

OBREROS EN MARCHA

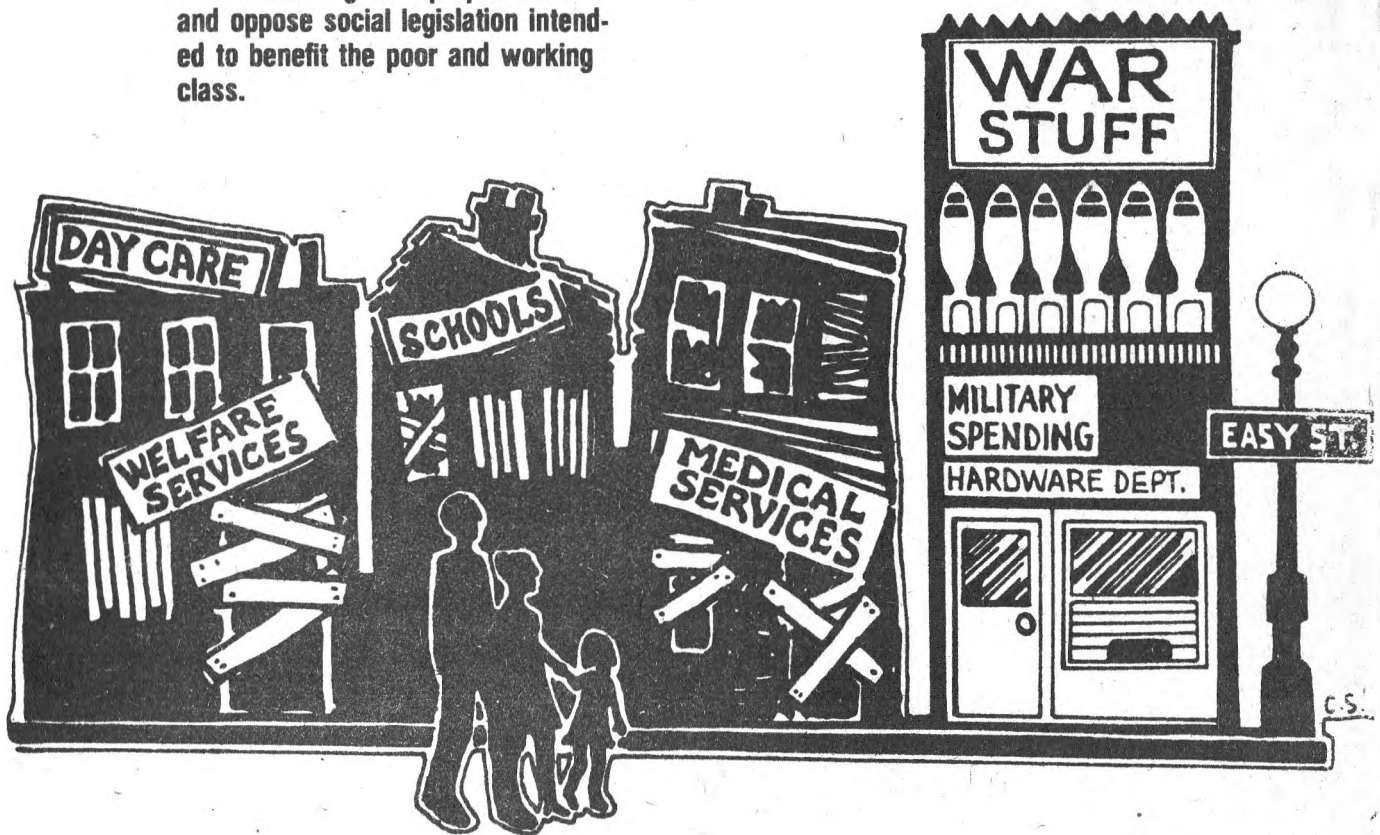
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Puerto Rican National Left Movement [MINP - El Comité]

November/December 1980

The New Right: Old Ideas in a New Context

A key dimension in the steady move to the right has been the growth of single-issue organizations and a religious fundamentalist movement; these forces wrap themselves around the flag of superpatriotism and oppose social legislation intended to benefit the poor and working class.



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Views on the Reagan Victory

The 1980 presidential election was predominantly a struggle between two similar economic and political viewpoints: Jimmy Carter, who thinly veils his pro-big business policies in liberal rhetoric, and Ronald Reagan, who makes no pretense about his support of big business and his opposition to "big government." This limited choice offered to the American people by the major bourgeois parties was no accident. It results from the political-economic realities that confront the U.S. ruling class today.

Today the U.S. is gripped by economic stagnation and high unemployment. It faces serious threats from Japan and West Germany to its economic hegemony of the capitalist world. It is increasingly being challenged by the national and social liberation movements in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Faced with these realities and the threats to its domination, U.S. ruling circles have reached consensus on how to confront them. On domestic policy, and in order to improve its competitive position with respect to Japan and West Germany, the bourgeoisie agrees that inflation must be rolled back, the dollar must be strengthened and that American workers must be made to increase their productivity. On foreign policy, they agree that

there is the need to increase U.S. military forces and strengthen its capacity to intervene—directly or indirectly—in those regions where U.S. economic and political interests are threatened.

On these goals, there are no overriding differences between Carter and Reagan nor are there substantive differences in approach. In order to manipulate the economy back to health, both Carter and Reagan's approach is to reduce substantially business and corporate taxes, cut back on government spending for social programs, and eliminate government regulations that impede the ability of big business to make greater profits. What differences exist between Reagan and Carter on economic policy and military expenditures are only a matter of degree and speed of implementation.

Despite this reality, there were progressives and some revolutionaries who decided to vote for Carter because of "the Reagan danger." These forces raised the spectre of rampant repression and the danger of militarization and nuclear war. With few exceptions, these forces, directly or by implication, downplayed the detrimental impact of the Carter policies on workers and oppressed minorities and the turn toward militarism and interventionist posturing of the Carter administration. In doing so, they divorced the policies of Carter, a major bourgeois politician, from the objective conditions to which the ruling class has to respond in order to safeguard its class interests. Carter, no less than Reagan, wants to safeguard these interests.

Therefore, despite Carter's liberal pretense, the reality of economic stagnation, unemployment and loss of international power and prestige for U.S. imperialism have moved Carter and the Democratic party more and more to the right. Carter was not "the lesser of two evils." Reagan's boast of military expenditures and cuts in social programs will merely further trends and policies already begun by the Carter administration.

Reagan's policies will be bolder in eliminating or weakening social programs and legislation that protect workers and oppressed minorities (such as affirmative action). Already Reagan has promised to reduce the federal payroll by some 200,000 workers. Such a massive cutback will most likely affect those departments that oversee civil rights, workers' health and job conditions and environmental protection programs. They will definitely not affect the Pentagon or other repressive arms of the federal government. Under Reagan, the class issues will become even more polarized between the interests of the working class and the ruling class.

This greater polarization will generate both organized and spontaneous resistance. The effectiveness of any resistance will in turn affect the extent and depth of any political repression that will be adopted by the Reagan administration.

As with Carter, Reagan's policies will raise opportunities for revolutionaries to expose the anti-working class, chauvinist and racist character of those policies and the class interests to which they respond—those of the ruling class. The task of progressives and revolutionaries today continues to be to generate and participate in organizing efforts of working people to defend their interests against cuts in social programs, attacks on wages and working conditions, and increased militarism. We must develop the strategies, forms of struggle and policies of alliances that correspond to the class interests of working people and the particular needs of oppressed minorities. □

Daycare to be Hit with More Cuts

In our last issue of Obreros En Marcha we presented the situation confronting the parents and staff of Association Daycare Center in the Lower East Side of Manhattan. They are fighting to take control of their center and oust the present illegal board of directors. They are struggling to insure that their interests are being reflected in the center so that their children can get the best daycare services possible.

Yet this intense struggle is only one level of struggle the center must deal with. The main contradiction affecting quality daycare—limited availability of services vs. the need for services—continues to loom overhead. The fact that the government denies poor and working people the vital services which are their right is still the overriding problem to be tackled. This situation, of course, confronts not only Association Daycare Center, but all daycare centers in New York City, as they attempt to provide quality daycare amidst continuing cuts in funds and staff.

Daycare is yet another extremely important service that is in danger of being obliterated by the government in this period of "necessary belt-tightening." In New York City, with its fiscal crisis, quality care has become harder and harder to provide despite the best efforts of parents and staff. And even more cuts in services are projected for 1981.

Cuts in daycare have been a reality faced by poor and working class families in the United States since the early 1970s. The cuts started in 1971 after a number of years of expansion of services as a reform to appease the growing militancy of the mass movements of the 1960s. As the '70s went on, and in particular as the recession of 1974-1975 began to hit the country, the cuts in daycare (and in social services in general) began to increase. Daycare funds throughout the country and especially in New York were more and more cut back. The source of these cuts was the policies instituted by the city, state and federal governments.

The impact of the cuts has been extremely detrimental to families with young children. A great many families consider publically-funded daycare a crucial factor which allows them to work for their family's survival. The lack of badly-needed daycare services has meant that many working mothers, particularly those who are



Cuts to daycare are another attack on working class and poor families.

single parents, have been forced to quit their jobs and go on welfare in order for their families to subsist.

In the last five years in NYC, the situation has reached crisis levels. More than 100 centers have been closed down and hundreds of workers laid off. Thousands of parents have been displaced by the closings. Thousands of new parents compete in vain for the few available spaces. Within the centers that remain open, their budgets are cut so tight that the quality of services that they provide is sometimes reduced to dangerous levels. Yet whatever the particular situation or struggle is in a particular center, the road always leads back to the policies of the responsible government agencies.

The "Pass the Buck" Government Game

A well-established ploy by the govern-

ment in order to avoid blame or responsibility is to resort to bureaucratic maneuvering to confuse people. The most recent example of this in daycare follows:

On October 1, Human Resources Administration Commissioner Stanley Brezenoff announced that New York City will be short \$15 million in Title XX funds next year and that major cuts in daycare would be necessary unless the state released more money to the cities and counties.

Title XX is the major source of federal funds for daycare programs and many other vitally needed public services (senior citizen programs, home care services, etc.). It sets the income eligibility limits in daycare for all families and sets the standards for the distribution of funds in the city.

The reason why NYC will be short \$15 million is because New York State refused to pass along to the cities some \$25 million in Title XX funds that it received from the

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federal government. Instead, it used the money for its own administrative expenses—items it should be paying for with general state tax levy money (money gotten through state taxes).

The question is, can the federal government be exonerated for this blatant misuse of money by the state? The answer is *definitely not*. This is but one of the many "loopholes" that are built into the government bureaucracy that allows the various levels of government to "legally" deny people their rights. It was the federal government itself that designed the Title XX law so loosely that the state can get away with these budget shifts—all to the detriment of our badly-needed services.

On a local level we can see the government machinery also contributing to undermining our rights. The director of the Agency for Child Development, George Richards, has stated that since 1975 his agency's administrative costs have increased from \$5.6 million to more than \$12 million. Yet this has taken place while daycare programs go wanting.

Another glaring abuse affecting daycare is the direct lease situation. Landlords, in collusion with the city administration, have literally robbed millions of dollars of daycare money through this scheme. The city has signed long-term leases (many for 20 years) with landlords for exorbitant amounts of money. When the city closes a center it continues to pay rent to the landlord until the lease expires. Approximately 1/5 of the total daycare budget goes towards paying off direct leases. This adds up to about \$22 million a year. Yet the Koch administration perpetuates this abuse by refusing to renegotiate the leases.

Yet even if all these loopholes and abuses didn't exist there still wouldn't be enough money to provide adequate daycare services. We must continue to demand more funds from the federal government.

Some Stirrings Among Daycare Workers

Although on a small scale, the beginning of a fightback has begun to develop among daycare parents and among daycare workers. Some daycare workers are beginning to organize a rank and file group in the daycare union, Local 205 of District Council 1707. During the negotiations this past year for a contract that was already almost one year overdue, many of the daycare workers became aware once again of the ineffectiveness of the union leadership. When inflation was running away at 18%, the leadership negotiated a mere 4% increase in wages. In addition, it refused to deal with matters concerning working conditions.

As a result, a small group of workers began to discuss the need for an organized form of pressure on the union leadership so that it would respond to the needs of the



The Association Daycare struggle is generating responses in the center and in the community.

base and function as a truly democratic union. After a series of initial meetings, the United Child Care Front (UCCF) was formed.

Although its main goal is to build a rank and file within the union, the UCCF does not see the struggle of daycare workers isolated from the need for quality services, the rights of parents to decision-making in the center and the need for joint struggle between parents and staff. This is the general perspective of the UCCF and one which will guide them in building a strong and effective rank and file.

Some Stirrings in the Community

The upcoming cuts in the budget, which are projected to eliminate almost fifty daycare centers in the coming year, will directly affect poor and working class communities, particularly those of oppressed minorities. This has been the trend of the cuts in all the social services, which is consistent with the policy of the Koch administration to place the burden of the fiscal crisis on these sectors of the population.

In assessing the level of actual response to the cuts, we can see that there is a need for a strategy encompassing three levels of struggle: the fight for parent decision-making in the centers, rank-and-file organizing, and the mobilization of general community support for daycare services. Each area has its particular interests and needs, but all three must be guided by a common perspective: that quality daycare service is a right and a necessity for poor and working class families and that parents and workers must struggle together to achieve these services.

Community support must arise as a result

of a growing understanding about how the community's interests are jeopardized whenever the rights of members of the community are violated. It is an important task of daycare activists, be they parents or workers, to help build this understanding in the community.

This is what is being attempted in the Lower East Side community. The Association Daycare Center struggle is one which is beginning to generate responses not only in the center itself but also within the community and daycare workers' union. This can become the basis for the coming together of many daycare centers as well as community groups to demand the expansion of daycare funds, increases in daycare staff and their salaries, and the lowering of eligibility standards.

A community support committee has been formed to lend support to the parents and staff of Association. Support is being generated in the Lower East Side with an understanding that this situation is not isolated from all the attacks this community has been a victim of—cuts in health care, education, etc. It is also on this basis that Local 205 is being asked to respond in defense of the interest of the workers of Association. These workers face constant harassment from the illegal board.

If the Lower East Side community is successful in these initial efforts, the basis will have been created for the development of a Lower East Side daycare network able to respond to further attacks on services. It can also be the mechanism through which linkups can be made with groups in other parts of the city. This process can create the forces necessary in our communities to successfully fight the budget cuts. □

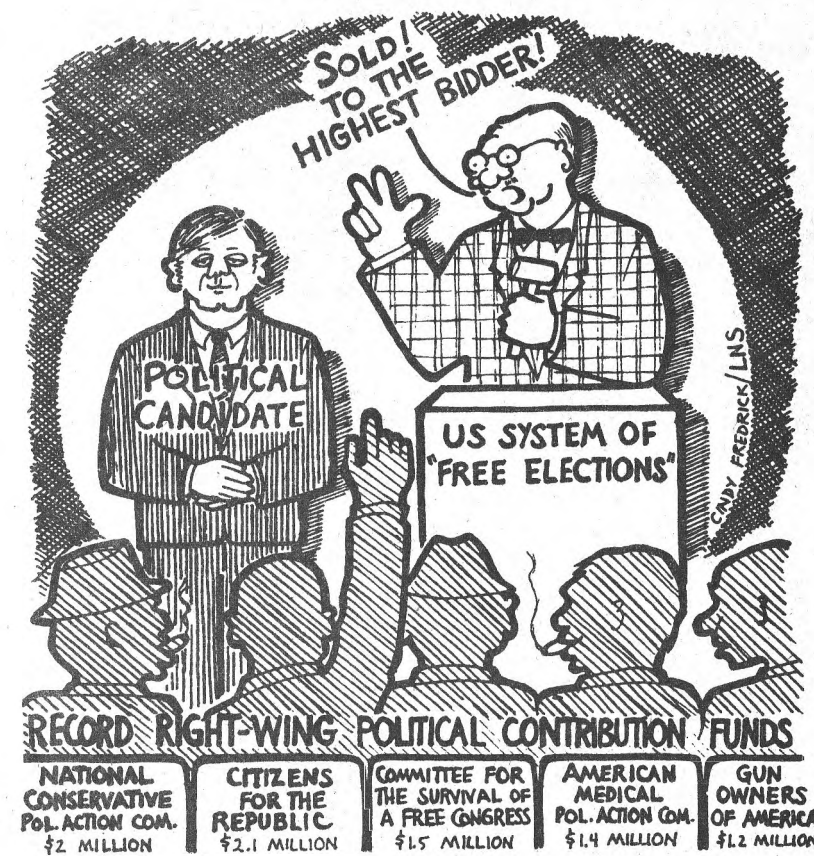
The New Right Old Ideas in a New Context

● Over the past three years, abortion clinics in six cities have been vandalized, bombed or set on fire. Employees at the clinics have been sent death notes and have been otherwise threatened. Women entering the clinics have been verbally and physically harassed. Supporters of abortion rights accuse groups such as the National Right to Life Committee, a group organized to deny women the choice of an abortion, no matter what the circumstances of pregnancy.

● In newspapers across the country, anti-union ads are frequently run. The ads describe situations where workers have been "forced" to join the union in their shop or workplace. These ads are paid for by the National Right-to-Work Committee, an organization committed to breaking the power of unions, and, in particular, to destroying the hard-won union gain of the closed shop.

● During the presidential race, six of the most powerful liberal Democrats in the Senate were placed on a "hit-list" and targeted for defeat. The six were: George McGovern (S. Dakota); Frank Church (Idaho); Gaylord Nelson (Wisc.); Birch Bayh (Ind.); John Culver (Iowa); and Alan Cranston (Calif.). Of the six, only Cranston was re-elected. The other five were all defeated by conservative Republican candidates. The main force which organized the campaigns to defeat the Senators was the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC). While disillusionment with the Carter administration and the Democratic party in general was probably the most important element causing the defeats, there is no doubt that the campaigns of the NCPAC were key contributing factors.

These organizations—and many more besides them—all form part of the developing trend called the New Right. The New Right is essentially a merger of different reactionary conservative forces: ultra-right politicians (e.g., Strom Thurmond, the Senator from South Carolina who wants to reinstitute the death penalty and recall the 1965 Voting Rights Act); Christian fundamentalist groups (such as the Christian Voice which during the electoral campaign developed "morality ratings" on all members of Congress based on their number of conservative votes); and single-issue



organizations (such as the National Right-to-Work Committee).

Groups similar to these have long existed in U.S. society. The extreme right-wing is certainly not a new phenomena. The difference today is that these forces have united politically and have developed a consolidated political force.

From skyrocketing prices to the closing of stores. From exorbitant rents to the lack of housing. From the layoff of workers to the shutting down of factories. From the increased crime rate to the increased unemployment rate. These are all part of the severe economic crisis the U.S. is experiencing—one that has continued to worsen, despite ruling class predictions of recovery. In order to protect its investments and profit margins, the U.S. ruling class has implemented policies which rollback the

economic and political gains won by working people and minorities during the mass struggles of the 1960s and early '70s.

Since the mid-'70s, the policies of the ruling class have moved more and more to the right. This trend is evidenced by government attacks on social services, affirmative action and bilingual education. It is reflected by bosses' attacks on workers' wages, benefits and safe working conditions. It is reflected by the growing frequency of police attacks on oppressed minorities, and in particular black people.

A key dimension in the steady move to the right has been the growth of single-issue organizations and a religious fundamentalist movement; these forces wrap themselves around the flag of superpatriotism and oppose social legislation intended to benefit the poor and working class. There has also been a marked resurgence of paramilitary, racist groups like the Ku Klux

Klan.

The organized right-wing in the U.S. has many tendencies within it. Some are like the Klan, which operates outside the political mainstream and the electoral process. Others operate within this mainstream, participating in elections, running for political office, backing conservative candidates, and blacklisting liberals and progressives. Such is the nature of the New Right, a loose grouping of many different ultra-conservative forces united by a common ideological perspective and common goals.

Christian Right-Wing Gets Political

A key element in forging the New Right was the unity that developed between the political right and the religious right. Since before World War II, right-wing politicians in the U.S. have lacked any kind of organized mass base. But in recent years, they have found this base among the followers of Christian evangelical fundamentalism, a religion characterized by its adherence to a literal interpretation of the Bible as the only guide to a moral life. These "born-again" Christians, as the evangelists call themselves, allege to have converted to evangelism because of a sense of betrayal at the growing "permissiveness of American society" and its lack of moral direction.

The spread of evangelism in the last decade or so is due in large part to the use of television by evangelical preachers. Over the years, they developed nation-wide audiences who would regularly tune into their weekly television Gospel Hour. As time went on, these preachers began to preach more and more about the need for political activism on the part of Christian conservatives.

With this ready-made constituency for the right-wing, it was only one short step to the creation of grassroots organizations, thus establishing the right-wing's needed mass base.

The Moral Majority

One and one-half years ago, the Moral Majority was founded by Rev. Jerry Falwell, one of the most influential T.V. preachers. His weekly program is watched by millions of born-again Christians from all parts of the country. The membership of the Moral Majority is already at 400,000. In its first year, it raised \$1.5 million in contributions. It is a political lobby whose immediate goals are to train evangelists to become organizers, to register people to vote and to develop political action committees in as many states as possible to influence the elections of 1982 and support the candidates they like.

The Moral Majority, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, the Christian Voice and a host of other New Right organizations all work hand in hand with one

another. Most of them belong to the Religious Roundtable, a coalition set up to coordinate the political lobbying of the religious groups in the New Right. Its Board includes most of the New Right's leaders, among them the top T.V. preachers, Falwell, James Robison and Pat Robertson; Jesse Helms, extremist Senator from N. Dakota; and Paul Weyrich, founder of The Heritage Foundation, the Main New Right think-tank which has become a major force in Reagan's transition team. Known as the godfather of the New Right, Weyrich is also the head of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress.

"The U.S. is Morally Adrift"

The New Right says that there is a "moral crisis" in the U.S. today stemming from governmental interference in matters of the family and religion. The result, they say, is that the family unit has broken down (a consequence of equal rights for women), unborn children are killed by abortions, parents can no longer choose where to educate their children (busing), homosexuals have rights, crime is on the rise, and religious prayer is forbidden in schools. The same governmental interference also took place in the business sector: regulation of industry, giving in to the power of unions, unnecessary safety regulations for workers, and affirmative action. This interference created the present economic crisis in the U.S. and also led to the crisis it is facing internationally: a loss of its power and prestige economically, politically and militarily.

The New Right is against all laws, legislation, and court decisions they see as threatening to the "moral fiber" of the country, the strength of the family unit, and the defense of U.S. interests abroad. Thus, they are anti-abortion, anti-gay rights, anti-the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), anti-affirmative action, anti-the minimum wage, and anti-union. They are also against all politicians, Democrat or Republican, who don't support these positions. They want the deregulation of business (no government interference in the market place), increased military and defense spending, the reinstatement of the death penalty and voluntary prayer in the schools. The New Right is an anti-working class, racist political movement. Under the umbrella of patriotism and morality, it wants to turn the clock back on the gains made and concessions won by the working class and oppressed minorities in the past twenty years.

Class Basis of the New Right

During the 1960's, these reactionary politics were considered too extremist by the ruling class. At that time, the bourgeoisie (owners of the monopoly corporations and banks) was forced to respond to the militant demands of workers and minorities. But an expanding economy made these concessions palatable.

Business was booming and the ruling class was raking in the profits. But with the advent of the economic crisis and the need to place the burden of that crisis onto the working class, the ruling class shifted to the right. As a result, right-wing politics have become more acceptable. They now fit much more into the mainstream of multinational corporate policies. This legitimization of the New Right is consistent with ruling class interests. In order to confront the political and economic realities they face domestically and internationally, the ruling class can, and has already begun, to adopt New Right positions.

However, the ruling class modifies these positions according to their needs. This can be seen most vividly in the example of Ronald Reagan, where some of his most hawkish ideas were moderated during the course of his campaign (e.g., the recognition of Taiwan as the representative of the Chinese people, the abolition of Social Security, etc.). Furthermore, his cabinet will undoubtedly be composed of individuals in the mainstream of ruling class politics.

The "turn back the clock" ideas of the New Right do not predominate in most ruling class sectors. Basically, the New Right represents the interests of the petty-bourgeois class in U.S. society—the shop owner, the small farmer, the small businessman—as well as owners of labor-intensive industries wanting relief from union demands and the competition of foreign imports.

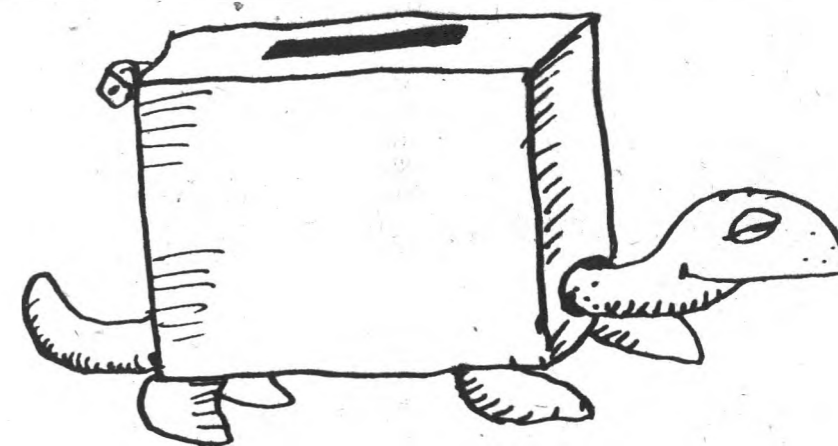
Financial support for New Right causes have been provided by individuals such as Joseph Coors, the beer millionaire; Richard Viguerie, who built the direct-appeals mail empire; Shelby Collum Davis, a Texas industrialist; and J. Holmes Tuttle, a millionaire car dealer. Coors and Viguerie are the most influential of the backers and between them have funded and often helped to organize the major New Right groups (the NCPAC, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, the National Right-to-Work Committee, the Heritage Foundation think-tank, etc.). Most of these businessmen and industrialists can be found on the board of the Heritage Foundation.

Links to Both Bourgeois Parties

While the New Right is primarily linked to the Republican Party at this time, it also has political ties to the Democratic Party. The political significance of the New Right is not where its primary political allegiances lie, but rather its character as a political movement. The future of the New Right depends on the course the class struggle in this country takes, particularly on the efforts of the working class to defend its class interests. The success of such efforts will be key in countering the growing threat from the right. □

Puerto Rico Awaits Election Results

In our last issue, we published the first part of a series on the elections in Puerto Rico. This first article was an analysis by the Popular Socialist Movement (MSP) of the current political situation on the island and their position on electoral participation by left and revolutionary forces. The second and third parts of the series were to be two analyses of the results of the elections, one by the magazine Pensamiento Crítico and the other by the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR). Due to the unusual post-electoral situation in Puerto Rico (i.e., that the election results have had to be recounted), the rest of the series cannot be published yet. Our Puerto Rico Informa article in this issue gives a summary of the election results up to now.



Colonialism has made Puerto Rico a land of crisis. For the past decade the island has been immersed in an economic crisis. A political crisis soon followed, crowned by the crisis over political status. Lesser crises branched off: a crisis of crime, a corruption-in government crisis, a food stamp crisis and so on. The latest addition to this long and growing list is the 1980 electoral crisis.

On November 4th, 1.7 million Puerto Ricans went to the polls to elect a new governor, a resident commissioner (a Puerto Rican official who sits in the U.S. Congress with voice but no vote), members to the colonial legislature, mayors and town assembly representatives. Today, a month later, the results of the vote are still unknown.

As the early returns were being announced on the night of November 4th, Rafael Hernandez Colon, candidate of the Popular Democratic Party (PPD), held a lead of roughly 700 votes. Then the computer tabulating the votes malfunctioned. That's when the crisis began. In the midst of uncertainty, both Hernandez Colon's PPD and the current governor Carlos Romero Barcelo's party, the New Progressive Party (PNP), proclaimed themselves the victor. Because of the closeness of the vote and the suspicion aroused by the computer's malfunctioning, the State Electoral Commission (CEE), decided to count the votes manually, one by one. Before a dumbfounded population, election officials announced that the official results would not be known until December. The CEE's manpower shortage and the very confusion which enveloped the

situation led many to predict that the results would not even be ready by January 2nd when the new governor is to be sworn in.

Although not official, the vote count up until now indicates a loss of power for the PNP. The PPD has won or leads in a majority of seats for the lower house of the legislature. The Senate also appears to have been won by the PPD, although most races are too close to call. A majority of townships have also passed into PPD hands. The position of resident commissioner is the only one which appears safe for a PNP candidate.

The parties of the left did not fare well. The Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) barely managed to win 5% of the vote, the same as in 1976. It had predicted that it would win at least 10% of the vote and several legislative seats. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), which had also predicted dramatic gains, received 0.2% of the vote. This represents a loss of support since 1976 when it received 0.7% of the vote. Carlos Gallisa and Juan Mari Bras, PSP candidates to the House and Senate respectively, received approximately 70,000 votes each. Although this is about 30,000 votes short for a position in the legislature, the PSP is still predicting that when the final results are in, they will have a representative in the legislature.

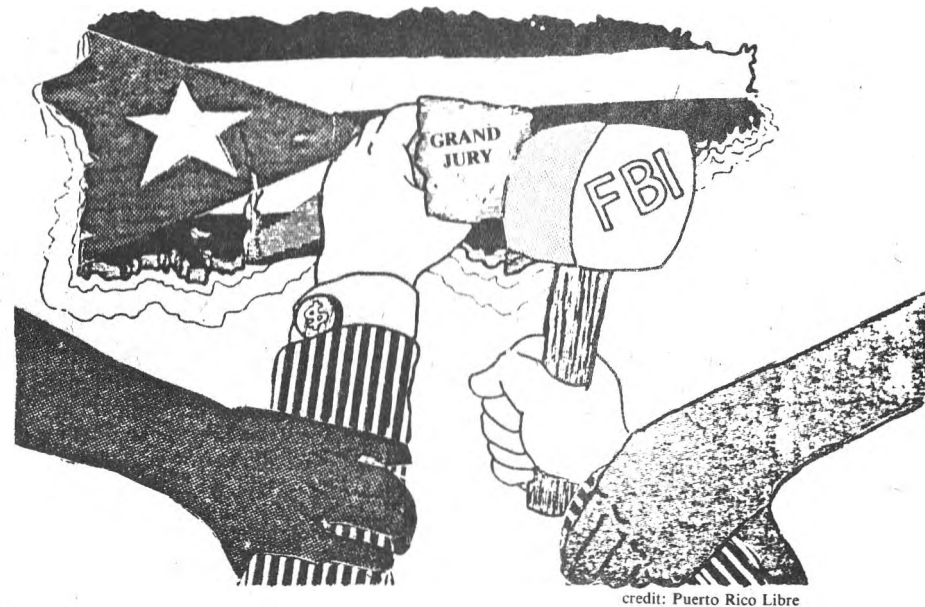
Statehood Forces Lose Ground

Although the extent of the loss is unknown as yet, it is clear that the statehood forces have suffered a setback. Unlike its campaign in 1976, the PNP's campaign in this election openly called for statehood for Puerto Rico. (In 1976, its campaign concentrated on the corruption of the

PPD administration). Once the initial results were in, however, one of Barcelo's first official pronouncements was to cancel his plans for a plebiscite on the status question to be held in 1981. The plebiscite was to accelerate the transformation of Puerto Rico into a state. Even if Barcelo manages to hold on to the governorship, he would have to rule with a legislature either controlled by the opposition or else deeply divided; in addition a majority of townships would be PPD controlled.

People voted against Barcelo not necessarily to vote against statehood, but as a response to their experiences with the PNP over the past 4 years. An initial analysis of the results shows that the PNP's loss of support among the electorate is primarily a product of the corruption which has characterized the Barcelo regime, the Cerro Maravilla scandal (the government entrapment and assassination of two independentistas in 1978), and the deteriorating economic situation. Analysis presented by the PIP, PSP and many bourgeois political commentators include an additional factor in the PNP's loss: many independentistas voted for the PPD as a way to stop the PNP statehood offensive.

The 1980 elections in Puerto Rico undoubtedly have not helped the status debate among the different sectors of the U.S. ruling class and their corresponding allies on the island. The different sectors favor a particular status—statehood, commonwealth or neocolonial independence—according to their own political and economic interests. They had hoped to use the election results in the pursuit of these interests. However, since the election results are so undecisive, this will hardly be possible. □



credit: Puerto Rico Libre

Grand Jury Attacks Independentistas

One year ago, on December 3, 1979 three armed clandestine organizations attacked a group of U.S. Navy personnel in Sabana Seca, Puerto Rico. According to a communique issued by the three organizations—the Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution, the Popular Boricua Army (Macheteros), and the Armed Forces for Popular Resistance—the action was carried out in response to the murder of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal by prison officials in Florida the previous month, continuous U.S. Naval occupation of Vieques and the police assassination in 1978 of two independentistas at Cerro Maravilla (see ODEM Vol IV, no. 9). The attack by the three groups resulted in two dead and ten wounded sailors.

The U.S. military police, the FBI and the colonial repressive forces swarmed over the island in search of those responsible for the Sabana Seca action. The FBI, in characteristic colonial arrogance, took exclusive direction of the investigation, excluding Puerto Rican police from any important work. But in spite of the hundred-plus FBI agents who swooped down on the island, the hysterical anti-independentista campaign led by President Carter and colonial governor Barceló, and the near state of siege on the island of Vieques, the authors of the Sabana Seca action were not found.

During this period of intensified repression, the Unitary Committee Against Repression (CUCRE), which was formed by progressive and revolutionary forces to re-

spond to repressive escalation, managed to obtain a list of 23 names considered by the FBI to be prime suspects of the Sabana Seca action.

By March of 1980, those whose names appeared on the list began to be called before a grand jury. The grand jury was empowered to find evidence for the charges of racketeering, violation of civil rights and damage to Federal property. This was a cover for open-ended investigation and harassment of the independence movement. Those who were called before the grand jury were asked for fingerprints, handwriting samples, hair samples, and photos. They were also asked to appear in a police line-up.

Carlos Rosario Pantojas, a non-affiliated independentista whose name appeared on the FBI list of 23 suspects, refused to appear in a police line-up and was jailed. Alberto de Jesus, who is not even an independentista but whose name was on the list, refused to cooperate and disappeared; he allegedly went into hiding. Two other people on the list were found murdered in remote corners of the island. Why or how, no one knows. Two months ago, in October when the grand jury expired without indictments, the FBI claimed it still did not have solid leads about the events at Sabana Seca.

A few days prior to the expiration of the grand jury, a second grand jury was convened and charged with the investigation of the Sabana Seca action. This time the charges were racketeering, murder and

obstruction of justice. Carlos Rosario Pantojas was once again called; when he refused to cooperate he was jailed for a second time. He could be in jail until April of 1982, when this grand jury expires.

Others have been called before this grand jury including Carlos Noya, a member of the same organization Angel Rodriguez Crisotbal had belonged to, the Puerto Rican Socialist League. He also refused to cooperate and was jailed.

Two people have "mysteriously" been murdered, two are presently in jail, perhaps until 1982; many more are being called before the grand jury, and still no one has been indicted. The FBI has shown after one year that while it may not be too effective at "investigation," it is very good at repression.

Just as grand juries were used in the United States following the actions of the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) in the middle and late 1970s to gather information about the left and revolutionary movements, today the grand jury is being used in Puerto Rico to intimidate and spy on the island's independence movement.

We urge all our readers to write letters of support to the jailed compañeros. All correspondence should be sent to:

CUCRE
Apto. 20247
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico 00928

□

Right Wins Elections in Jamaica

October 30th marked the end of a war in the Caribbean island of Jamaica. During the war 1,000 people were killed, most of them by hired thugs belonging to the right-wing Jamaica Labor Party (JLP). Thousands more, residents of the shantytowns that encircle Kingston, the capital, had their homes burned by the JLP thugs. The national economy was left deeply indebted to foreign banks and there are shortages of most basic food items.

This war pitted the working class, the peasants and the social democratic People's National Party (PNP) against the Jamaican bourgeoisie, the JLP, CIA and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In a scenario distressingly similar to the overthrow of the Chilean government in 1973, the Jamaican bourgeoisie, the CIA and the IMF destabilized the country's political life, brought its economy to the brink of collapse and thus gave the JLP an electoral victory on October 30th.

For eight years Jamaica has been a thorn in imperialism's side. Under Michael

Manley, head of the People's National Party and Jamaica's Prime Minister from 1972 until last October 30th, the Jamaican government was an outspoken promoter of a new international economic order to break the economic chains of neocolonialism, an active supporter of the national liberation movements of southern Africa, the Cuban, Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions.

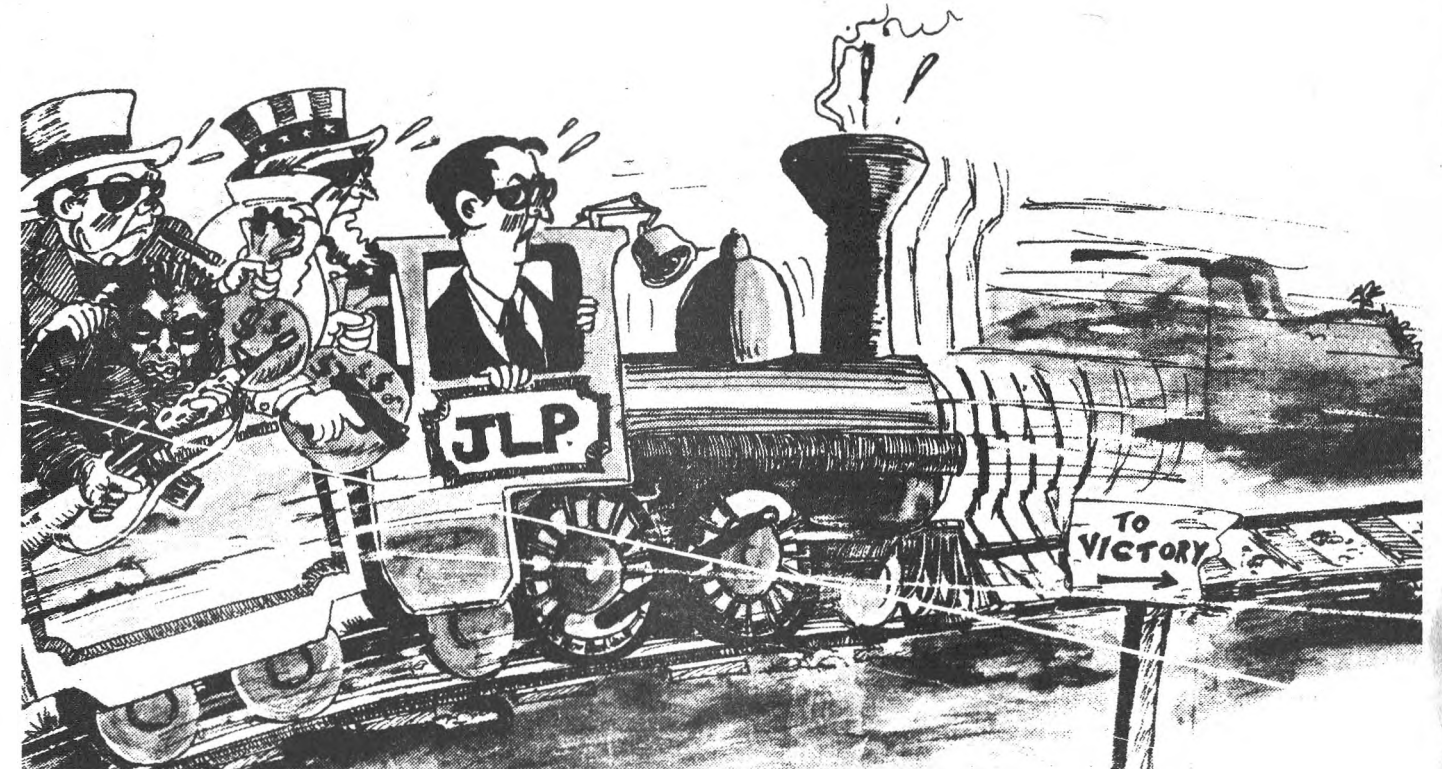
Both the Nixon and Carter administrations invested heavily in time and resources to undermine Manley's government and return Jamaica to imperialism's flock of docile dependent neocolonies. The principal weapons used against the Manley government were the IMF and the CIA.

The Development of Dependency

Jamaica achieved its independence from British colonialism in 1962. As all other countries who have suffered under colonialism and neocolonialism, Jamaica's economy emerged in '62 heavily dependent

on imperialism. For centuries it had produced sugar for Europe and the United States and had imported its manufactured goods from these same markets. To break this dependency the first governments of Jamaica set out to industrialize the island's economy. This further increased the country's dependency on European and North American imperialism: previously it had depended on the markets of the metropolis to sell its sugar and its economy's health was determined by the price fluctuations of sugar; after industrialization, the island's economy depends on foreign corporations and governments, mainly the U.S. and England, for raw materials, technology, expertise and the sale of its final products. Jamaica's industrialization tied it closer to the economic structures of the U.S. and England.

The economic turmoil which buffeted the world capitalist system in the 70's logically affected Jamaica's economy gravely. The first blow was the devaluation of the U.S. dollar in the early 70s. Since Jamaica's cur-



Terrorism, slanderous propaganda, and U.S. backing gave the JLP the elections.

INTERNATIONAL

rency was pegged to the dollar it was devalued automatically each time the dollar was devalued. A devaluation meant that Jamaica had to pay much more for the raw materials and technology for its dependent industry. The second blow was the inflation which began to grip the world capitalist economy. The price of wheat, a staple food, tripled between '72 and '73 as did the price of most other grains. This increase in food prices was shortly followed by a doubling in oil prices. Subsequent blows came in '75 and '76. Sugar prices in the world market fell almost by a third. The coordination of attacks by the Jamaica Labor Party on supporters of the People's National Party with a CIA-orchestrated propaganda campaign exaggerating the violence on the island led to a fall in tourism, a major earner of foreign exchange. With a large and growing deficit and a host of social programs to complete the Manley government began to look for loans.

The IMF Tightens the Screws

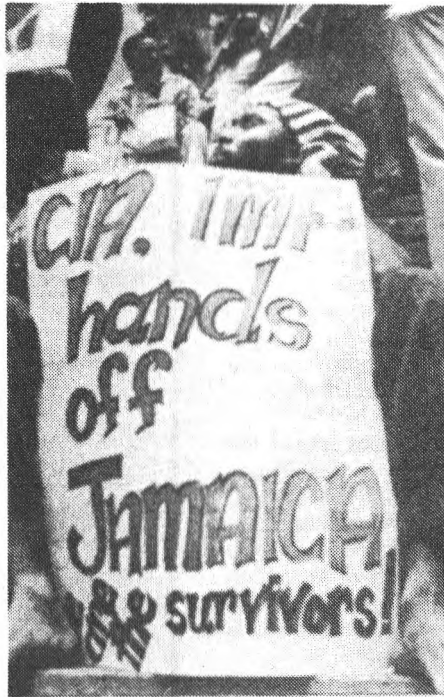
The initial conversations with the IMF led the Jamaican government to reject the IMF's conditions for a loan. At that time Manley stated, "We are not for sale." But the growing deficit forced the Manley government to accept the IMF's terms several months later. The terms were harsh and drastic: a 40% devaluation of the Jamaican dollar, wages were to be limited to a 15% increase, price controls on basic goods had to be removed, the private sector had to be guaranteed a rate of profit of 20% and a limit had to be set on government spending for social programs. In return, Jamaica received a loan for \$240 million dollars to be handed out in installments over a period of three years. During these three years Jamaica's economy had to meet standards set by the IMF or face a revocation of the agreement.

Because of its outspoken anti-imperialism, the Manley government received stricter conditions each time the IMF reviewed its case. At the insistence of the Nixon and Carter administrations, the U.S.-controlled IMF pushed the Manley government further and further into a corner. Each time it renegotiated its loan with the IMF, the Manley government was forced to cut back on its social programs—education, health and housing—and allow the price of basic goods to increase. Thus each round of negotiations resulted in a loss of popular support for Manley's PNP. Finally in March of this year, the Manley government decided to break with the IMF.

The decision was hailed as courageous by many countries within the Non-Aligned Movement. Many of these countries rushed to give material aid to show their solidarity with Jamaica and their opposition to the

IMF policies. But the move came too late to save the PNP at the polls, especially since the right-wing JLP and the CIA had done their utmost to exacerbate the island's economic troubles and place the blame for all the ills on the PNP.

Over the last year the CIA has had at least 15 agents in Jamaica, the largest grouping of agents in the Caribbean and third or fourth largest in all of Latin America. Acting in collusion with the JLP, it has carried out anti-PNP demonstrations, led food riots, spread rumors about Cuban infiltration of the government and plotted the military overthrow of the Manley government.



In early January of 1979 a newly formed party (a front for the JLP) led three days of demonstrations to protest the government's increase of gasoline prices. Hundreds of roads were blocked throughout the country and workers in the key bauxite industry were induced into a walkout. The three-day demonstrations left three policeman and two civilians dead. The National Security Minister wondered out loud how a newly formed organization could have coordinated a three day demonstration so effectively. The JLP leader, Edward Seaga, intrepidly responded, "The JLP is committed to bringing the Government to its knees. . ."

The *Gleaner*, a daily right-wing newspaper, was the chief source of disinformation used by the JLP and the CIA in their attacks on the PNP. One of the *Gleaner's* favorite topics was the "massive Cuban presence in Jamaica." Although the Cuban presence in Jamaica is made up of a few hundred doctors, teachers, nurses, construction workers and fishing instructors,

the *Gleaner* published many stories about thousands of Cubans roaming through the island. The activities of the Cuban diplomatic personnel were closely followed by *Gleaner* reporters and reported on in a conspiratorial tone.

On June 22 security forces loyal to the government thwarted a coup attempt by several dozen members of Jamaica's defense forces. The *Gleaner* quickly disassociated itself and the JLP from the coup attempt but stepped up its calls for the overthrow of the government: "In many other countries, somebody with a disciplined force of men behind him would have long ago taken the Government. . ."

Who is Edward Seaga?

Seaga, leader of the JLP, made several trips to Washington as part of his campaign. He is the owner of two companies which specialize in advising foreign corporations on lucrative investments in Jamaica. He is also a member of the advisory board to a private development bank operating throughout Latin America, owned by 200 of the largest corporations and banks in North America, Western Europe and Japan. Seaga, of course, is no stranger to U.S. intelligence agencies. A member of the U.S. National Security Council recently stated, "Seaga is one of our best intelligence sources."

Seaga's victory at the polls was gleefully greeted by Washington. Carter and Reagan spokesmen attempted to outdo each other in welcoming and praising the Seaga victory. The IMF responded with a pledge to reopen talks for a loan to Jamaica under less strict conditions and to encourage other private and government sources to extend credits to the new government.

Seaga's first public act was to expel the Cuban ambassador. He has pledged to return all industries that have been nationalized to private hands and to open the economy to foreign investment. On foreign policy, Seaga has stated that Jamaica will remain in the Non-Aligned Movement but will establish a "more balanced diplomacy." Repression of all opposition forces will be the order of the day. Several members of the Marxist-Leninist Worker's Party of Jamaica have already been arrested. It is known that several of Seaga's advisors want to bring Manley to trial on trumped-up charges of assassination for some of the deaths that occurred during the election campaign.

Jamaica has lost a war but it is not defeated. The local bourgeoisies, the CIA and the IMF could not stop the revolutions in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada. Today they are losing El Salvador. When the Jamaican working class and peasantry organize themselves in defense of their interests, then Jamaica will be ready to fight its decisive war. □

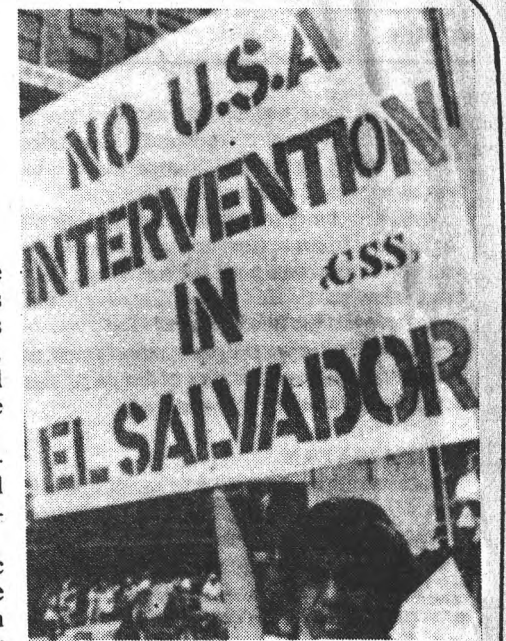
Salvadorean Junta Murders Front Leadership

At noon on November 27th, twenty-four people, including six members of the Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Democratic Front were kidnapped in El Salvador. This action was carried out by two hundred members of the Salvadorean army, and civilians belonging to the Anti-Communist Brigade-Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez. A day later, the bodies of the six leaders were found in different outlying roads of El Salvador's capitol city. The bullet-ridden bodies showed evidence of torture and strangulation. Some of the bodies were missing limbs.

The Revolutionary Democratic Front, a coalition of eighteen revolutionary and progressive organizations, has placed full responsibility for these murders on the government of El Salvador. The Front has selected its new leadership, and has pledged to continue the struggle for national liberation.

The Puerto Rican National Left Movement (MINP - El Comité) condemns this barbaric act of the U.S.-backed civilian-military junta. We share the sorrow and pain of the Salvadorean people for the loss of their leaders. Our sorrow and pain reaffirm our strength and support for the Salvadorean Revolution. This heavy blow to the people of El Salvador makes it imperative that forces in the U.S. demand, now more than ever: **No U.S. political or military intervention in El Salvador!**

New leaders are being forged; the wounds will heal; the Salvadorean people will continue to struggle until final victory.



Forces in the U.S. must demand, now more than ever: No U.S. political or military intervention in El Salvador!

Chile:

Interview with Secretary General of the MIR-Part II

"The Resistance arises because among workers, youth, militants of the left and other anti-dictatorial sectors, consciousness is growing that the people can only rely on their own strength to overthrow the dictatorship." This explanation was given by Andrés Pascal Allende, Secretary General of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) from Chile, in a recent interview conducted by the Resistance Information Agency, a newly formed unitary organization of the Chilean resistance movement. In the first half of the interview, published in our last issue of Obreros En Marcha, Andrés Pascal Allende spoke of the development of the Popular Resistance, the multiple forms of popular struggle, the strengthening of the resistance and the corresponding weakening of the dictatorship and how the popular political, social and armed struggle will culminate in an insurrection against the dictatorship. The following is the second half of the interview.

The MIR and the Popular Resistance

Q: With the MIR wrapped up in organizing the Popular Resistance, does it mean that it has disappeared as a political party?

A: No. The MIR continues to grow and strengthen itself as a political party, with its strategy and goals of proletarian revolution completely in force. But that does not contradict our conviction that the fundamental historical task of our people today is to unite all their forces to carry out the struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship, and to build in our country a democracy for all the people.

The Popular Resistance arose as an expression of this will to struggle and popular unity. Because of this the MIR has completely immersed itself in strengthening the Resistance. Nor are we the only ones doing this; in this broad and unitary movement that arose from the grassroots, there are many forces from other popular parties,

Christian sectors, people unaffiliated with any political party and mass organizations, all of which come together in the Popular Resistance and contribute to the development of the independent democratic struggle.

We are sure that when we overthrow the dictatorship and establish in Chile a democracy well protected by the people, it will be the people themselves who decide freely and by majority to continue advancing in the construction of their own socialism.

Christians and Masons

Q: What role do the Christians play in the anti-dictatorial struggle?

A: Christian beliefs have a very deep place among our people. Since the independence struggles during the last century, there has been a strong Christian tradition of popular, democratic, freedom loving and

progressive struggle. And today in the struggle against the dictatorship they are present with even more force than before. In fact, the lay people and priests are one of the most active sectors of the Popular Resistance. Besides having a strong influence in the Resistance, they are very combative.

Q: Are there Masons in the Resistance?

A: Certainly. There are Masons and radicals. Look, in the Resistance no one is asked what political party they belong to, or what philosophical or religious beliefs they have. They are only asked to be true to the independent democratic struggle of our people and to struggle actively against the dictatorship. Particular forms of struggle are not imposed on anybody. Everyone participates in the forms of struggle they choose and that they can best contribute to. There are those who contribute to the underground political struggle, while others participate in the open democratic and issue-oriented struggles. Others join the armed resistance.

Q: Do you believe the petty bourgeoisie, industrialists, businesspeople, and medium sized farmers have a place in the Resistance?

A: Although a broad sector of the medium sized and small business people initially supported the dictatorship, later they also suffered the consequences of the economic policies of the military government. They have seen that the dictatorship only favors greedy monopoly capital, while strangling and pushing into bankruptcy the small and medium sized businesses. Only by uniting with the rest of the people and contributing to the triumph of the Resistance can these sectors protect themselves against monopoly capital, which threatens to eliminate them completely as a productive social sector. With the establishment of a people's democracy, this sector will not only have guarantees for their development, but will be able to contribute to the progress of our people.

Q: And professionals and intellectuals?

A: This is a sector actively integrated into the Resistance. It's no secret to anyone that progressive intellectuals have always played an active role in the Chilean people's struggles. Under the dictatorship, they have been able to convert culture, art, freedom of thought, science and education into a first-class arm of democratic ideological struggle.

Unity and Political Alliances

Q: What concrete call would you make at this time to the parties of the Left and to the truly democratic forces within the Christian Democratic Party?

A: Until now, the greatest barrier to a higher level of unity among the anti-



"The fundamental task of our people is to unite to defeat the dictatorship."

dictatorial political parties, were the false expectations that some sectors of the Left held with respect to an alliance with the bourgeois opposition. But it now seems evident that there are no longer perspectives that such an alliance will come about. Even the truly democratic sectors of Christian Democracy are aware of the conciliatory policies toward the dictatorship by Frei and the right wing of their party. The only path left is the strengthening of the unity among the popular forces, for which we believe there is an adequate basis.

Q: What would be the minimum basis around which this unity could be built?

A: All of the parties of the left and truly democratic sectors of the Christian Democratic Party are fighting for the overthrow of the dictatorship and want to establish a broad, democratic, pluralistic government that guarantees the social and political rights of all the people.

All agree that after overthrowing the dictatorship, a provisional government should be established with the participation of the anti-dictatorial forces, and a democratically elected constituent assembly should be convened. This body would establish the institutional basis of a new democratic government. I think there are many concurrences with respect to the fundamental tasks of this democratic government. The

differences lie more in the forms of struggle against the dictatorship than in the goals of the struggle. But we also believe that in the forms of struggle there is enough agreement to enable greater coordination in our common actions, particularly in the areas of legal and semi-legal struggle, trade union work, neighborhood organizing, work among the youth and other popular sectors, as well as in the democratic work towards the armed forces. And if there are different opinions about the armed resistance, well . . . in that area there can be freedom of action for now, but I am sure the advances toward unity in other areas will permit us to make agreements about this aspect of the struggle in the future.

The conditions may not exist yet for the organizational establishment of a political front of all the anti-dictatorial forces, but a unity committee could be established with civic personalities who are respected by all political sectors and in which all are represented. That would be a large step forward, and our people would be excited to see all the anti-dictatorial forces joined in one civic front. The MIR, and I'm sure that all the sectors that work in the Resistance would give their loyalty and support to a front of this type, which unifies and gives greater power to the independent democratic struggle of our people. □