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REPUBLICA DE CHILE  
PRESIDENCIA

GAB. PRES. (O) No 1.100/9  
ANT. :  
MAT. : Remite fotocopia.

SANTIAGO, 01 AGO 1980

DE : JEFE DE GABINETE PRESIDENCIAL  
  
AL : SR. SUBSECRETARIO DE RELACIONES EXTERIORES  
D. EDMUNDO VARGAS CARREÑO

Adjunto a Ud. fotocopia de carta enviada por Rafael Cordero Santiago, Alcalde de Ponce, Puerto Rico a fin de que nos informe sobre el particular.

Reciba mis cordiales saludos.



*[Handwritten signature]*  
CARLOS BASCUNAN EDWARDS  
Jefe de Gabinete Presidencial

DISTRIBUCION

- 1.- Sr. Subsecretario de Relaciones Exteriores
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ESTADO LIBRE ASOCIADO DE PUERTO RICO

*Gobierno Municipal de Ponce*

070165

OFICINA DEL ALCALDE  
PONCE, PUERTO RICO 00731

TEL. 840-4141

21 de junio de 1990

*Rafael Cordero Santiago*

ALCALDE

*Hon. Patricio Aylwin*  
Presidente  
Palacio de la Moneda  
Santiago, Chile

*La situación actual de Puerto Rico amerita que usted tenga conocimiento de los acontecimientos, pues los puertorriqueños siempre hemos apoyado los principios democráticos y entendemos que establecen la autodeterminación como un derecho sagrado que poseen todos los pueblos del mundo.*

*Actualmente nos encaminamos a tomar una de tres decisiones a través del proceso plebiscitario: (1) el desarrollo y crecimiento del Estado Libre Asociado y no su creación como algunos pretenden hacer ver, (2) asimilarnos a la nación americana como un estado federado, o, (3) convertirnos en estado independiente, sin nexos alguno con los Estados Unidos.*

*En nuestra encrucijada, el Presidente de los Estados Unidos toma parte activa. Crea una situación que no es moralmente aceptable al usar el poder económico del gobierno americana para timonear y llevar a este pueblo a una decisión irrevocable. Responde su utilización del poder ejecutivo del gobierno estadounidense al compromiso de su partido político nacional con un partido político isleño, por lo que su intromisión es incorrecta tanto en su propio país como en el nuestro.*

*Estos son los hechos que entendemos merecen la atención de los dirigentes de todos los países del mundo y que ilustro mediante copia de la carta que le he cursado al Presidente Bush y otros.*

*Como pueblos hermanos, me siento en la libertad y la confianza de pedirle que le indique al Presidente de los Estados Unidos que permita que el pueblo de Puerto Rico tome su decisión libre y espontáneamente. Todo lo que reclamamos, que nos pertenece por derecho propio, es determinar nuestro status político entre nosotros mismos.*

*De necesitar mayor información, con mucho gusto se la proveo. Agradeceré el consenso y la opinión de usted.*

Atentamente,

Rafael Cordero Santiago



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*Rafael Cordero Santiago*

ALCALDE

May 16, 1990

Hon. George Bush  
President  
United States of America  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

The people of Puerto Rico have been known throughout our history to respect the opinions of even those who have hurt our dignity and pride. I doubt there is a Puertorican who thinks differently.

We respect your personal opinion and we respect your preference regarding the political status for our island.

But you must not forget, Mr. President, that your rights as a person begin where your duties as President of the United States of America end, and that when you assumed this position from which you express the public policies of the nation, you adquired duties that go beyond your personal preferences.

Among these I remind you of the sacred right not to intervene unnecessarily and attempt to direct the political destiny of the people of Puerto Rico.

Mr. President, Puerto Rico is a country. It's a nation that fulfills Prof. Herman Finer's definition since it involves, and I cite: "a common territory, common language and literature, common ancestry, characteristic common customs, a shared history and tradition, shared cultural achievements, and finally, a public philosophy embodied in a political constitution...."

Even though these facts exist, you have expressed a personal and official commitment with our right to self-determination. As a politician, what you and I are, I understand clearly that your personal involvement means that the cause for Puertorican statehood for Puerto Rico is losing strength in such a way that you have been forced to involve yourself, directly and through your aides, to campaign in favor of this particular political status preference. If this was not so, I am certain you would stay out of the ring.

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Mr. President, you shouldn't do it. The people of this country have been lied to and have been told, for example, that the case of Puerto Rico becoming a state of the Union is similar to that of Hawaii and Alaska. Nothing is further from the truth. We have been told that we will preserve that culture and idiosyncrasies which as a nation we possess. Tell me truly, what state of the 50 that currently make up the nation has been able to resist assimilation?

We have been told that we can continue with our Olympic Teams's delegations and this is another falsehood.

Let me remind you: in 1979, on the occasion of the celebration of the Pan American Games in Puerto Rico, the biggest "boo" that ever a political leader has received was given to Carlos Romero Barceló, then governor of Puerto Rico, when he tried to eliminate our national anthem "La Borinqueña" and the raising of our flag from the official acts. Puerto Rico responded strongly to having our anthem and flag ignored as an offense to our dignity as a country.

We have been deceived when we are told that statehood would give us a higher quality of life. What is certain, Mr. President, and not only the Puertoricans say so, but it is also affirmed by the Congressional Budget Office, is that we would become the ghetto of the Caribbean and South America because the result would be a dependent and not productive people.

Your spokesmen and aides, Mr. Andrew Card and Mr. Charles Untermeyer arrived here, with imperialistic presumptions, showing a total lack of knowledge of our political and economic development, openly and without reserves expressing a preference for a particular political status, ignoring another status which has provided the Puertoricans a vigorous economic development, a high quality of life and a sense of nation, among its achievements, and that brought about the recognition of the United Nations that Puerto Rico had ceased to be a colony. Mr. President, in your official capacity you have an obligation to tell, not only the people of Puerto Rico but the whole world, that the 1953 Resolution 748 of the General Assembly of the United Nations is valid, current and applicable... or do you understand that this is not so?

The disrespect of your aides, in word and deed, of favoring statehood, not only showed a total disregard to the dignity of the people of Puerto Rico, but is also offensive to the Congress of the United States. They underestimate the report submitted by the CBO. Up till then, the Executive and the Legislative Branches considered the CBO a trustworthy and respectable institution for its studies and conclusions have been based on realities, lacking all obligations of



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a political nature. Your aides not only underrate the opinion of the CBO, but they reject it.

Mr. President, how far are you willing to go in this important moment for the people of Puerto Rico? Your aides pointed out that Congress would legislate a plebiscite bill that would impose statehood for this island over the will of the duly constituted people of Puerto Rico. Are we to understand from these expressions that you, as a President of the United States, do not respect the democratic institutions of your own country, the three constitutional branches on which your own government is based, as is the government of the people of Puerto Rico? Are we to understand that you interpret your executive power to be over and above the people of Puerto Rico and do not recognize the 1952 agreement under which the Commonwealth was created?

Should this be true, it behooves you to speak clearly to our people. You owe it to us. You owe it to Puerto Rico, to the United States and to the whole world.

I cannot believe that a country which fought against the English imperialism, which shed its blood and suffered pain to create the American nation 214 years ago, after two centuries, would revoke itself, would revoke the principles which gave it reason of being and today feels so omnipotent that it can alienate a people.

This is a situation that gives us grave concern.

As I said, Mr. President, you have established a dangerous precedent. Through your aides you are telling the 850 thousands Puerto-ricans that currently belong to the Popular Democratic Party that for the President of the United States their individual and collective rights have no weight nor does their voting will deserve your consideration.

I think this opinion or decision, should you have taken it, is unfortunate.

Mr. President, this party has won 10 of the last 13 elections. On the other hand, statehood according to the more recent polls in Puerto Rico, at the height of its power, even though backed by your explicit favor of statehood, has obtained 43%, Commonwealth 37%, Independence 5% and the remaining 15% are undecided.

As you can appreciate, Mr. President, at this moment, there is no firm decision about any political status on the island. Both the

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North Americans and the Puertoricans have the obligation to deal responsibly with this situation so that the majority decision be respected and accepted by all the people of Puerto Rico. Evading this responsibility would cause a permanent division in among our people.

Mr. President, one has to be cautious. Frankly speaking, having sent Mr. Card and Mr. Untermeyer to play the roles of imperialist generals to tell this country that the will of the United States will be enforced, no matter what the people of Puerto Rico think, is an incalculable error.

We, the Puertoricans, have shown our capacity of knowing how to make decisions that would benefit us as a country and while this is in our favor, it must not be interpreted as a favor.

Mr. President, let the people of Puerto Rico decide for themselves and freely act upon their self-determination. While we have always accepted the will of the majority in our decisions, our struggle as a nation has also shown that we will not accept impositions.

It's up to you.

Cordially yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Rafael Cordero Santiago', written in a cursive style.

RAFAEL CORDERO SANTIAGO  
MAYOR



By A. W. MALDONADO

## President Bush and statehood



Former Editor of El Mundo Founder of El Reportero

**P**resident Bush's envoys, Andrew Card and Charles Untermeyer, arrived about a half hour late.

Card began the meeting. Precisely because Bush has made known his personal preference for statehood, he said, the president is particularly committed to a plebiscite process that is fair to all sides. As far as the president is concerned, Card said, "the train has left."

The president, Card continued, does not want to disrupt the economy of Puerto Rico. But the president does not see the status issue in terms of cost, but "as a function of civil rights."

Government Development Bank President Ramón Cantero Frau followed, going over several charts that emphasized the importance of manufacturing (40 percent of the island's net income) and the importance of 936 to the island economy.

Statehood, Cantero said, would seriously disrupt the island economy since the island government would lose about half of its \$4 billion income to federal taxes.

Everyone at the large table got a chance to talk. It probably seemed to Card and Untermeyer that they had rehearsed because they all seemed to flow from one to another. Yet most of those present, perhaps all, did not know who else had been invited. They had been told they would meet Card and Untermeyer but many learned of the purpose of the meeting when they got there.

Former GDB President José Ramón González, now with the First Boston Corp., gave an incisive description of the economically devastating effect of losing fiscal autonomy.

Former Treasury Secretary Salvador Casellas said that Puerto Rico is unprepared for a plebiscite — economically, culturally and emotionally. Should Puerto Rico become a state, he said, it will take a few years to see the terrible economic consequences and it is likely that the island will become like Quebec, clamoring to get out. For on the island automobile plates, he said, we will have to print the words: The Welfare State.

Miguel Ferrer, senior vice president of PaineWebber, read several statistics to dramatize the effect of statehood on manufacturing. He pointed out that 70 percent of our GNP is from export, 35 percent of total bank deposits are 936 funds. The loss of 936 manufacturing jobs, he said, would be equivalent to the United States losing 32 million jobs.

Another corporate attorney, Rafael Cortés, said, "It's really very simple: Do we want our children and grandchildren to earn their living or to live on federal welfare?" And this, he said, boils down to one word: Dignity.

Former Justice Secretary Francisco de Jesús said it is a fallacy to believe that Puerto Rican tourism would boom under statehood. Investment in hotels, he said, is heavily dependent on tax exemption and 936 financing. Unlike Hawaii, he said, Puerto Rico is surrounded by low-cost competitors.

Senate secretary Celeste Benítez said that beside the economic issue, there is the reality that Puerto Rico is a cultural nation, a people with its own cultural identity.

Former UPR President Fernando Agrait said it is simply wrong to see the Puerto Rican status issue in terms of civil rights. Puerto Ricans on the island, he said, are today fully covered by all federal civil rights laws.

Industrialist Arturo Díaz said that he had no doubt that statehood would critically reduce investor interest in Puerto Rico. He demonstrated a letter from a potential European investor reacting to a Wall Street Journal news story on statehood.

Sacred Heart University President José Alberto Morales stressed Puerto Rico's desire to work, to become less dependent on welfare, to revive the old Operation Bootstrap spirit.

Economist Joaquín Villamil expressed the view, shared by several others at the meeting, that the entire plebiscite was an untimely and costly mistake for Puerto Rico and for the United States.

Bootstrap founder Teodoro Moscoso briefly described

the origins of Operation Bootstrap then expressed amazement that Bush favors eliminating a status for Puerto Rico that has proved, through tax exemption, that supply side economics works.

Untermeyer took notes and didn't say anything.

At the end of the meeting, Card attempted a kind of counterattack. What he had heard, he said, was basically a defense of 936 yet everyone knows that Congress can take it away whenever it wants. Several responded that this was not correct. The point, they said, is that changing the fundamental structure of the island economy, based on fiscal autonomy, would be disastrous at this time.

Card then said that in the final analysis Congress can do with Puerto Rico whatever it wants. This, of course, would have opened a heated debate on whether Puerto Rico is or isn't a U.S. colony. But it didn't. Card and Untermeyer were already late for their next activity and the meeting ended.

Well, what came out of all this?

Card made clear at the beginning that he and Untermeyer were there to listen but not to be convinced. Regardless of what was said at the meeting, Card made clear that Bush will not change his support for statehood.

But I think that the meeting was revealing to the people that were invited. If Bush knows the economic effect of statehood, if he has a viable alternative to manufacturing, tax exemption, 936, he and his people are not telling anyone. At least, they were not telling the business people, professionals, educators, industrialists that were at the meeting.

So the bottom line is this: What the Congressional Budget Office said is true. Statehood required a "leap of faith." And what the White House envoys said at the beginning of the meeting is true.

The president's support of statehood has nothing to do with economics and everything to do with politics.

*A. W. Maldonado is a communications specialist for various private and public agencies.*





Hernández  
Sánchez

## Intervención desleal

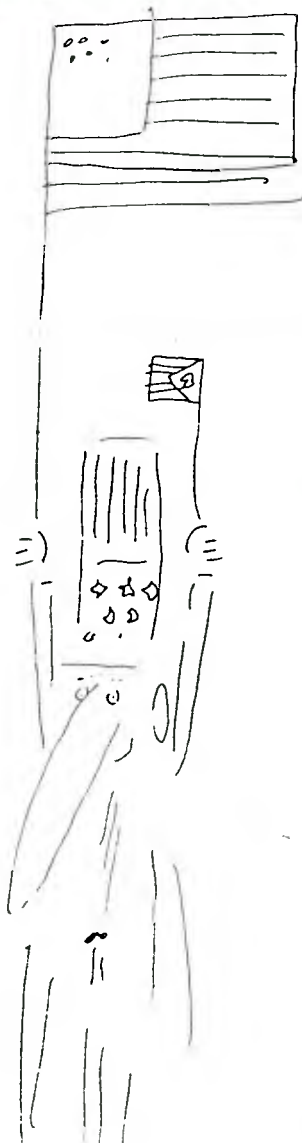
Las actuaciones y las declaraciones de los dos funcionarios de la Casa Blanca Charles Untermeyer y Andrew Card, con relación al plebiscito puertorriqueño en perspectiva, constituyen expresiones improcedentes, erróneas y, confío que, contraproducentes. Intentan un pago de deudas partidistas contraídas al nivel de la pasada Convención Republicana, cuando George Bush como candidato republicano a la presidencia de Estados Unidos recibe a su favor los votos del pequeño grupo de delegados puertorriqueños.

Las deudas partidistas de esa clase no tienen valor legal alguno. Su pago se pasa por alto generalmente si se limita a nombramientos locales o a favores presupuestales sin mayores consecuencias. Esa metodología partidista se conoce en la historia de Estados Unidos con el nombre de "spoils system". Se inauguró oficialmente durante la presidencia de Andrew Jackson en 1830 bajo la consigna de "to the victor belongs the spoils", que traducido libremente significa "al que gana le toca la cosecha". Esta práctica iniciada por Jackson para desalojar de cargos burocráticos a representantes de las élites políticas recibió al cabo de años el repudio general. Dio margen a una rectificación institucional que determinó la creación en Estados Unidos del sistema de servicio civil.

El favoritismo extendido por los representantes del presidente Bush a sus partidarios en la Convención Republicana fue durante su visita mucho más allá de compartir beneficios del "spoils system". Consistió en un proceder desleal con Puerto Rico e irresponsable hacia el gobierno de Estados Unidos. Ese proceder merece el más enérgico repudio por todos nosotros y por el propio presidente Bush.

Los señores Untermeyer y Card vinieron oficialmente en su condición de portavoces del Presidente a ayudar con el refinamiento de las normas que se aplican a pautar el plebiscito en proyecto sobre nuestro futuro. Se sabe de antemano que dentro de las tres alternativas a escoger por Puerto Rico el presidente Bush, en lo que a él concierne, favorece la estadidad. Aclarado lo anterior, corresponde al Presidente y a sus representantes observar la más estricta neutralidad en todo lo relativo al trámite y a la posible reacción puertorriqueña sobre el plebiscito. Esta regla de ética elemental fue repudiada totalmente en la práctica e ignorada aún en la teoría. Así, *El Nuevo Día*, del jueves 17 de mayo, informa en su página 4 que:

"El subjeefe del Gabinete de la Casa Blanca, Andrew



El reclamo de que la Constitución no autoriza tales poderes y que, en consecuencia, se carece de ellos pone de relieve o una ignorancia fundamental sobre el derecho constitucional de Estados Unidos o un desleal empeño de denigrar la presente relación entre Puerto Rico y Estados Unidos. Esta relación el Tribunal Supremo de Estados Unidos la ha reconocido y reitera en múltiples decisiones.

Existen numerosos compromisos de Estados Unidos vigentes desde hace más de medio siglo sobre los cuales nunca pensaron los fundadores de la Constitución. El más directo de todos es la creación de las Naciones Unidas y de los compromisos de Estados Unidos en ella, actuaciones y dimensiones indispensables a la fecha de hoy e impensables a la fecha de redactar la Constitución.

El *The New York Times* de ayer jueves, en un artículo escrito desde Washington bajo el título "El Gobernador de Puerto Rico dice que Estados Unidos ejerce presión indebida por la estadidad" recoge el enérgico repudio que ha hecho Rafael Hernández Colón del proceder de los representantes de Casa Blanca y del propio presidente Bush. Lo del 'pago de deuda partidista' con explicación del favoritismo por la alternativa estadidad está implícitamente puesto de relieve en las declaraciones que el *New York Times* atribuye al representante del Partido Nuevo Progresista, Benny F. Cerezo, al justificar la conducta de los representantes del presidente Bush. Cito textualmente del *New York Times*:

"Benny F. Cerezo, a spokesman for statehood supporters, said, 'Mr. Bush made a commitment to statehood when he ran in the 1980 Puerto Rican primary. Ever since, he has been a staunch statehooder. His party has statehood as part of its platform. All the President is doing is discharging his commitment'".

El texto en inglés es claro y todos sabemos bastante del 'difícil' para no necesitar de traducción. Pero si acaso se interesa verlo directamente en español he aquí su traducción:

"Benny F. Cerezo, portavoz de los partidarios de la estadidad, dijo: 'El señor Bush hizo un compromiso con la estadidad cuando fue a Puerto Rico en 1980 para participar en las primarias. Desde entonces ha sido un fuerte defensor de la estadidad. Su partido tiene la estadidad en su plataforma. Todo lo que ha hecho el Presidente ha sido honrar su compromiso previo'".

El autor es ex-Senador, miembro del partido que aboga por la estadidad para la isla de Puerto Rico.