anti-colonial struggle in raising consciousness within the oppressor nation.

The armed struggle for the liberation of Puerto Rico cannot be limited to the geographic confines of Puerto Rico. We agree totally with the perspective put forward by Juan Antonio Corretjer in his article, "Problems of People's War in Puerto Rico" when he states, "It is an effective deathblow for statehood."

This rearguard in the U.S. provides us with a powerful weapon - even more so if it develops in conjunction with the anti-imperialist sectors in the U.S. This anti-imperialist rearguard will unite presently isolated struggles, will aid in the development of the revolutionary center and will bring about a profound awakening of the North American people about the real nature of their government.

Does anyone think that the proletarian vanguard develops in a climate of coexistence with the enemy? Coexistence is a privilege of sovereign countries, similar to elections where members of the ruling class dispute over government posts while in full agreement over which system shall prevail.

Armed struggle in the U.S., even when it assumes terrorist forms, serves its purposes. Reaction is always in favor of a solution to the conflict.

It is impossible, as occurred in the case of Vietnam and Korea, that the North American people will support a speedy extermination of the "enemy". But if it is a protracted struggle, this same people will insist on independence for Puerto Rico. Not because it is terrorist, but because it is a struggle for national liberation, in which terrorism is balanced by the primacy of the political-economic struggle.

Our criticism of the pseudo-independentist sectors, nevertheless, goes beyond an argument for rearguard struggle. We hold that there exists no contradiction whatsoever between the struggle for the national liberation of Puerto Rico by the rearguard in the U.S. and the necessity for the development of a vanguard - a revolutionary center - in the U.S. with its own historic roots among the North American people.

The fact that such a center does not exist means that Puerto Rican forces are able, with their own political lines, to set the agenda for organization.

The Puerto Ricans are not the only ones; the Black people, the Chicano/Mejicano people, and the Native people (Indians) are in the same position. This fragmented situation is a clear indication of the need for a vanguard. The existence of a revolutionary anti-imperialist vanguard would provide the national libera-

tion struggle of Puerto Rico much more clear and massive support than it presently receives. Our separate rearguard struggle would not be necessary and the U.S. government would be far more ready to consider the possibility of independence.

Our work in the rearguard is directed precisely toward the creation of the revolutionary anti-imperialist vanguard. But the creation of such a vanguard does not presuppose the subordination of the armed struggle. On the contrary, this struggle elevates anti-imperialism to a question of the first magnitude among North Americans, encourages the struggles of oppressed peoples and places the question of the vanguard before all serious people on the left.

Finally, the pseudo-independentist groups in the U.S. lack historic roots in the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle of Puerto Rico. This is demonstrated by their inability to perceive the anti-imperialist struggle of an oppressed people for its national liberation and the struggle of the working class of the colonizing country. They end up by subordinating the anti-colonial struggle of Puerto Rico to the efforts to build a working class vanguard in the U.S.

Either Yankis or Puerto Ricans!

For us the response is clear; as the struggle heightens in Puerto Rico, we must speed up the work of organizing the rearguard, in response to specific events that occur there, and in relation to the realities here and in Puerto Rico.

To the extent that the North American vanguard develops, and to the extent that the struggle of the North American people fulfills its anti-colonial duty toward Puerto Rico, to that extent will the rearguard struggle be coordinated with the North American vanguard.

We accept the responsibility of helping to create that vanguard in the U.S. but we will never sacrifice the struggle for national liberation.

THE PUERTO RICAN MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.: AN APPRAISAL

In this presentation on the tasks and perspectives for the Puerto Rican independence struggle in the U.S., we want to discuss the question of Grand Jury repression against the background of the current tendencies in the Puerto Rican national liberation struggle, then evaluate the tendencies and conclude with the tasks which are ahead of us as Puerto Ricans, members of other oppressed people, and North-Americans involved in serious revolutionary solidarity.

Background:

There are, today, two tendencies in the Puerto Rican national liberation struggle which are both the result of new developments and echoes of old tendencies.

There is on the one hand the right tendency of parliamentarism, and a left tendency of National Liberation through armed struggle. The two tendencies have become well defined enough for us to be able to say with certainty which forces have aligned themselves, and where. In turn, the tendencies obey both the internal dynamics of the Puerto Rican class reality and the maneuvers by Washington to confine the struggle and imprison it within channels the U.S. government can manage.

Both Parliamentarism and armed struggle go back to the very beginning of the Puerto Rican nation in 1868, when autonomists sought changes by working with liberal sectors of the Spanish government, and liberationists staged the Grito de Lares.

It was the Grito de Lares which forced Spain to end slavery and peonage in their classical forms, and it was the Grito de Lares which gave autonomism the sword with which to convince

Spain that Puerto Ricans would accept nothing short of independence.

Eighty-two years later, in 1950, it was the Grito de Jayuya which forced the U.S. government to recognize a minimal form of internal autonomy, and again, the Autonomists were able to negotiate because of the sword handed to them by the Nationalist revolt.

Today, pressed by a variety of armed actions both in Puerto Rico and the U.S., the U.S. government seeks to negotiate other changes in the forms of domination and control of Puerto Rico.

Autonomism, a sort of "third force, or tendency" between independence and statehood, has historically been the politics of the weak national bourgeoisie and the weaker petty bourgeois leaders of the independence movement. Together they have marched time and again over the span of 110 years since the founding of the Puerto Rican nation in the battlefields of Lares and San Sebastian, to the detriment of independence--because the result of this unholy marriage has always been selling-out of our struggle and the demoralization of our forces.

Today, autonomists and independence parliamentarists are seeking to divert the militant working class struggle once more along the channels of elections, and once again they raise the superficial spectre of statehood to frighten us into an alliance whose history has seen the strengthening of colonialism and the weakening of independence.

Even more dangerous is the mass repression which accompanies this "historical compromise" between autonomists and independence forces. Following each of these periodic agreements on the right, the U.S. government has seen its hands freed for an all out

attack on the forces of revolution. These attacks entail massacres and arrests, which serve to drive the left forces to desperate resistance and which U.S. government propaganda depicts as violent attacks by fringe elements--alienated from the responsible sectors of the independence movement, and with little support from the masses.

The government attacks in turn are accompanied by the usual rhetoric of adventurism and militarism, mouthed by the right opportunists to cover their retreat and betrayal of the independence struggle.

One only needs to look at the familiar experiences of Uruguay and Argentina, to get a more concrete picture of what we are talking about--and if we want to appreciate how far these so-called Marxists are willing to go, we may look at Italy and France as well.

In Uruguay, it was the option of the United Electoral Front which presented to the masses by the so-called progressive left, first led to the isolation of the Tupamaro movement, and later to the destruction of the Front itself, once the government's strategy of dividing and conquering had managed to confuse the masses by alienating the parliamentary bloc from the armed struggle.

In Argentina today, many of the reverses of the Montoneros and the E.R.P. can be laid at the footstep of the parliamentarist support for the Eva Peron government and their docility before the Videla dictatorship, denying the revolution an important sector of mass support.

The use of Grand Juries has seen the polarization of forces into right and left tendencies within the Puerto Rican independence movement and its allies in the U.S.

As this polarization has developed, such instruments of struggle of the past as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and the Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee have been split. In fact, no Puerto Rican independence group in the U.S. has escaped the polarization. I think both tendencies have an obligation to examine closely the role that agents of colonialism have played in accentuating and accelerating these splits.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS POLARIZATION IN THE U.S.

The polarization within the independence struggle has overflowed to the U.S. where once combative sections, today under the influence of opportunism, and even reaction, are moving to translate support for Puerto Rican independence into a Washington Lobby, where great amounts of energies will be expended in trying to convince Congress, and the liberal sectors gathered around public and private interest groups that they should support independence for Puerto Rico. This drive will result in keeping the American people out of the struggle, relieving the international community of its anti-colonialist obligations, and threatens to bring the Puerto Rican questions into two dangerous channels--that of self-determination (which really means either independence or statehood), and that of placing Puerto Rico as an internal problem of the U.S. (something which the U.S. needs to do very badly to escape international attention on its colonialist role within the international community).

Why do supposedly progressive Puerto Rican forces whose task is national liberation for Puerto Rico, turn to parliaments and lobbying groups???

Certainly, we have seen how these supposedly promising channels of contact with the U.S. government are only a reflection of the quality of our struggle.

Imperialism seeks contact only when we threaten it. And that threat comes not from the good wishes of the enemies of Puerto Rican independence, but from the militancy of that struggle.

When will we learn from the defeats of others? When will we assimilate the lessons of Viet Nam? We do not need lobbies in Washington! The North-American bourgeoisie will create its own Friends of Puerto Rico in Washington, public and private interest lobbies will everge the very moment our struggle has reached such a level as to threaten the quality of life in the U.S. and make a shambles of their foreign policy.

It is the embarassment posed by the militancy of our struggle so far that has driven the U.S. government to search out a solution and to even consider independence as an option for its Puerto Rico and Latin America policy.

To divert that struggle now will cost us dearly, all of us--parliamentarists and revolutionaries alike. We are all losers, but most significantly, the Puerto Rican people are losers.

Remember Albizu Campos' "The victory of Puerto Ricans over Puerto Ricans is the defeat of our nation."

Will we allow the colonialists to triumph by confusing the unreal prospects of statehood now with their real intent--which is none other than to frighten us into supporting the creation of a

coalition in the 1980 colonial elections that will divert our energies and allow colonialism to continue, no matter who wins?

Will we again postpone the present opportunity for independence until they have actually destroyed us and thus facilitate assimilation?

Because they do have first to destroy the independence struggle before they can grant statehood...and this is what we fail to see at present!!

We can easily foresee from these developments that Puerto Rico's future is not necessarily secure, and that if independence is to be betrayed at this point, we will never have another opportunity, because we will pass from the status of an external colony, to that of an internal colony--and Puerto Ricans will be reduced to the same identical ghetto conditions to which Puerto Ricans are subject to in the U.S.--that is the significance of internal colonialism.

Those sectors which are today moving in the direction of parliamentarism cannot escape responsibility for this. They cannot escape joining Luis Munoz Marin and the other traitors of history in what Albizu Campos called the garbage can of history.

But, fortunately, there is still both time and will on the part of the Puerto Rican independence forces and its allies to overturn right opportunism, to defeat the strategy of accommodation, to turn our forces around and attack colonialism on a worldwide scale, to continue to march forward along the strategic lines of Albizu's teachings and create The Crisis of Colonialism so necessary to achieve our independence along the lines of full sovereignty, socialism, and proletarian internationalism.

LESSONS FOR THE U.S.-BASED INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT AND ITS ALLIES:

We, as a movement, cannot be concerned with parliamentarism, because it will be the American people themselves, as in Viet Nam, who will launch that effort in the moment of crisis, and in their own self interest within the class context of America today.

It will, instead be the depth and breath of militant struggle in Puerto Rico and the U.S. which will drive U.S. colonialism out of Puerto Rico in the near future (and by that we mean within the lifetime of most of the people here).

It will be the task of the Puerto Rican people and other oppressed people to spearhead this militant struggle. It will be the task of the North-American left to organize unity and support within its ranks and take an active part in shaping and directing Americans against colonialism.

Oppressed people know that internal colonialism cannot end without ending external colonialism. The North American people know that there is a political and ideological contradiction between their avowed anti-imperialism and their indifference to U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico.

Our tasks is to create consciousness among the oppressed in the U.S., develop unity of action, and forge the bonds of struggle that will end colonialism in Puerto Rico. An independent Puerto Rico in turn must become the principle voice of oppressed people in the U.S. at each and every international forum. The Puerto Rican nation will become the base from which the oppressed peoples of the U.S. will deal a death blow to internal colonialism, racism and class exploitation in the U.S. And this will be so, because it will be these very forces of oppressed peoples and the working

class movements which will play such a crucial and leading role in driving the U.S. bourgeoisie into the frenzied activity of their own parliament, their own public and private interest groups, to release Puerto Rico from bondage and allow us to join the family of nations. This is the only parliamentary activity that will be worth anything--their own work to change their own policy as a result of the heightened revolutionary activity of its working class and oppressed people.

The task of the Puerto Rican independence movement is to give direction to the revolutionary support of all these sectors of North American class society.

Even as we do this in the U.S., no significant gains can be made without at the same time advancing struggle in Puerto Rico to ever increasing levels of mass actions and revolutionary struggle. The slogan here must be: Revolution at home and revolutionary activity in the enemy rear--the U.S.

We want to end with the following proposal:

For the North American sectors:

Unite as many forces as possible around true anti-imperialist practice, subordinate your factional strife, unite to conduct the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, become militant partners in the struggle against colonialism with us, and out of the rich experience acquired you will emerge as the center of the struggle for socialism in the U.S.

To the Puerto Rican and other oppressed people in the U.S.:

Follow the glowing example of the Chicanos-Mexicanos and join us in common struggle to end colonialism in Puerto Rico, unite with us in the day to day struggle for

democratic rights in the U.S. so that we may develop unity in practice, and we promise you that the base area we so desperately need in the serious struggle against internal colonialism, racism, and all forms of oppression and repression, will be found in the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Puerto Rico.

To the Puerto Rican people at home:

Defeat parliamentarism, raise the level of struggle now, create the final crisis out of the current disintegration of the colony, expose opportunism, and drive the Yanqui out.

We promise that if we do this, our political prisoners will be released, repression will end, and we will be free and independent.

LONG LIVE PUERTO RICO LIBRE!

FREE THE FOUR PUERTO RICAN NATIONALISTS!

END GRAND JURY REPRESSION!

LONG LIVE PUERTO RICAN AND CHICANO MEXICANO UNITY!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF OPPRESSED PEOPLES IN THE U.S!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE NORTH AMERICAN LEFT AND THE
WORKING CLASS!

LITERATURE AVAILABLE

PUERTO RICAN NATIONALISM	5.00
LUCHA e IDEARIO DE UN PUERTORRIQUENO	3.00
SANDALO EN LA CELDA	3.50
THE TIME IS NOW	1.00
MIN AND FREEDOM OF THE FOUR	.40
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PROBLEMAS DE LA GUERRA POPULAR EN PUERTO RICO	..25
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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

60614

