

After the electoral debacle of 1976, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and the more advanced sectors of the Worker's Movement began an open debate over methods of struggle.

This is due to the fact that Parliamentarism has demonstrated over and over again its inefficiency as an instrument of change or concientization. Our practice has demonstrated that a regime of violence, based on the oppression and exploitation of our people by the native bourgeoisie, can only be destroyed by revolutionary violence on the part of organized people.

There exists a consensus by Puerto Rican Revolutionaries on the necessity of building a vanguard that will direct the people toward liberation and the construction of a just society. There exists no consensus, however, on what form that vanguard should take.

It has become fashionable to speak about the construction of a Workers Party, a Party that would convert itself into a political vanguard of the people struggling for social and economic re-invindication and finally, in the struggle for power.

Nevertheless, we understand that the objective conditions in Puerto Rico, and especially the repressive agencies' attitudes, will not allow the creation of a political vanguard, legally. Infiltration, provocation and the fabrication of cases have been and are the favorite instruments of reaction to render useless revolutionary groups. On the other hand, we consider that the most correct strategy for the seizure of power is through popular revolutionary warfare: It will be the combination of the two methods of political struggle, the pacific and the military methods, that will permit us to develop the actions that the political movement demands to mobilize the people, arms in hand, toward the final victory and the taking of power.

In this sense, we propose that the revolutionary vanguard in Puerto Rico should be a political-military and clandestine vanguard, a People's Revolutionary Army. This People's Revolutionary Army should elevate the people's level of struggle and set the base for the unity and the organization of a National Liberation Front. This National Liberation Front should mobilize the greatest possible mass of people around its revolutionary principles and strategically converge each moment with the political-military actions of the Revolutionary Army.

But this Revolutionary Army, this political-military vanguard, cannot be created by decree.

It can only be organized through the union of all clandestine groups and combatants, and the creation of New Armed Groups. For this reason, we

understand that those revolutionaries who are not organized at this point, should organize themselves as fast as possible into Revolutionary Commandos, fortify and prepare themselves for the struggle.

Those comrades who wish to cooperate with the Armed Movement can

organize Support Committees for the Revolutionary Armed Struggle.

These Committees can create propaganda about the armed struggle with paintings on the walls about the revolutionary struggle, and by clandestine reproduction and distribution of communiqués and bulletins by the different combative Puerto Rican organizations.

They should also organize all kinds of activities that contribute to the elevation of political consciousness of the people, (study groups, for example).

These Committees should have a clandestine structure, as it is important for all revolutionaries to adequately protect themselves against repression.

On the other hand, when organizing revolutionary commando groups, one should be even more careful.

The first assignment is the political organization of a nucleus of comrades

who have complete confidence in one another.

The nucleus should be small (no more than four people) and any additional recruitment that is done should be strictly selective and directed towards the creation of a new nucleus and not the expansion of the original group.

In this manner, new nuclei are created, so that all comrades do not know

each other. Naturally, this is done for everyone's security.

These groups should obtain and learn to use arms, while learning to utilize

explosive for operations, such as Revolutionary Sabotage.

Nevertheless, all would be in vain if the political-military actions of these combative groups were not based on some firm political criteria. We suggest, as a minimum, the following: In the first place, one's politics commands one's gun. It is fundamental that all operations be discussed politically to determine their correctness. After the operation, one must explain it to the people. A revolutionary action which ignores the political explanation of the reasons for the action, is an action that fails in terms of its political objectives.

In the second place, all armed revolutionary action should be an expression of the needs and aspirations of the people. We understand the Carlos Marighella statement: The urban guerrilla's rebellion and his persistence in interceding with society's problems constitute the best manner in which to build

support around the cause we defend.

In each strike, in each student protest, in each mobilization of the people against the tyranny of imperialism and its colonial puppets, the armed branch of the people's justice should always be present: the Revolutionary Commando.

We should also halt actions that may wound or kill innocent bystanders or that would destroy places of employment for our workers. We should learn to utilize revolutionary violence firmly, but cautiously, and always direct it accordingly.

It is very easy to destroy a store like Sears or Woolworth's, but this would

mean a loss of work for our people, and would constitute, at the actual moment, a loss of popular support for the revolutionary cause.

In this sense, we emphasize the necessity of understanding what sabotage

is, and how to utilize it.

A military action is executed in accordance with the political objectives it wishes to further.

It is not enough to plant 1,000 explosives, it is necessary to plant them at the

right time, in the right place.

We also understand that revolutionary sabotage is no longer enough. It is necessary to develop other types of action that will permit us to arm ourselves, fortify ourselves, and each time acquire more experience in combat, while disarming, weakening, and harassing the enemy.

This will be the key to our growth, the development of a true People's War. Lastly, as armed clandestine revolutionary groups, we should practice revolutionary humility. There is no place for arrogance and sectarianism when the clandestine path of armed struggle is chosen.

In the struggle against imperialism, against the tyranny that oppresses our nation and our people, we should remember that we are comrades-in-arms.

We should respect each other and work for revolutionary unity that will lead

us to Victory.

"All our actions are a war-cry against imperialism and a call for unity of the people against the great enemy of humanity: The United States of America. Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome so long as our war-cry has reached a receptive ear, and another hand picks up our guns."

—Ernesto Che Guevara

## THE SALVATION OF OUR NATION LIES IN PEOPLE'S WAR

DE PIE Y EN GUERRA

COMANDOS REVOLUCIONARIOS DEL PUEBLO (CRP)