



**F.R.A.E. AT LARES  
1976**

**REVOLUTIONARY  
ANTI - ELECTORAL FRONT**  
(M.S.P. , SOC. LEAGUE , P.R. COMMUNIST PARTY)

The formation of the Revolutionary Anti-Electoral Front (FRAE) in Puerto Rico is a step of great significance in the revolutionary process in Puerto Rico. Uniting three organizations, of different ideological formation, in common and defined principles is in itself an example and a first step that could well develop into other experiences and actions of unity of greater consequence for the national liberation struggle of Puerto Rico.

Following we publish excerpts from the presentation made by FRAE during the celebration of the National Day at Lares 1976.

EL COMITE - MINP

Greetings Companeros and Companeras:

We welcome you, the compatriots of Lares and of all Puerto Rico. The Revolutionary Anti-Electoral Front is present at Lares for the first time as a united formation. Although its members, the various organizations that constitute the FRAE, have traditionally been present at Lares every year, this year for the first time there is present a unifying force arising from a sector of the left in Puerto Rico, and we could not but come to Lares because for us Lares holds a very special significance. Lares to us means more than the birth of our nationality. Lares was symbolic of a decision to struggle. It is both the example and legacy left to us by Ramon Emeterio Betances. It is the legacy of the patriots of Lares; it is the legacy of our nation in rising up as have all the nations of the world - through fire and blood. In face of this alternative and before the alternative of either remaining away from Lares or being present here today, reaffirming its significance, reaffirming a method of struggle, reaffirming a decision to struggle by our people, we understood that it was indispensable that we come to Lares and bring forth our message.

The Revolutionary Anti-Electoral Front understands that in Puerto Rico we are undergoing a very particular situation. Throughout many years the people of Puerto Rico have struggled for its independence, as one might say "by any and all means". That is to say, that the positions of the "independentistas" organizations did not coincide many times to the historical moment which our people were li-

ving. But even so, it was a moment of glimmering by Don Pedro Albizu Campos, knew how to bring up to date the struggle for independence, gain giant strides for our people, and furthermore to once again raise the banners of struggle in Puerto Rico and bring to light the decision of a people to struggle; to confront north american imperialism.

#### FRAE AND THE 5 NATIONALIST

Today, and without prior anticipation, we find presiding over this gathering pictures of the five Puerto Rican Nationalists that still remain prisoners in the United States. It behoves us to point to them for they serve as inspiration and example. The example set for us by these five patriots serves as a source of stimulus for us. In them the decision to struggle has never wavered; in them we have always found the resoluteness which has made possible the liberation of nations. The FRAE also brings forth a message of resoluteness. We bring a call to struggle. We bring forth a call to organize the people. The FRAE makes a call to raise the consciousness necessary among our people so that we can truly march in the 11th hour of the independence of Puerto Rico. But when we speak of the 11th hour as a defining moment we do so not in the manner in which it is so often spoken of: as empty promises and by swearing oaths. No. We speak in historical terms. We understand that the present is a moment when for the first time a series of historical circumstances favor the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico and are favorable to the advent of independence and the seizure of power by the Puerto Rican people.

We pose this in such a manner because we understand that internationally North American imperialism undergoes one of its periods of decay unlike other periods during the development of our struggle when a nascent imperialism was growing and the most powerful empire in the world was still rising. At this

time , although northamerican imperialism is still a strong beast capable of dealing deathblows and capable of reaping destruction, it is nevertheless historically a force in decadence. This has been proven in various parts of the world. The most illuminating example is that of Viet Nam which is unquestionably one of the most glorious examples of the struggle against northamerican imperialism. But more importantly is the level of unity that has been achieved in the struggle for independence and socialism and that finally, socialism, that is to say, the struggle for the interests of the working class is the order of the day and has united and placed under one banner the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico. Today one cannot speak of the struggle for independence without speaking of class struggle. Today one cannot speak of class struggle isolated or separated from the contradictions at the national level facing our people. Today both form one current of struggle, one goal. Contrary to other historical moments when the struggle for independence went one route and the struggle of the working class another, today both march along the same path. Today, these interests have united to reaffirm the necessity to unite ideologically in the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico and socialism, the forces which are capable of bringing about the revolution in this country; the working class, the student masses the intellectuals, and the radical petty bourgeoisie. It is for this reason that FRAE poses that it is not through the elections that we will be able to find the precise path to organize our people. We understand that there are various forms of struggle. We believe that there are various methods to be utilized but that the question lies in correctly combining the struggle of the masses, the mobilizations of the masses, with armed struggle.

## FRAE - REVOLUTIONARY UNITY

We come to Lares in the midst of an intensifying situation. On the one hand the strike at the University and on the other the example of the struggle of the workers of the communications authority evidence a moment when we are experiencing a period characterized by an effervescence of workers struggles. At the university level we have seen how the interests of the students have become linked to the interests of the workers at the university. We have seen how these workers did not wait nor could they wait for a change in the legislature; they could not wait upon some representatives in the legislature to raise their demands and to struggle for them. To the contrary! They have taken to the streets they have embarked on a struggle to secure their rights in the manner in which the working class struggles, in the way the rights of the working class have always been secured: through militant struggle in the streets. There, stand out the students and there stand out the workers setting the example; that instead of november 2nd, irregardless of place, it will not make a difference how many legislative representatives of the working class has to struggle for its reinvidications;

It is there, in the streets where the working class has to struggle for its rein

we may have! It is there, in the streets where the working class has to struggle for its reinvidications; it is there in the streets where we can actually secure the rights of our people and it is there, in the streets, that we puth forth that the struggle for independence and socialism must reach its culmination; and it is within those mobilizations of the masses, the armed actions which the people of Puerto Rico will be waging, that step by step we will seize our independence and the right to build socialism in our country.

The factor of armed struggle, prolonged armed

struggle. Here I would interject that when we address ourselves to this we are not speaking of rushing police precincts or headquarters, nor do we speak of a revolutionary takeover of the state or of insurrections. We are addressing ourselves to the consistent and consequent development of a method of struggle, of the integration and involvement, step by step, of the working class in that struggle; of the integration of the working class in that struggle so that it will be the armed people of Puerto Rico that will forge its own destiny and defeat imperialism in our homeland.

FRAE also brings a message of unity, a message of unity which is not the same as unity as an end in itself, which is not to proclaim unity as an ideal goal which we can make all our efforts to achieve. No, we understand that unity is product of a political process which manifests itself in our methods of struggle, which manifests itself in our ideological positions, which manifests itself as it unites those positions, those concepts, and those conditions which make possible the development of our struggle. This is why we believe that the important thing is not that these be expressions of unity in any effort which are organized in one form or another. We understand that independently of whether it was possible or not to forge unity among the too independence parties by participating in the electoral process, we the forces which make up FRAE could not be part of that process. And this, not due to a sectarian attitude on our part, it is not because we want to box ourselves within some ideas and do not want to unite with other organizations. No! Definitely this is not the case, the point is that the struggle for independence for Puerto Rico is not a statement, made in a vacuum, the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence does not consist merely of speaking of independence. We believe that we must give it content and that content must be well defined because we do not want a banana republic, nor do we want to dispose ourselves of colonialism to enter into neo-colonialism. We want our independence in order to build socialism. That is

why we maintain that in the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico the working class must exercise ideological hegemony over that struggle, that the working class cannot march at the "tailend" of the petty bourgeoisie in the struggle for Puerto Rico's Independence. The working class has to assume the role of not only making but also living the revolution, giving a class content to the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence. For this reason, we understand that this unity in Puerto Rico must be forged on sound ideological bases with a clear and well defined class basis. Therefore, it cannot be developed on the basis of ideological hodge podge. Furthermore, we understand that while the independence forces that are participating in the electoral process, have independence and participation in the elections as common denominator, these forces have not been able to reach agreement and participate as one block in the elections. On the contrary the forums in which their representatives participate, the forums in which electoral questions are the topic of debate, what takes place is fights between the independence forces. We believe, that we cannot allow this to continue in Puerto Rico any longer, and we cannot continue to play the game of the imperialists, when independentist parties fight to see which one gets more votes in the elections. No. We understand that the independentist masses must be united through a concrete struggle, through a struggle that is clearly defined.

Our positions are not derived from dogmatic views. Our positions derived from a concrete analysis, from a concrete analysis of the intentions of U.S. imperialism in the present moment.

We are concious, and so are the other independence forces, that U.S. imperialists are making preparations to develop a massive repressive campaign in Puerto Rico. In addition we know that the preparations for the repressive campaign in this country are being developed very slowly. This campaign was being developed not only by the preparation of para-military police forces but also with the imple-



mentation of penal codes and the participation of the principal representatives of colonialism in open struggle, in open denunciation of all the independence forces in this country. Here lies the interests of North American imperialism in the present moments. Moreover we understand that the elections will serve the imperialists in this aim because in the elections we are seeing how a sector of the independence movement is raising the slogan that they are the solution not of the people of Puerto Rico but rather the solution to the problems of the imperialists. U.S. imperialism is well aware of the consequences it would confront if armed struggle was to develop in Puerto Rico. These consequences would affect imperialism both at home and abroad. And with this understanding the PIP comes forth as the solution to the imperialists, which was the position assumed by its principal leader in a recent edition of the daily, Nuevo Dia... To the independence movement this means that after the elections, after such great divisions within the independence forces caused by this process, we will be confronted by forces within the movement that more and more assume positions condemning revolutionary actions. Moreover, the process has developed other forces which have diluted their ideological positions while the latter serve on a silver platter to U.S. imperialism the key toward repression in Puerto Rico.

The imperialist know that faced with a repressive campaign, the independence forces are weak and divided and that within it there is a sector that apparently will not take steps to express solidarity with the recipients of repression. However, we say to imperialism and to the leadership of that party that they are mistaken. That the base of these organizations, at the level of committees and town throughout the country, are unified, that there is patriotic unity. At the base level, each and everytime an activity is organized it has the unified participation of the members of all the organizations. Again, we say to the imperialists and to the leadership of the independence movement that

they are mistaken, that the struggle in this country, as determined by its condition, will have the participation of the independence masses, united against the attacks of U.S. imperialism. That when the real development of the struggle begins to take place in our country the independence masses will respond as one, and we have not a single doubt in this respect. That is why there is commitment to struggle, that is why our slogan, that is why we are marching forward, following the examples of Lares and the imprisoned nationalists in the U.S.

**HASTA LA VICTORIA SIEMPRE!**



# EL COMITÉ

Movimiento De Izquierda Nacional Puertorriqueño

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