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PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico: Capitalist Colony and the Tasks of Marxist-Leninists

Linea Bolchevique

1898-1940 Beginning of the Epoch of U.S. Colonialism in Puerto Rico

The Spanish-American War marked a new epoch of colonialism in Puerto Rico, as it did in Santo Domingo, Cuba, Panama, and the Philippines. The sinking of the *Maine* provided the spark that the U.S. was looking for in order to dispute these territories with Spain. This war established the U.S. as a world imperialist power. The objective of U.S. imperialism was to colonize not only the Antilles and the Caribbean, but all of Latin America. Puerto Rico, because of its geographic position, had strategic importance for the U.S. for control of the Caribbean and construction of the Panama Canal.

On July 25, 1898, when the U.S. invaded at the Bay of Guanica, the economy of Puerto Rico was based on agriculture. Its three most important agricultural products were sugar, tobacco, and coffee, principally coffee. U.S. imperialism, upon acquiring Puerto Rico as its colony, developed the first capitalist enterprises around production based on these crops. The process of the penetration of Puerto Rico by U.S. imperialism confirms the analysis of the Communist International: "Only where manufacturing constitutes a very simple process (tobacco industry, sugar refineries, etc.) or where the expense of transporting raw material can be considerably decreased by the first stage of manufacture being performed on the spot, does the development of production in the colonies attain comparatively large dimensions. In any case, the capitalist enterprises created by the imperialists in the colonies (with the exception of a few enterprises established in case of military needs) are predominantly or exclusively of an agrarian-capitalist nature, and are distinguished by a low organic composition of capital. . . . This is the essence of its function of colonial enslavement. . . ." (Thesis on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and

Semi-Colonies, *Sixth Congress of the Communist International*, Sec. 12).

In the period of the beginning of this form of colonialism, there were landlords, small proprietors, poor peasants, day laborers, agricultural workers, a small class of artisans, and a small number of workers in manufacturing. The poor peasants were heavily exploited by the landlords, kept under remnants of semi-feudal relations. Their methods and implements were very primitive, there was a high percentage of unemployment, and 95% illiteracy. Their housing conditions were inadequate, exposing them to the most horrible illnesses.

As the landowners were a weak economic force, due to their indebtedness to the Spanish merchants, they were obliged to submit to the yoke of the big U.S. capitalist agricultural corporations. The small proprietors were forced to sell their lands. The poor peasants, day laborers and small proprietors were converted into rural workers, selling their labor power to the big U.S. corporations.

During the first two years of U.S. imperialist domination, from 1898 to 1900, there was a military regime. Later in 1900, the Foraker Law was passed, which changed the military regime to an American civil government, in which the Governor, the Cabinet, and the majority of the Senate, were appointed by the U.S. President. Between October 1898 and April 1900, commerce between Puerto Rico and the U.S. consisted of \$6.6 million of imports to Puerto Rico and \$4.1 million exported to the U.S. Commerce between Puerto Rico and other countries consisted of imports into Puerto Rico of \$9.4 million and exports to these various countries of a total of \$9.8 million. By the period 1900-1901, almost all commerce with other countries had been crushed. (*Labor Migration Under Capitalism, the Puerto Rican Experience*, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Monthly Review Press, p. 93).

This reaffirms the analysis made by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. "Another basic feature in the mutual relations between the capitalist states and the colonial countries is the endeavor of various monopolist groups of finance capital to monopolize the whole external trade of the separate colonial and semicolonial countries, and in this way to subordinate to their control and regulation all the channels which connect the colonial economy with the world market." (op., cit., Sec. 14)

This means that from the beginning the U.S. began to dominate the economy and monopolize trade. Thus it was that the agricultural economy changed its structure, with sugar coming to occupy first place, since almost all its production was exported to the U.S. markets. The reason was that it was cheaper to produce sugar in Puerto Rico than in any other country. Four big U.S. sugar corporations were established, which dominated industrialization of the country's sugar industry, and by means of this control, consolidated their domination over the country's economy.

We are not able to give concrete proof of the level of development of capitalism in agriculture in this period, for lack of concrete data as to heavy investments in agriculture and the number of agricultural workers in the sugar, tobacco, and coffee industries. The bourgeoisie does not provide such statistics, but instead provides data on number of acres, number of farms, and general percentages of the

labor force. For this reason, we will give only a brief statistical summary of the labor force in that period.

Table 1
Labor Force in 1898

Manufacturing (Cigars, Needlework)	10%
Agriculture	60%

On November 25, 1897, Spain had granted the Carta Autonómica, which granted autonomy under Spanish control. When the U.S. invasion took place, the landlord class divided into a pro-Spain group and a pro-U.S. group, which saw a market for their products opening up. As a consequence of U.S. monopoly capitalism, the pro-Spain landlords faced the danger of disappearing. In 1904, the Unionist Party arose, led by Muñoz Rivera, against U.S. imperialism, with the aim of establishing itself as the dominant class, to be able to be the ones to exploit the working class and peasantry. But it failed to unite all the landlords against U.S. imperialism and lowered its struggles to mere reforms, such as a better way of life. In 1917, when a general call for a plebiscite was made, Jose de Diego, delegate of the Unionist Party, declared that Puerto Ricans should be American citizens and should serve U.S. imperialism in World War I. Just one example of his collaborationist nature.

In 1899 the first Socialist Workers Party arose, led by Santiago Iglesias Pantin, based on the labor aristocracy and Unionists. It was converted into the island branch of the SWP of the U.S. and adopted the same program. In 1900 the Free Federation of Workers of Puerto Rico was founded by Iglesias Pantin. On December 6, Pantin, located in Brooklyn, presented a proposal to the American Federation of Labor to convert the FFWPR into a branch of the AFL. Samuel Compers designated Iglesias Pantin as his organizer in Puerto. These were direct agents of U.S. imperialism. Their aim was to corrupt the nascent workers' movement, which was beginning to create a consciousness of its class interests.

From 1900 to 1930, there were struggles against the colonial regime on the part of rural workers, which were a majority of all workers. At that time the industrial proletariat, born in the tobacco industry, was too weak to take a vanguard position and lead these struggles. Throughout all of Latin America in that period, thousands of workers and poor peasants rose up against U.S. imperialism. The bourgeoisie understood the danger and threat of a revolutionary movement throughout Latin America, and introduced the AFL all over to corrupt and deviate the workers and peasants from these struggles.

"The North American bourgeoisie understands the danger which threatens it, due to the revolutionary workers movement. That is why it attempts to control by any means the trade union movement in Latin America, carrying this out through the American Federation of Labor which is simply an auxiliary organ of the North American bourgeoisie. It is used to corrupt the working class of Latin America. The leaders of this organization are the direct agents of North American imperialism." (Intervention of the Latin American Delegation on Bukharin's Report, *Sixth Congress of Communist*

International, Edicion Cuadernos Pasado y Presente, segunda parte, p. 83, our translation).

In 1917, at the onset of World War I, the U.S. granted the Jones Law to Puerto Rico, which included new reforms such as a House of Representatives, the Senate, and U.S. citizenship, with the aim of drafting Puerto Ricans to serve as cannon fodder in World War I. They recruited 20,000 to serve in that war. From that war until 1935, agriculture declined to only 45% of the labor force. Sugar, which was the principal product, was reduced to 31.1% of the national income, while a slight increase of 12% took place in manufacturing. In 1915 there were 15,000 workers concentrated in the manufacture of cigars and in the needle trades. Between 1920 and 1930, women were predominant in the labor force in manufacturing.

Table 2
Employment by Industry
1910 to 1940 (In thousands)

Industrial Group	1910	1920	1930	1940
Tobacco	7	30	n.a.	18
Coffee	38	48	n.a.	26
Manufacturing	45	62	98	101
Commerce and transportation	35	35	57	74
Construction	8	9	13	16

(Labor Migration, p. 122)

This Table shows the decline of tobacco and coffee, while the sectors of manufacturing, commerce, transportation and construction continued to increase.

In the period from the invasion until 1920, the U.S. had intervened militarily in several Latin American countries, principally after World War I. It became one of the most powerful world powers. Its aim was to colonize all of Latin America, since this region is rich in raw materials, such as oil, all types of metals (of great importance for war industries), nitrates, etc. It has great agricultural wealth, such as rubber, cotton, cocoa, coffee, grains, meat, etc. In 1928, U.S. capital investment was 46% of all foreign capital in Latin America. This indicates the importance that Latin America had for the U.S. Its principal imperialist rival was British imperialism, with which it was in constant conflict to gain domination over this strategic position, particularly in the Caribbean and over the Panama Canal area.

By the time of the Depression, unemployment had increased to 37% of the labor force. By the last years of the 1930's, sugar, tobacco, coffee, and the manufacture of cigars and needlework had declined disastrously. It was during this time that the most significant strikes took place, those that were against the big U.S. sugar companies.

In April 1922, a nationalist assembly took place in Ponce, at which was adopted an agreement to organize the Nationalist Party. On September 17, it was established as a new party. The majority of its members came from the decaying *hacendado* (landlord) class, originating from the Unionist Party. It was not until 1924 that Pedro Albizu Campos resigned from the Unionist Party and entered the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico. In May of 1930 he was elected Presi-

dent of the Party. That decade was the most active for the Nationalists, and it was the one in which the Ponce Massacre took place. The Massacre was on March 21, 1937 (Palm Sunday) and resulted in dozens of deaths and hundreds of wounded. The order to fire was given by Gov. Winship, to prevent a march and rally that was planned by the Nationalists for the Plaza of Ponce. It resulted in intense unrest and anger among the masses throughout the country.*

On September 23, 1934, fourteen delegates from fourteen towns met in an assembly in Ponce and formed the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, led by Alberto Sanchez, Juan Santos Rivera, and several others. It was founded under the influence that the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union had in Puerto Rico. On August 20, 1935, it was admitted to the Communist International at the Seventh Congress.

"The Communist Party" — as expressed by the program of this Party of Puerto Rico — 'is the leader and organizer of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary workers movement for national emancipation. It struggles for the aims and principles of communism, for the winning and organization of the majority of the working class and of the sectors of landless peasants, indigent poor peasants, and middle peasants; for the constitution of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Puerto Rico and for the formation of the Soviet Socialist Federation of the Antilles; for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat; for the creation of the World Union of Soviet Republics'" (Cited in Pagan, Bolivar, *Historia de los Partidos Politicos Puertorriqueños*, p. 56, our translation).

Although it was not a mass party, it did become the communist section of Puerto Rico in the Comintern. It carried the Bolshevik line of the International, of leading the anti-imperialist, revolutionary workers movement for national liberation, toward the construction of a Socialist Republic of Puerto Rico, for the formation of the Soviet Socialist Federation of the Antilles, and for the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. This Party abandoned the ranks of the Communist International in 1940, due to the change in line made by its leaders who took the revisionist path. Later this Party degenerated into social chauvinism by the end of that decade and the beginning of the 1940's. The reason was the "New Deal" of Roosevelt, which brought certain economic reforms. This Party, following the line of the Communist Party of the United States of America, betrayed the class struggle of the workers and made a call to the working class to support Roosevelt and the U.S. Democratic Party, to help the bourgeoisie get out of its crisis. The CPUSA united with the Democratic Party and the C.P. of Puerto Rico, together with the Popular Democratic Party (of Puerto Rico) to help to consolidate the positions of the imperialist bourgeoisie in Puerto Rico.

At the beginning of the epoch of U.S. colonialism,

*In certain studies which we have carried out on the Nationalist Party, we have stumbled upon certain similarities with the Italian fascists of Mussolini. For example, similar uniforms of the Cadets, the slogan "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," the same star on their flag. In a future edition of *Linea Bolchevique* we will undertake a more complete analysis of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party.

at the beginning of the 20th century, Puerto Rico was a completely agricultural country. We have seen how, in 40 years, the process of converting Puerto Rico to a capitalist colony was already in operation. By 1935, in fact, it was not possible to speak of an alliance with the national bourgeoisie and rich peasants. This is clear in the program of the Communist Party, when they say: "For the winning and organization of the majority of the working class and of the sectors of landless peasants, indigent poor peasants, and middle peasants." (Pagan, loc. cit.)

Situation from 1940 to 1950

From the period of 1940 and the Second World War, U.S. imperialism, in order to assure its colonial reserves, reinforced its military positions throughout all the Caribbean and Latin America. It sought to strengthen its position to ensure control of the Panama Canal. This control assured the maritime routes of the oil tankers headed for the Eastern and Southern coasts of the U.S., as well as all commercial and military shipping. This gave North American imperialism the possibility of reuniting the Atlantic and Pacific fleets in one naval unit.

U.S. imperialism constructed new military bases in Puerto Rico, both air and naval bases, and drafted thousands of Puerto Ricans into military service. In exchange, the U.S. flooded the colonial government with millions of dollars, which increased the bank deposits by \$222 million in only five years (from 1941 to 1946). (Pagan, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 394).

This represented the bribery of the local bourgeoisie in Puerto Rico. With this the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie assured the loyal service of the colonial government, which was on the upswing, through the Popular Democratic Party (PDP). While all this money ran through the hands of the sold-out bourgeoisie, the peasants found themselves ruined, and the working class faced unemployment and terrible inflation.

There has never been in Puerto Rico a bourgeoisie that has led a struggle for national liberation. From the *hacendados* to today, it has served either the Spanish conquerors or the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the years of the 1930's had reflected a decade of discontent on the part of the peasant and worker masses. It was the epoch of the Great Depression, in which the great sugar strikes took place, directed against the big U.S. monopoly companies, and in which the Ponce Massacre shook public opinion against the colonial regime. For all these reasons, imperialism was forced to pass certain democratic reforms, to try to calm and put an end to the opposition of the broad and discontented worker and peasant masses.

The instrument utilized by the U.S. to achieve this objective was the Popular Democratic Party with its leader, Luis Muñoz Marín, and its broad program of agrarian and democratic reforms.

"Operation Bootstrap" (plan for industrialization) was in the plans of the imperialists already by the end of the 1930's, but it was not carried out openly until 1947, when the Industrial Incentives Law passed. This law covered not only a tax exemption of

10 to 17 years, but also exemption from individual taxes for the entrepreneurs.

This law was amended in 1954 and 1963, to give even more benefits for the entrepreneurs. Before proceeding to explain the process of industrialization, we would like to show a brief table of the concentration of land and key economic characteristics of conditions in 1940.

Table 3
Concentration of Land — 1940

Size of Farms	% of Farms	Value
Less than 20 acres	73.2	12.0%
More than 500 acres	.6	42.8%

(Curet Cuevas, *Desarrollo Economico de Puerto Rico: 1940-1972*, p. 39)

The local bourgeoisie was weak. It was concentrated mainly in light industry. But with U.S. imperialism building the gigantic naval base at Roosevelt Roads, and with the necessity of having a supplier of cement nearby, a loan was granted to the Ferre family to establish Ponce Cement. They later acquired several government-owned industries by means of a multi-million dollar loan from Chase Manhattan Bank. These government-owned industries were Puerto Rico Cement, glass, footwear, etc. Certain *hacendados* controlled a minimal percentage of the land, but the majority was in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The peasantry began to disappear. Many were immigrating to the cities and becoming integrated into the ranks of agricultural workers. In the process of capitalist industrial development, the peasantry is a class that inevitably disappears.

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product." (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, FLP, p. 46)

In this period, the working class was mainly in the agricultural sector, concentrated in the sugar refineries, in the tobacco industry, and in sewing. The industrial worker began to be born.

Table 4
Economic Characteristics 1940-1941

	Agriculture	Manufacturing
Labor Force	52.1%	10.4%
Sugar		(53.9%)
Coffee		(11.1%)
Tobacco		(7.9%)
Net Income	31.1%	12.0%
Sugar		(51.0%)

(Curet Cuevas, *Desarrollo Economico de Puerto Rico*, p. 39)

Toward Industrialization

(This process can be divided into three phases.)

First Phase

The first phase of development covers the decade of the 1940's, precisely beginning in 1942. This period was one of experimentation by the bourgeoisie with different alternatives, methods, and instruments. This was the period in which the basis of the infrastructure was established (highways, communication, telephones, water system, port construction, etc.)

U.S. imperialism began to build all these facilities for the benefit of its military forces and to assure its pillage of raw materials. Once more the Sixth Congress of the Comintern teaches us that: "In general, imported capital is concentrated in the colonies almost exclusively for the extraction and supply of raw materials, or for the first stages of their utilization. Exported capital is used also for extending the system of communications, (railways, ship-building, harbour works, etc.), thus facilitating the transport of raw material and binding the colonies more closely to the metropolis." (op. cit. Sec. 14)

These were the years of industries which used the local resources, materials, and products. The government set up five plants, which used limestone, sand, silica, clay, and waste paper. Among these were the plants bought by Ferre later or in the 1950's. Other enterprises in this first phase were involved in the elaboration of agricultural products: sugar, honey, tobacco, wool, fruit, etc.

The plans of the first phase aimed for the development of local industry and the mechanization of agriculture. But with the rise of the second phase, and particularly the third, these plans were eliminated.

Second Phase

The second phase of industrial development in Puerto Rico took place in the decade of the 1950's. As a result of the Industrial Incentive Law and the tax exemptions, the major portion of the monopolist enterprises that were set up in that decade were light industry, labor-intensive, and oriented to cheap labor. In this phase, the most important industries that arose were textiles, garment, electrical, and electronic products. They involved the elaboration of materials imported from the U.S. and later exported back, and they used relatively simple machinery. Foreign capital investments in 1947 were \$28.8 million. In 1960 they had gone up to \$227.5 million (*Desarrollo Economico*, p. 282).

This indicates that as more capital is invested by imperialism in the colonies and semi-colonies, industrialization develops more, and along with it, colonization develops more, as well. This confirms what was said at the Sixth Congress about the industrialization of Latin America: "On the contrary, as more capital is invested in Latin America by imperialism, industrialization develops more, and with it the colonization of these countries is also developed more." ("On the Countries of Latin America," intervention by Jules Humbert-Droz, op. cit., p. 309, our translation).

By the decade of the 1960's, the Administration of

Economic Development (Fomento) controlled only 10% of the investments. While 31% of national income in 1940 came from agriculture, by 1960 that part had diminished to 5%. (*Labor Migration*, op. cit., p. 128).

In 1950, the population increased to 1,289,000, and the labor force in agriculture went down to 210,000. This represented a loss of 20,000 jobs in less than 10 years. By 1960, there were 80,000 jobs lost in agriculture, and there was an increase to 18,200 in manufacturing. But this increase did not cover the jobs lost in agriculture.

Table 5

Decline of Agricultural Development

Labor Force 1950-65

Agriculture (per cent)	1940	1950	1960	1965
	45	33	25	20

Table 6

Concentration of Cultivated Lands

	1940	1969
Acres Cultivated	740,000	362,622

Table 7

Quantity of Agricultural Workers Employed in Agriculture and Manufacture (e.g. Sugar Refineries)

	1940	1965
Agriculture	124,000	32,000
Manufacturing	20,000	7,000

Emigration in the 1950's

Massive emigration toward the U.S. began in the decade of the 1950's, when the total population was 2,210,703. About 583,000 people emigrated then. The unemployment rate, which was at 16%, stayed at 12%, and never went lower than 10%. Salaries went up from 29% to 40% of the average U.S. salaries. This emigration was brought about with the supposed purpose of reducing the population and the high unemployment rate. But it served really to reduce the increase of political pressure, which might have been able to culminate in a massive rebellion against U.S. imperialism.

Parties and Political Movements 1940-1950

With the political changes that began to arise by the 1940's, the PDP already held the majority in the Senate and the House of Representatives, with Mufioz Marin as President of the Senate. But the incessant clamor against the colonial system continued, as a demand for a greater measure of self-government and a final solution to the question of political status. To calm and to group the masses, the PDP introduced a broad program of agrarian reforms,

limiting the land holdings to no more than 500 acres, promising aid to the poor peasants, more democratic rights, and that independence was just around the corner, etc. But already by July 1946, Muñoz Marin took a position against independence, saying that Puerto Rico needed 14 or more years to resolve the economic problems of the people. This resulted in a split in the ranks of the PDP, which occasioned the formation of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) on October 20, 1946.

While this was taking place, U.S. President Harry Truman, taking advantage of the period in which the United Nations was structured and on its way, when the old colonies of Asia and Africa were passing from the status of colony to that of semi-colony, decided to use Puerto Rico as a "showcase" of democracy in the Caribbean. He used it as an example for Latin America, trying to fool the broad peasant and worker masses of Latin America about the "great" "democratic" system. On July 25, 1946, he named Jesus T. Pinero (then Resident Commissioner under the PDP) as the first Puerto Rican governor named by the U.S. colonial government. When the U.S. was assured that Muñoz Marin would serve its interests with loyalty and fidelity, they approved the law (H.R. 3309) which conceded to Puerto Ricans the right to elect the Governor — this took place in 1947. Later, openly opposing independence, Muñoz Marin began to elaborate the formula of the Free Associated State (Commonwealth), permanently associated with the U.S. In the November 1948 elections, he was the first to be elected as Governor of Puerto Rico. All these steps were taken toward the aim of annexation of Puerto Rico to the U.S.

The Nationalist Party resumed its activities, after its leader, Albizu Campos, returned from completing a ten year sentence for conspiracy in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, in the 1940's.

In 1950, in a final desperate attempt to achieve national liberation, the Nationalist Party carried out simultaneous terrorist actions, isolated from the masses, in various parts of the country. The confrontation with the police, assaults on police stations, the seizing of the police station in Jayuya, and including an attack on La Fortaleza on October 30, all resulted in about 25 Nationalists dead. The following day, they continued their attacks, through actions by Nationalists located in New York. They attacked Blair House, where President Truman was residing. Four years later, in 1954, still another attempt in the form of the attack on the U.S. House of Representatives. These actions were the useless desperate attempts of the petty bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party of Puerto Rico, after its treason to the international proletariat, in its first assembly in 1940, changed its program to one of electoral reforms for the elections of that year, and made a call for a "People's Democratic Front" with the PDP (bourgeois party). In 1944 in another assembly, it was proposed by the revisionists Alberto Sanchez and Juan Santos Rivera, to dissolve the Party. It was then dissolved, following the same revisionist line as Browder in the CPUSA. By 1946, the Party was reorganized under the leadership of Cesar Andreu Iglesias. By the elections of 1948 and 1952, it made a call to its members and affiliates to vote for PIP. After removing Andreu Iglesias in 1954, they named another revisionist, Ramon Mirabal, as the new leader. They decided to sign up this insignificant Party

for the 1956 elections, to run independent candidates for Senator and Representative, using their new slogan of "against colonialism, for independence and peace." This demonstrates the decayed pacifist line that this Party had engendered, defending the interests of bourgeois nationalists. After these elections, this Party was practically non-existent.

Present Situation — Capitalist Colony

Third Phase of Industrialization

The upsurge of the third phase of industrialization took place in the decade of the 1960's, and even into the 70's. It is concentrated in heavy industry. This phase covers the petrochemical, chemical, and metal industries. It is a change in emphasis from light industry to heavy industry, from labor intensive methods of production to capital intensive methods. The first refinery plant which was set up in Puerto Rico was Gulf, otherwise known as Caribbean Gulf Refining Corporation, in 1955. In 1956 Commonwealth Oil Refining Co. (CORCO) was set up. After these came Union Carbide in 1956, the first petrochemical industry, producing ethylene glycol. Since then a large number of U.S. petrochemical monopolies, independently or in joint ventures, have established plants for production of a large quantity of petrochemical products. Among these are the following:

- Philips Petroleum
- Hooker Chemical
- Hercules, Inc.
- W.R. Grace Co.
- PPG Industries
- Royal Dutch Shell
- Sun Oil

and others. By 1972, the investments of CORCO were estimated to be \$350 million, and those of Union Carbide at \$411.5 million. The total of investment in this industry by 1972 was \$1.2 billion, going up to \$1.6 billion by 1976 and to around \$3 billion by 1980. This is a capital intensive industry, technologically very advanced, requiring few employees. Its labor force is highly paid, and highly skilled, such as technicians, engineers, etc. To give a brief example of the few employees utilized in these industries — the 7,700 employees before the June 1974 recession were reduced to 4,800 by August 1975. The direction in which this industry is moving in Puerto Rico is that of establishing a chain of plants, based on petrochemicals: for example, products such as synthetic rubber, synthetic tires, plastics, and paints. The chain consists of the refinery which produces the raw material, the plant which produces, for example, plastic made from the raw material, and the plant that produces plastic tubing or plastic sheets, as a final product. A good example of this industrial chain of production of raw material and the final product here in Puerto Rico is the PPG Industries, Rico Chemicals, and Vassallo Plastics, which represents the first chain of this type (see *Journal of Commerce*, May 12, 1975, p. 208).

To demonstrate the very high level of capital investment by the U.S. in this sector, it is estimated that by 1980 (today) the investments in refineries and

related petrochemicals, would reach the extraordinary sum of \$3 billion. (*Journal of Commerce*, loc. cit.)

To demonstrate further the nature of the investments in this industry, in 1974-75 there was a joint venture between CORCO, with 10% of the stocks, and two Japanese companies, which were Mitsubishi Corp. of Tokyo with 40% of the stocks and Nippon Zeon Co. with 50%.

This level of investments demonstrates the economic importance of this sector for the monopolies. It also demonstrates the level of integration of the Puerto Rican economy with that of the U.S. Puerto Rico is not a producer of oil. It receives the oil from Venezuela and other countries, refines it, and sends it to the U.S. Other evidence of how imperialism establishes in the colonies the type of industry that serves its own interests, is that CORCO supplies a substantial quantity of raw material to the U.S. chemical industry.

Another heavy industry that is being developed is the steel and metallurgy industry, which makes steel sheets, by hot and cold processes. These sheets are not only used in automobile assemblies and appliances for the home, but also provide the basis to construct a shipyard, a place to build and repair ships, particularly, war ships (*El Desarrollo Economico de Puerto Rico, una Estrategia para la Proxima Decada*, p. 30).

Another proof of the Comintern analysis: "Only under the pressure of special circumstances may the bourgeoisie of the imperialist states find itself compelled to cooperate in the development of big industry in the colonies. Thus, for example, requirements for preparation or conduct of war may, to a limited extent, lead to the creation of various enterprises in engineering and chemical industry in certain of the most strategically important colonies. . . . With the object of buying up definite strata of the bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, especially in periods of a rising revolutionary movement, the metropolis may, to a certain degree, weaken its economic pressure." (Thesis, op. cit., Sec. 15)

The increase of petrochemical, chemical, steel and metallurgy industries, serves not only the economic interests of the imperialists. It also serves the continuing war preparations which the U.S. is increasing against the Russian imperialist bloc. The Russian bloc is carrying out the same preparations, for a new redivision of the colonies and semi-colonies. These industries are of the highest importance for military industrial production. With today's world situation, and the inevitable danger of the outbreak of a world imperialist war, the U.S. has been pressured and forced to promote and develop this large industry in Puerto Rico. Strategically, also, Puerto Rico is of the highest importance for the U.S. in the Western Hemisphere.

Other Industrial Sectors

Other industries being developed are modern light industries: machinery, electrical appliances, electrical and electronic parts and pieces. Many are highly technological, such as tools, electronics, computers, scientific instruments, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, although several of the latter are already established.

Revealing the level of U.S. economic domination of Puerto Rico, there are over 70 of the most important U.S. monopolies set up there with 2 or more plants, and a total of 100 of the 500 biggest U.S. monopolies represented.

A Brief List of Some

ITT (which says it was born in Puerto Rico)

Electronics Industries	Total Plants
General Electric Co.	9
Westinghouse	5
R.C.A.	2

Companies with Principal Plants

Baxter Laboratories	10
Cluett, Peabody Co.	8
Consolidated Cigar Corp. (Gulf and Western)	9
Kayser Roth	14
Warnaco	7

Pharmaceutical Chemical Companies with Two Plants

Abbot Laboratories
Air Products and Chemicals
Bristol Myers
Eli Lilly
Merck
Searle
Smith, Kline, & French
Squibb
Sterling Drug
Warner Lambert
DuPont

(Oil and petrochemical companies with multiple plants are mentioned in the beginning of this section.)

The U.S. controls 90% of the total investments in the country, and 80% of the foreign commerce, revealing once again the level of domination. The imperialists have made Puerto Rico into a subdivision of the U.S. economy.

"The imperialist colonial regime is essentially based not only on economic pressure but also on the extraeconomic compulsion of the monopoly of the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries in the corresponding dependent countries. This monopoly, however, expresses itself in two basic functions: on the one hand it serves the purpose of merciless exploitation of the colony (various forms of immediate and indirect exaction of tribute, superprofits in connection with the sale of its own industrial goods, with the obtaining of cheap raw material for its own industry and with the utilisation of very cheap labor power, etc.); on the other hand the imperialist monopoly serves for the preservation and development of the conditions of its own existence, the functions of enslavement of the colonial masses.

"In its function as colonial exploiter, the ruling imperialism in relation to the colonial country acts primarily as a parasite sucking the blood from the economic organism of the latter." (Sixth Congress, Thesis, op. cit., Sec. 11)

Confirming this analysis, a great proportion of workers are still concentrated in textile and clothing industries. By March 1980, of the labor force of 997,000 people, some 33.3% are concentrated in

these light industries, labor intensive and with low pay. These still predominate in Puerto Rico today. Although light industry still dominates, the plans of the imperialists are to convert Puerto Rico into a reserve of petrochemicals and chemicals. Light industries needed by the imperialists are being concentrated in Santo Domingo and Haiti to make use of cheap labor.

Activities of Rockefeller and His Stepson, Ferre

Through all these phases of industrialization, the Rockefeller family has been involved in the financing of key enterprises. Chase Manhattan Bank has been one of the two commercial U.S. banks controlling the finances of Puerto Rico (the other is First National City Bank. Also there are two Canadian banks, Royal Bank of Canada, and Bank of Nova Scotia) (Curet Cuevas, *Desarrollo Economico*, p. 302). Today Chase Manhattan, Morgan Guaranty Trust, and Banco Popular of Puerto Rico, all of which belong to members of the Rockefeller network, were members of the group that sold \$300 million of Puerto Rico bonds. These bonds are completely free of any form of tax — federal, local, state — and are guaranteed by the Constitution of Puerto Rico. For that reason they provide tremendous superprofits (*Business Review*, May 1980).

The connections of the Rockefeller and Ferre families (the Ferre's control the Banco Popular, as well as the other two principal Puerto Rican banks) go back to the years after World War II. The Ferre's, who had set up their cement enterprises with a federal loan, received a loan from the Rockefellers in 1950 to buy the Fomento enterprises (previously mentioned). This fit in with the Rockefeller plans to put an end to the public sector and open the door to private investment. They praised the tax exemption law and the development of the heavy industry sector, in which they play a key role. They said: "Although light industries still dominate the industrial scene in Puerto Rico, the most dynamic industries are metallurgical, chemical, and the most capital-intensive branches of the electronic industry." 11 (Chase Manhattan Bank Report, 1967, quoted in Curet Cuevas, *Desarrollo Economico*, op. cit. p. 233, our translation).

Since 1940, when Nelson Rockefeller recommended to President Roosevelt that the U.S. strengthen its position in Latin America, the Rockefeller interests have been well represented in the planning for "Operation Bootstrap," culminating in the third phase.

Undoubtedly using Ferre cement, the Rockefeller built and sold 14,000 houses in the 1950's, many for the technicians and engineers who work in heavy industry. They are also owners of the Dorado Hilton Hotel, and 1500 acres in Dorado Estates (their private town).

They are now influencing the establishment of closer commercial relations between Puerto Rico and Venezuela, particularly in petrochemicals. In 1979 exports to Venezuela reached \$85 million. It is well known that the Rockefellers have great economic interests in Venezuela, principally in oil (*Business Week*, May 1980). The collaboration between bourgeois elements like the Ferre family and the imperialists is clear to see. They owe their very existence to the imperialists. It is evident that the

Rockefeller group in particular plays a strong role in maintaining the subjugation of Puerto Rico.

Capitalist Agriculture

Agriculture in Puerto Rico was never mechanized to the capitalist industrial level. The majority of farms based their production on human labor, on one crop, because the majority were small and continued that way until the present. The machinery used on the farms in 1940 remained relatively the same until the present. The next Table points out the low level of machinery used in agriculture.

Table 8

Types of Equipment	Numbers	%	Total of Farms
Trucks	1106		2.0
Tractors	723		1.3
Electric machines & Motors	1729		3.1

(Curet Cuevas, op. cit., p. 42)

The employment level in agriculture was reduced from 200,000 in 1950 to 62,000 in 1972. The value of the traditional principal crops — sugar, coffee, tobacco — was reduced (even at levels of 1972 prices) from \$118 million in 1950 to \$55 million in 1972. This signifies that these three agricultural activities lost all their economic importance and are in the process of disappearing (*ibid.*, p. 141). Agriculture, which was the principal source of income for the majority of the people in the 1950's to 1960, today provides only 4% of net national income.

In 1950 there were approximately 220,000 persons employed in agriculture, almost one third of the labor force (*Plan Estrategico*, p. 87), with 40% of these (about 80,000) employed in the sugar industry. This percentage of the labor force in agriculture was reduced to an almost insignificant number in the decade of the 1970's, less than 3%.

One example of the simultaneous reduction is the land cultivated in sugar. Approximately 122,000 acres of sugar were harvested. This equals one third of that harvested in the 1950's.

Demonstrating the impoverishment of the peasantry, and the ruin of agriculture, a large part of farmers today earn less than \$5000 per year per family. With the destruction of agriculture (which was part of the industrialization plan of "Operation Bootstrap"), unemployment has risen barbarously to a permanently high level. The government, to try to control the high percentage of unemployment, has plans to develop a system of family farms, placing about 20 farms in "production complexes" with certain implements, which the government will supply for the use of each "complex." Only one person per family will receive a minimum salary, while the women and children will work for free (*Plan Estrategico*, p. 87). They also have plans for the immense majority of the youth, to develop cooperatives located in the rural areas, involving them in a series of productive programs around forestry, agriculture, and light manufacturing. (This has certain obvious similarities to the Civilian Conservation Corps, the CCC, program which was developed during the New Deal in the U.S., responding to the critical level of

unemployment. This took place in the 1930's, in the years of the Depression that wracked all the capitalist countries) (*Plan Estrategico*, p. 126).

Social Conditions, Poverty and Unemployment

In Puerto Rico, the food prices go up more rapidly than in the U.S. One example of this is sugar. Although Puerto Rico produces sugar, working people in Puerto Rico have to pay seven cents more per pound than the New York price. In 1977, the people of Puerto Rico paid \$100 million more for sugar over the U.S. price level that year.

About 70% of the population of Puerto Rico receives food stamps. (*Economic Study of Puerto Rico*, U.S. Government publication, p. 309).

By 1976 around 25% of housing was inadequate. In the rural areas, sewage systems are practically non-existent. In total 76% of the rural families are without such systems. For this reason, the rural families have been forced (those who can) to build septic tanks where the sewage stagnates and little by little penetrates the earth, with the danger of contaminating wells and streams. Eleven percent of the inhabitants still depend on these waters.

In 1976, 40% of rural families had an annual income less than \$4000. Official unemployment in 1977 was 19.9%, and going up by the minute (*Economic Study*). This demonstrates that unemployment was three times higher than in the U.S.

The labor force in 1978 was 768,000, going up to 997,000 by March 1980, with more workers entering the ranks of the unemployed. We are citing figures on the unemployment situation in various industries in 1978, conscious that these figures have gone up.

Table 9
Unemployment Level 1978

Manufacturing	21.2%
Construction	48.6%
Agriculture	46.8%

Other calculations cite a figure of 50%, including both unemployed and underemployed (*Laber Migration*, op. cit. p. 140).

Conditions are inadequate in public hospitals, with a lack of medical attention and necessary equipment. Even today there are towns in various parts of the country still without public hospitals. Workers have to travel a long way to get medical attention. Many arrive dead, due to the deficiencies in public ambulance services.

Preparation of Imperialist War in Puerto Rico — Vieques

Certain steps in this direction are being taken in Puerto Rico. The large capital investments by U.S. monopolies in the heavy industries of petrochemical, chemical, and metallurgy, are a large part of these preparations. Amertex Enterprises, recently established in Humacao, which manufactures military uniforms and special clothing for chemical warfare, is another indication of the preparations. (*Business Review*, p. 16)

The broad television promotion to join the U.S.

Army, the registration of youths of 19 and 20 declared by Carter, the amendment to the bail law under a mask of anti-criminality, the restriction of the right to vote through forcing voters to be photographed for an identification card, are all measures to secure the positions of U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico and to reinforce its military strength. Thirteen percent of the territory of Puerto Rico is utilized for military training and bases. The command center of training facilities for the Atlantic Armed Fleet is located at Roosevelt Roads (on the east coast of Fajardo), the largest U.S. imperialist base in the world, in terms of physical size. Not only the naval forces of the U.S. use these facilities. They are also used for the naval forces of NATO and its allies in South America (such as Argentina, Venezuela, Santo Domingo, and Brazil).

They carry out joint or individual practice in a zone in the south of Puerto Rico which covers an area of open sea of about 200 square miles. It is only 8 miles from Roosevelt Roads to Vieques, which facilitates the practice and training of the American Navy in disembarking amphibious vehicles, and support for naval bombardment. They call this "war games," but the truth is that these are intensive preparations for a real imperialist war.

This analysis confirms that the last decades of economic development have resulted in Puerto Rico becoming a capitalist colony, at a relatively high level. But this industrial development has not led Puerto Rico toward independence. On the contrary, under imperialism this has led to strangulation of the nation and suffering for the masses.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist International says, "The export of capital to the colonies hastens the development in them of capitalist relations. A portion of the exported capital, dispatched to the colony for productive purposes, does in part conduce to an acceleration of industrial development; by no means, however, in the direction of independence, but rather in a direction which strengthens the dependence of colonial economy on the finance capital of the imperialist country." (Thesis, Sec. 14)

Conclusion

This socio-economic, historical analysis of the concrete conditions of Puerto Rico has been necessary in order to be able to determine the concrete tasks of the Puerto Rican proletariat. We take it as our starting point, to arrive at the conclusion that Puerto Rico is a capitalist colony. Under the colonial regime of the PDP a certain level of agrarian and democratic tasks were completed (even to the point of destroying agricultural development and the peasantry as a class), from universal suffrage to freedom of speech. The only exception is political independence. The purpose of this was to use Puerto Rico as a model in Latin America and other colonial and semi-colonial countries. The U.S. utilizes Puerto Rico to spread the influence of the "democratic marvels" of imperialism, and to assure its political, military, and economic domination. This is also due to the fear of losing Puerto Rico, fear of a revolution, inspired by the Cuban Revolution of 1959.

It is not possible to achieve more democratic rights under capitalism. To complete them the only thing lacking is proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and a Soviet government.

Only the proletariat will be capable of leading this struggle, since it is obvious that the national bourgeoisie is at the feet of the imperialist bourgeoisie; and the petty bourgeoisie is vacillating between imperialism, the national bourgeoisie, and the working class. Based on the analysis of concrete conditions in Puerto Rico, although it is a colony, what is needed is a one-stage revolution. On the other hand, for example, the Ivory Coast in Africa needs a two-stage revolution of a democratic character, with a dictatorship of workers and peasantry. This is based on an analysis of its concrete conditions, with a supposed political independence, and without having accomplished the democratic and agrarian tasks. We use this as an example to reveal the counter-revolutionary nature of Mao Zedong and his dogmatic theory of carrying out a two-stage revolution in all countries of the "third world." What "New Democracy" means is an alliance of the national bourgeoisie, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and the workers, for a dictatorship of all the "revolutionary classes." This denies the necessity to destroy the bourgeoisie. It negates the hegemony of the proletariat, the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Following the Leninist-Stalinist line and the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, we understand that only Bolshevism gives the capacity to analyze historical development and the particularities of the proletarian revolution in Puerto Rico.

Several parties exist today in Puerto Rico. These represent the different international opportunist trends. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), social chauvinists, seek a two-stage revolution. They call for a first stage of "national independence," and later "socialism," negating the specific concrete realities of the country. Their methods are electoral.

They deceive the workers with the illusion of depending on bourgeois, semi-colonial resolutions formulated by the capitalist and imperialist countries of the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations. But all Bolsheviks know that this is nothing more than trickery, treason to the working class, and we affirm the teachings of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern that:

"All the chatter of the imperialists and their lackeys about the policy of decolonization being carried through by the imperialist powers, about cooperation in 'free development of the colonies,' reveals itself as nothing but an imperialist lie. It is of the utmost importance that communists, both in the imperialist and in the colonial countries, should completely expose this lie." (Thesis, Sec. 15)

PSP seeks to turn Puerto Rico into a semi-colony of Russian imperialism, raising Cuba as the "great" example of socialism in the Caribbean and Latin America. To achieve their aims, they base themselves fundamentally on the counter-revolutionary essence of Maoism, its "New Democracy."

In its Program, PSP talks about the "conquest" of independence by means of an alliance of the working class with "the classes and social groups which make up the immense majority of the population." (p. 32, our translation) Their class analysis makes it clear that they include the bourgeoisie and the urban petty bourgeoisie in this alliance. They also include "the police and other members of the repressive bodies," which they call a "social group" (undoubtedly part of the alliance) that are "salaried workers" and

at the same time "enemies of the people." But PSP "places them as possible allies of the working class . . ." (Ibid., p. 18, our translation) Thus under the Maoist version of "national unity," even the spies and assassins of the people are included.

Another echo of Maoism is in PSP's plans to give all the benefits of "socialist democracy" to the bourgeoisie. They say, ". . . including the bourgeoisie, if they renounce their class aspirations to restore their power and possess the means of production, and integrate themselves in the collective effort to construct a new society, they will become full participants in socialist democracy." (Ibid., p. 33, our translation) Just as Mao did in China, PSP has plans to allow the bourgeoisie to organize itself in parties, to direct the enterprises, and in effect to remain as the ruling class.

PSP has been oriented toward Russia since its origins in the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI). It has always raised Cuba as the model of socialism for Puerto Rico. Just as the U.S. does with Puerto Rico, Russian imperialism uses Cuba as a "Caribbean showcase," sending billions of dollars to Cuba annually to try to cover up the country's economic crisis, using it as a market for surplus Russian products (for example, television sets that are not needed by the Cubans, as Castro himself conceded). They have made Cuba a part of their international military network, utilizing unemployed youth as cannon fodder in African countries, the same as the U.S. utilized Puerto Rican youth in Vietnam. This is done to serve their imperialist interests. In the intense inter-imperialist rivalry, Russia and the U.S. are building military bases in Cuba and in Puerto Rico, respectively, as part of the preparations for imperialist war for a new redivision of the colonies and semi-colonies. In such a war, the Caribbean region would be strategically essential. That is why the two imperialist powers are competing for spheres of influence in the Caribbean, for regional control, and for Latin America, in general. Indeed, Russia is gaining certain inroads into the Caribbean region with the help of Cuba.

Russia and the U.S. also use Cuba and Puerto Rico in big international propaganda campaigns, to try to convince the masses of workers and peasants in the dependent countries to follow the path of one or the other imperialist power.

Another social chauvinist party is the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), part of the social democratic trend of the Second International (Socialist). This party, which does not even pretend to be revolutionary, calls for "electoral assemblies" by means of which "independence" would be achieved. They are going to "demand" that the U.S. recognize "the independence of Puerto Rico." (PIP Program, p. 63, our translation) They say that they are going to respect the property of the imperialists. They will give "just compensation for any expropriation." (Ibid., p. 66)

The essence of PIP's plan is to achieve semi-colonial status through negotiations. As historical representatives of European capital, the Second International wants to open the doors to European investments in Latin American countries. Their message to the U.S. is that it would be better to negotiate an agreement with PIP, and share with the Europeans the superprofits extracted from Puerto Rico, instead of risking the loss of all their property in a future revolution.

"The struggle against the colonial policy of social-democracy must be looked upon by the communist party as an organic constituent part of its struggle against imperialism. . . . The colonial policy of social-democracy is a policy of active support of imperialism in the exploitation and oppression of the colonial people. . . . In order to deceive a portion of the working class and to secure its cooperation in the maintenance of the colonial regime of plunder, social-democracy, in the most shameful and repulsive manner, defends the exploits of imperialism in the colonies. It disguises the real content of the capitalist colonial system, it wilfully ignores the connection between colonial policy and the danger of a new imperialist war, which is threatening the proletariat and toiling masses of the whole world. Wherever the indignation of the colonial peoples finds vent in the emancipatory struggle against imperialism, social-democracy, notwithstanding its lying phrases, in practice always stands on the side of the imperialist executioners of the revolution." (Sixth Congress, Thesis, op. cit., Sec. 41)

Organizations such as the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), Popular Socialist Movement (MSP), and Circle of Communist Work (M-L), are centrist groups of one form or another. For example, the "Work Circle" in words is opposed to Russian imperialism and Cuba, but supports them in deeds, through its support of the Sandinistas, Vietnam, Kampuchea, etc., where the pro-Russian-imperialist, national bourgeoisie is in power; this includes their support to the reactionary Islamic revolution in Iran. The Iranian government, led by Khomeini, is made up of kulaks (rich peasants) and extraordinarily reactionary elements.

This Moslem government is assassinating and torturing the broad worker and peasant masses of Iran. As this is taking place, the "Work Circle" says that "Marxist-Leninists have to support every struggle that weakens imperialism, independent of whether or not this struggle is led by the proletariat, that is why we support the Islamic government in its positions toward imperialism."

It appears that this group jumped over what Lenin said, in reference to the Islamic movements in which the mullahs raise "anti-imperialist phrases" to try to turn back the wheels of history and establish a feudal regime, and subject workers and peasants to the most horrible conditions of exploitation.

In words they criticize individual terrorism but in practice they support the four Nationalists and the FALN. In their position on Mao Zedong, they say that he was a "Marxist-Leninist," but that "this is not a finished position because we have not yet studied a large part of his works." ("Tactica de Construcción del Partido Comunista," document of the Circle of Communist Work, p. 50, our translation)

It is obvious that this group is Maoist. Is it necessary to study all the writings of Mao to learn that he was a revisionist? It is also obvious that this Circle of Work does not think of expropriating the bourgeoisie, since they are going to "resolve contradictions" based on the philosophy of Mao Zedong. In a defensive response they say, "We want to clarify that we have quoted Mao only once as to the dialectical materialist conception of contradictions, because it is he who most clearly expresses and synthesizes this problem." Perhaps the leaders of the Circle of

Work do not understand that the "quotations" of Mao on contradictions are aimed at deceiving the broad masses of workers and peasants worldwide, by saying that the contradiction with the bourgeoisie is not an antagonistic contradiction under socialism.

On the other hand we have the PSR and MSP, which criticize Russian imperialism only for certain revisionist positions, and criticize only the revisionist gang of China of Hua Guo-feng and Deng Xiao-ping, without including Mao in this category. The centrists use a lot of Marxist-Leninist phraseology to cover up their hidden opportunism, their collaboration with the social chauvinists. For that reason, to defeat all forms of opportunism, it is necessary to direct the main blow at centrism.

These centrist groups raise the same line as do Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labor of Albania internationally. The PLA calls for opposition to Russian imperialism in words. But it says that Vietnam is socialist and that Nicaragua is the great example of revolution for Latin America. Those in power are the reformist Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. Albania also has commercial relations with Cuba, mercenary country of Russia in Latin America.

Tasks of the Bolsheviks

The principal task of all Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers is the construction of the Bolshevik Party, based on the model of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, for the struggle for proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must struggle for the formation of a revolutionary, anti-imperialist workers' movement, for national emancipation, under the hegemony of the proletariat, assured by the leadership of the Bolshevik Party; the formation of the Soviet Federation of the Antilles, which unifies and organizes all the countries of the region in one force, to combat and to resist the attacks and counter-attacks of imperialism, to assure the final victory of proletarian revolution. As Lenin said in relation to weak and dependent nations: "Under present-day international conditions there is no salvation for dependent and weak nations except in a union of Soviet Republics." ("Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," for the Second Congress of the Communist International, June, 1920)

Today Puerto Rico is collaborating in an imperialist plan, which consists of intensifying the exploitation of the working class and peasantry of the Caribbean and Latin America. This plan, which extends over Puerto Rico and the Caribbean region, aims at obtaining even more superprofits. As an example of the workings of this plan, Puerto Rico's plans for the 1980's include further economic integration in terms of development and expansion, with the economies of the Dominican Republic and Haiti. They are sending a series of light industry plants, such as garment manufacture, which are labor-intensive, and which use cheap labor paid at 25 to 50 cents an hour. In relation to Venezuela, the plan consists of the joint operation of various petrochemical enterprises, assuring oil imports, and being integrated in a very close collaboration. The imperialists state that better benefits would be obtained if Puerto Rico could deal with these countries on the level of "government to government" in these arrangements. This

indicates the possibility of a passing over to semi-colonial status, in which imperialism will obtain the best benefits.

The building of the Leninist Party of the new type is the fundamental task of Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers, in order to successfully combat imperialism and its lackeys until victory. But this will not be possible if the Party's program does not include the necessity to struggle for the unity of the entire revolutionary workers' movement of the whole Caribbean region, with the goal of forming the Federation of Soviet Republics of the Antilles. This can be achieved only under the voluntary unity of the colonies and semi-colonies in close unity with the proletariat of the United States, the oppressor nation.

Extract of *Linea Bolchevique* no 3

MALI

Reply of the Communists of Mali to the Appeal of the Six

Sur la Voie du Bolchévisme

Modern revisionism is the product of the whole historic epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. It conspired with world imperialism, with the US at the head, to assassinate the eminent Bolshevik J.V. Stalin in 1953, to capitulate to the imperialist encirclement, to bury Bolshevism, liquidate socialism in the USSR, liquidate the world socialist camp and market, which were integrated into the imperialist system for the redivision of the world, and finally, to plunge the "ICM" ("International Communist Movement") into a real ideological crisis.

The terrible predictions of Stalin were confirmed. The "positions of international communism" were "lost." Instead of imperialism being "seized by the throat," it was the working class and oppressed peoples. The "blackest reaction" set in, in all the capitalist countries of the east and west as well as their colonies, semi-colonies and dependent countries.

The revisionist parties in power and all the other revisionists of the present "ICM" may well struggle under the disguise of Marxism-Leninism, their opportunism does not represent anything new and one finds among them the same tendencies characterized by Lenin on the eve of the first imperialist world war of 1914-18:

— social-chauvinism and social-imperialism, that is "... defence of the privileges, advantages, plunder and violence of 'one's own' imperialist bourgeoisie (or, in general, any bourgeoisie) . . ." (Lenin, LCW 21, our translation — ed.)

— and centrism, which is nothing other than a social-chauvinism and a social-imperialism covered over with hesitation and vacillations aiming to subordinate the real internationalists to the avowed social-chauvinists by fine, Marxist-sounding phrases.