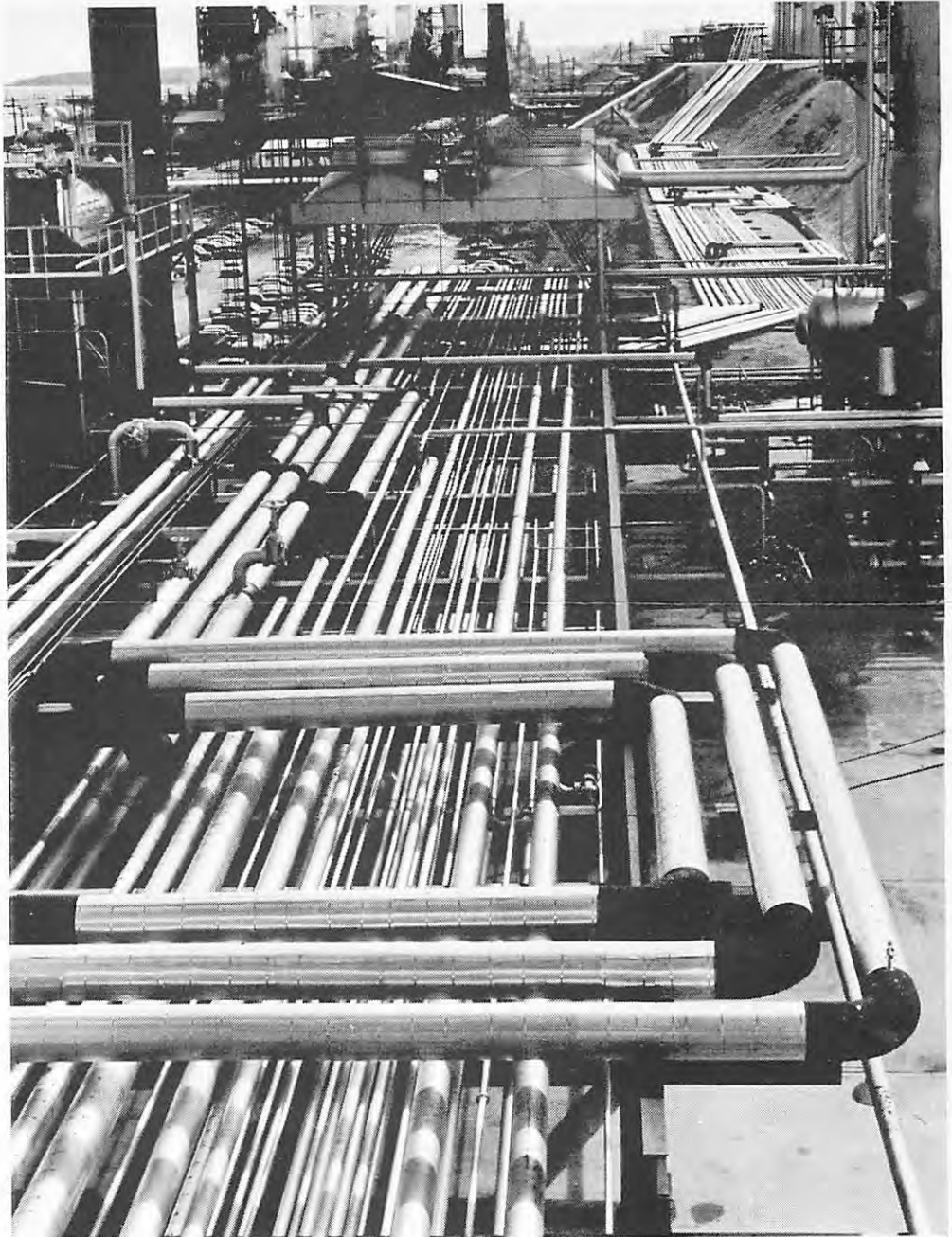


# Chemicals On The Move



## Puerto Rico's newest pipelines to progress!

The new Commonwealth Oil aromatics petrochemical plant at Guayanilla Bay – the largest of its kind in the world – is now in full operation.

The aromatic chemicals that are already being manufactured here are becoming the lifeblood of a growing number of satellite plants. Together these plants will constitute an industrial complex of enormous proportions. Work has already started on the first satellite. Construction of another will soon get underway and both will be completed next year.

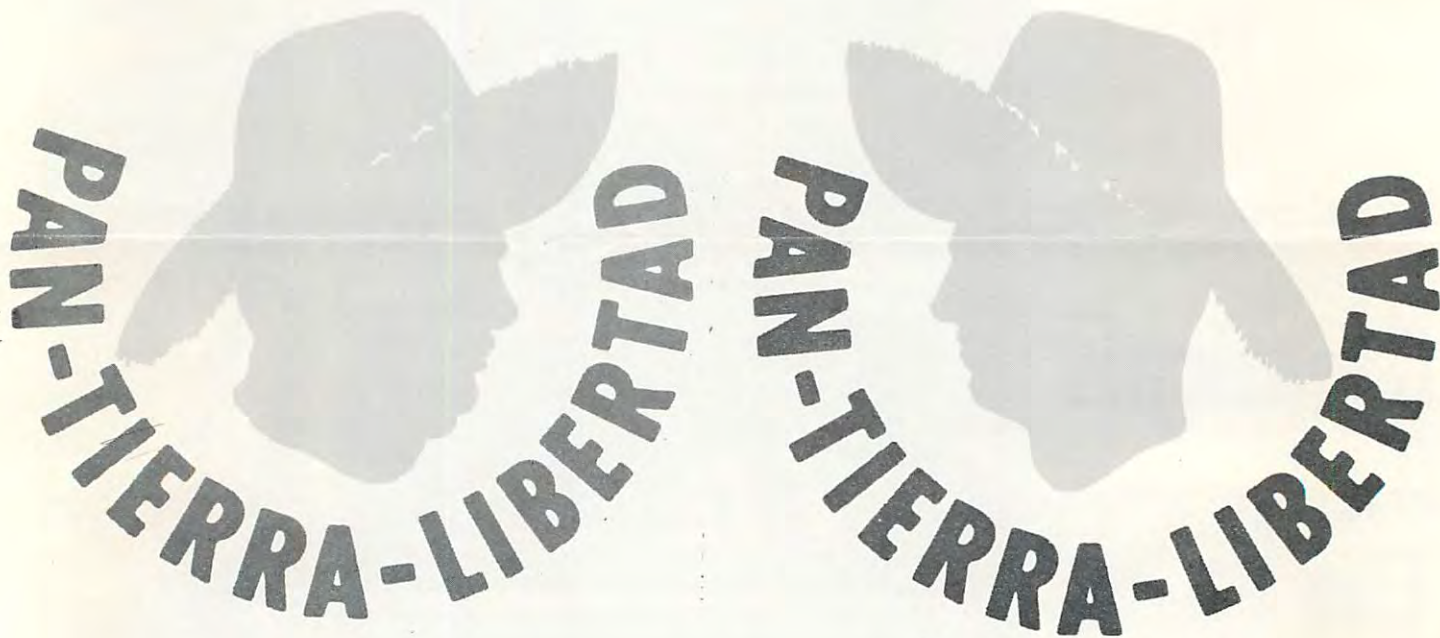
The new Commonwealth Oil petrochemical plant and the satellite plants it is attracting to the island, are thus truly Puerto Rico's newest and largest pipelines to progress.

**COMMONWEALTH OIL REFINING COMPANY, INC.** Plants: Guayanilla Bay at Peñuelas Puerto Rico



# The Power Struggle in the Popular Party

by Pablo García-Kuenzli



*An insider's view of the struggle between  
the PDP's "old guard" and "new guard."*

TODAY OVER TWO MILLION Puerto Ricans are ruled by the Popular Democratic Party. But who rules the rulers?

A year ago the answer would have been "Luis Muñoz Marín." But today, no individual or group could be offered as a reply. The party is leaderless and the current in-fighting for power has congealed into a clash between the "new" and "old" generations.

Who belongs to the "old guard"? Anyone today who was involved in politics or held a position of influence from ten to twenty-five years ago.

The "new generation?" Anyone who was not even mentioned or connected with politics as of *five years ago*.

As for age differences, while there are exceptions, the "new generation" is composed of men and women ranging from twenty to forty-five, while the "old guard" starts at forty and extends up to sixty-five or seventy.

How do these two groups get along? They don't. The "old guard" wants to retain its long-held position of power and also fill the vacuum Muñoz Marín left when he retired. The "new generation" claims *all* the power for itself on the grounds that it is time for a change; that the "old generation" lacks sophistication and is *passé*.

It was not until the Popular Democratic Party's Presidential Panel meeting in Manatí, months before the November 1964 general elections, that the "new generation" made its

official debut. On that occasion, breaking a years-long tradition of instantly approving a previously prepared agenda, young *Populares* openly criticized party chiefs, ideas and trends.

These young *Populares* had three basic characteristics: (1) none of them held any key position *either in government or the party*; (2) they were, on the average, twenty to twenty-five years younger than PDP leaders; (3) none of them would have been listed in any "Who's Who in Politics" three years before—although some of them had gotten Muñoz Marín's ear in private talks.

The old-timers were shocked by the upstarts. Here were young men heaping criticism on veteran party mem-



bers, something unheard of, but most surprising of all was the fact that Muñoz remained silent, and by doing so implied agreement, or at least tolerance.

The oldsters' shock was accentuated a month later when a statement signed by twenty-two young PDP members petitioned the enforcement of a long-forgotten statute in the party's regulations — that each senator and member of the House who had occupied his post for a number of uninterrupted years be required to seek approval from the districts he represented in order to run again.

The statute had never been enforced, since nominations had always come from party headquarters in San Juan, not locally.

With the acceptance and enforcement of this petition, members of the "old guard" privately complained that they had been betrayed by Muñoz. By accepting it, the senators — many of whom had long lost touch with their constituents — ran the risk of losing their positions to new challengers.

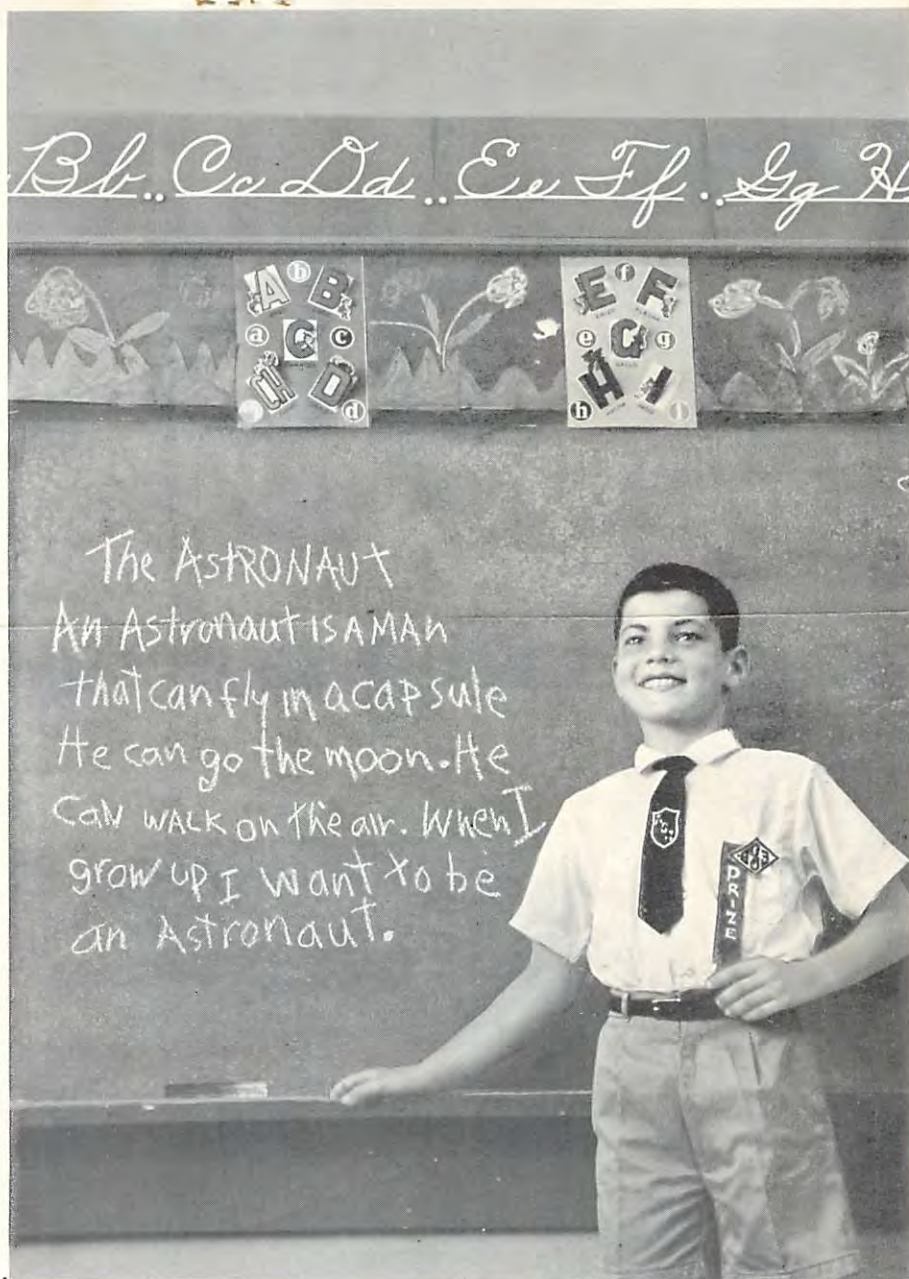
Their fears were unfounded since all of them won because there had been insufficient time for a newcomer to imperil their seats, but the important thing was that Muñoz had listened to the "new generation" and would have left the "old guard," his intimates of many years, to shift for themselves had they lost.

On the heels of this came Muñoz' withdrawal from the candidacy for governor, and the intra-party fight began. By removing himself from the fray Muñoz — perched on Olympus — became more than ever the aloof central figure. He personally declared to both groups that there was room in the party for both factions; that it was healthy for the party that new blood be mixed with good old-fashioned know-how. However, since party posts could not be duplicated, it was obvious to all that heads would have to roll.

Hence a curious situation develops which explains itself if one remembers the years of surrender to Muñoz, the historical fact that no one could be a *Popular* while opposing Muñoz.

The "old guard" didn't oppose their critics directly. So they adopted a double standard attitude. In fear of being thrown overboard by Muñoz, they became more pro-Muñoz than ever.

Outwardly calm, they closely scruti-



## What are you going to do about it, Dad?

Supposing he really wants to be an astronaut (or a physician, a lawyer, an engineer... ). He'll have to go through college. So let the three of us make it "Project Future"... . You, your boy and your John Hancock agent. Call him now!

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nized every appointment they could control, and privately sneered at the young brats, who had contributed nothing to the party in the past but were now "out to get us."

The "new generation" retaliated by becoming openly noisy and aggressive. "We're here to stay" practically became their war cry. So, both groups began to operate under the morally weak, but politically powerful, premise that they were Muñoz' "chosen ones." Each group will abandon this position only when it thinks it is capable of swinging Muñoz totally to its side, or powerful enough to act independently. When will this happen? Only when one of the two groups gets Muñoz' basic strength and charismatic control of the voting masses and political machinery—either thanks to Muñoz' absence or by wresting it from him.

When discussing the "new generation" as a group, problems arise. Who

are they? Where are they? What is their basic ideology, if any?

The press identifies them as "The 22." Yet among today's original twenty-two there are some who are no longer active in politics, ranging from practicing lawyers to housewives. And there are members of the "new generation" who never signed the famous declaration, yet the press persists in identifying them with "The 22." Some of the "new generation" are now in the legislative chambers. Some are already occupying cabinet positions. Most are dispersed throughout the government in administrative jobs or as assistants to "the chief," a most important position since — though they are in the background — they are advising and directing the course of several government agencies.

If Muñoz wanted to create a generation with confidence in itself he has perhaps over-reached himself. The

"new generation" is cocksure. It is composed of excellent technicians, superbly trained at a young age. This in turn produces a great wealth of theoretical knowledge, which in a way might explain the "new generation's" disgust with the realities of politics. The newcomers respond to the concept that ideas can be imposed upon a society, and that it can be led to something, as opposed to Muñoz, who was its thermometer.

No members of the "new generation" have a tremendous amount of personal experience or direct appeal to the masses. There are no "men of the people" among them. They think they can overcome this flaw by controlling the political machinery. The "new generation," for example, feels no particular gratitude because Governor Sánchez brought them into action—they feel that Sánchez, like them, is part of change itself. They point out that Sánchez, Muñoz' Man Friday for twenty-five years, has himself announced a New Style, a program to restore balance and personal initiative in Puerto Rico, a program to undo what he helped instrument for a quarter of a century.

As for the legislative branch, members of the "new generation" quote House floor leader Arcilio Alvarado's remark: "The legislature has been a rubber stamp in the past. This situation has ceased." How a self-acknowledged rubber stamp can cease being one by declaring so remains to be seen.

The general coefficient of the "new generation" is essentially the acquisition of power. Either this is the wisest young generation Puerto Rico has had in decades, because they realize that the only way to get power quickly and effectively is by attacking obliquely and seizing the political machinery, or it is the most immoral generation in a long time—crammed with inner self-defeatism—for at a young age not presenting a frontal attack by going directly to the people and creating a new party.

The ultimate political goal of this generation remains to be seen; it will be unclear until it has achieved power. This will probably be followed by an ideological caucus, where inner fights and purges will re-shape the group, giving it direction.

Will this ever come to be? Time will tell. But time is usually on the side of youth. □



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# in the Popular Party

**T**HE FACT THAT Puerto Rico's Secretary of Justice is less than 30 years old gives some idea of the vast changes taking place in island politics today. The balance of power — as Pablo García-Kuenzli notes in the previous article — is swiftly changing, with a marked accent on youth. The "old guard" is, for the most part, on the way out — not in all cases because its ideas are *passé*, but simply due to the crushing weight of age.

This exodus on the part of the "Old Guard" leaves an enormous gap to fill. And it is being rapidly filled — like air rushing into a vacuum — by youthful members of the Popular Democratic Party, which has dominated island politics for the past two decades.

Just who takes over the key legislative and executive posts in the next few years is extremely important. These young men (unless the Popular Party undergoes a complete disintegration) will be guiding Puerto Rico's political and economic fortunes for at least the next decade or two.

It is still early in the game, which makes it nearly impossible to tell all the players — even with a scorecard, since some important figures may spring up from nowhere. But, gazing through the fog of uncertainties, the *Review* has attempted to construct a "provisional" lineup of Who's Who in Popular Party politics today.

## THE EDITORS

## THE OLD GUARD

Here are some of the founders of the Popular Democratic Party who remain active in positions of power.



Samuel R. Quiñones has been the President of the Commonwealth Senate since 1949. In politics since the late 1930's. Has served as President of the House of Representatives and the Bar Association. Member of the Popular Party Central Council. Born August 9, 1904.



Felisa Rincón de Gautier has been San Juan's Mayoress since 1946. Active in politics since 1932 when suffrage was granted to women in Puerto Rico. She is one of the founders of the Popular Party. Born January 9, 1897.



Ernesto Carrasquillo is a member of the Commonwealth Senate. He has been in the legislature since 1949. Prior to that (1940-48) he was Yabucoa's mayor. President of the Independent Workers Union of Yabucoa. Member of Popular Party's Central Council. Born November 7, 1901.



Cruz Ortiz Stella, a member of the Commonwealth Senate, has been in legislature since 1940. President of the Senate's Finance Committee. Born July 1, 1900.



Yldefonso Solá Morales has been a Senator since the 1940's. Member of the Popular Party Central Council. Served for many years as Secretary General of the Popular Party. Born April 12, 1896.



Santiago R. Palmer has been elected to the Commonwealth Senate in every election since 1940. One of the organizers of the Popular Party he is currently a member of its Central Council. Born in 1893.



# THE MIDDLE GUARD

This is the "transitional" leadership group of the PDP. Some hold positions of substantial executive authority. Others, not as frequently in the limelight, are influential because their advice and ideas are respected.



**Luis A. Negrón López** is the Vice President and Majority Floor Leader of the Commonwealth Senate. Member of the Commonwealth Constitutional Assembly (1951-52). Active in Puerto Rican politics since 1936. Member of the U. S. - P. R. Status Commission. In legislature since 1940. Born April 19, 1909.



**Santiago Polanco Abreu** is Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner in Washington. Member of the Commonwealth House of Representatives from 1948 till 1964. Served as Speaker of the House during 1963-64. Participated in the confection of the Commonwealth's Constitution. Born October 30, 1920.



**Teodoro Moscoso** is a member of the United States-Puerto Rico Status Commission. Famed as the main architect of Puerto Rico's Operation Bootstrap. Served as U.S. Ambassador to Venezuela and later as Coordinator for the Alliance for Progress. A graduate of the U. of Michigan he is now with Banco de Ponce. Born November 26, 1910.



**Jorge Font Saldaña** is the Secretary of the Commonwealth Treasury Dept. Formerly Vice President of the Commonwealth House of Representatives. In politics since the late 1930's. Member of the Commonwealth Constitutional Assembly (1951-52). Born January 14, 1907.



**Arcilio Alvarado Alvarado** is the President of the Commonwealth House of Representative where he has served since 1948. Participated in drafting the Commonwealth Constitution (1951-52). Graduate of the U.P.R. Born November 7, 1903.



**Jaime Benítez** has been connected with the University of Puerto Rico since 1931. Appointed Chancellor in 1942, a position he still holds. Holds degrees from Georgetown U. and U. of Chicago. Contributes to numerous magazines and directs *La Torre*, an U.P.R. publication. Born October 29, 1908.



**Rafael Picó** was elected to the Commonwealth Senate in 1964. Has been top official of numerous government bureaus: Graduate of U.P.R. and Clark U. (Ph. D.). Member of Popular Party's Central and Banco Popular's Finance Committees. Born December 29, 1912.



**Rafael Durand Manzanal** has been the Administrator of Fomento, which he joined in 1955, since 1961. Graduate of U.P.R. and Boston U. Born April 4, 1921.



**Ramón García Santiago** has been the President of the Commonwealth Planning Board since August 1960. Former Director of the Commonwealth Budget Bureau. He is a graduate of U.P.R. and Harvard U. Born September 25, 1925.



**José Trías Monge** is the Popular Party's legal counsel on the U.S.-P.R. Status Commission. He served as Secretary of Justice (1953-57), was a member of the Commonwealth Constitutional Assembly (1951-52) and is a member of the Popular Party Central Council. Graduate of U.P.R., Harvard U. and Yale U.



**Gustavo Agrait** has taught at the Hispanic Studies Dept. of the U.P.R. since 1933. Served as Member of the Superior Education Council, Executive Assistant to the Governor Also heads *Publicidad Badillo's* Public Relations Dept. Born May 8, 1909.



**Antonio J. Colorado** is the President of the Commonwealth's Labor Relations Board. With Luis Muñoz Marín and Popular Party since 1930's. Has worked with *El Mundo*, *El Imparcial* Graduate of U.P.R., Clark U. and U. Central de Madrid (Ph.D.). Born in 1903.



**José Buitrago**, director of Fomento's public relations office, has been with Luis Muñoz Marín and the Popular Party since the late 1930's. Born February 25, 1910.



**Mariano Villaronga** is the President of the Commonwealth Police Commission. Served as Secretary of Education from 1949 to 1957 and President of the now defunct Caribbean Organization from 1961 to 1962. Graduate of U.P.R. and Harvard U. Born November 9, 1906.

# THE NEW GUARD

Here are some of the people who together with some members of the Middle Guard, will be guiding the fortunes of the Popular Democratic Party (and most probably of Puerto Rico) in the next two decades. They consist of elected officials (those in the extreme right-hand column) and appointees.



**Carlos Lastra González** is the Secretary of the Commonwealth State Department. Former Commonwealth Secretary of Commerce (1961-64). Graduate of U.P.R. and Harvard U. (Ph.D.). Born August 7, 1919.



**Jenaro Baquero** is the Commonwealth Secretary of Commerce. Prior to his appointment he taught economics at U.P.R. A graduate of U.P.R. and Harvard U. (Ph.D. candidate). Born September 23, 1931.



**Rafael Hernández Colón** is the Commonwealth Secretary of Justice. A graduate of the U.P.R., he taught at Catholic U. in Ponce until he was appointed to his new position. Author of the Popular Party's paper on the legality of the Commonwealth status for the U.S.-P.R. Status Commission. Born October 24, 1936.



**Miguel Hernández Agosto** is the Secretary of the Commonwealth Department of Agriculture. Former Executive Director of the Puerto Rico Land Authority. Graduate of U.P.R. (Mayagüez), Michigan State College and U. of Michigan (Ph.D. candidate). Born April 5, 1927.



**Abimael Hernández González** was recently appointed Administrator of the Cooperative Development Administration. Formerly member of the Commonwealth Planning Board. In politics since the late 1950's. Graduate of U.P.R. and U. of Chicago (Ph.D. candidate). Born February 15, 1934.



**Juan M. García Passalacqua** is the Special Assistant to the Governor of Puerto Rico. Formerly Special Assistant for Research to Governor Luis Muñoz Marín. Member of the Popular Party Central Council and a graduate of the U.P.R., Tufts U. and Harvard U. Born February 22, 1937.



**Rafael Torregrosa**, Executive Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity of the Commonwealth Department of Labor, has also served as Assistant Secretary of Education and Special Assistant to Governor Luis Muñoz Marín. Graduate of U.P.R. and Princeton. Born December 1, 1926.



**José Arrarás Mir** is the U.P.R.'s Dean of Studies. With U.P.R.'s administration since 1962. Graduate of Princeton U., Victoria U. (England) and U.P.R. Born September 25, 1937



**Efrén Ramírez** is the Director of the Drug Addiction Investigation Center of Puerto Rico's Mental Health Program. Dr. Ramírez, a psychiatrist, is a graduate of the U.P.R. Medicine School. Born October 27, 1930.



**José Arsenio Torres** was elected to the Commonwealth Senate in 1954 where he represents Bayamón. Strong advocate of reforming the U.P.R.'s structure where he taught until 1964. A graduate of U.P.R. and U. of Chicago (Ph.D.). Born September 20, 1926.



**Severo E. Colberg** has been a member of the Commonwealth House of Representatives since 1964. Formerly Director of the U.P.R. Public Administration School. Graduate of U.P.R. and Harvard U. Born September 16, 1924.



**Luis F. Camacho** has been a member of the Commonwealth House of Representatives since 1964. Served as President of the Popular Party Youth (1960-63). Graduate of U.P.R. Born November 18, 1937.



**Ramón Enrique Dapena Vidal** was elected to the House of Representatives in 1964. Vice President of the Popular Party Central Council of Ponce. Graduate of Inter American U. Born July 9, 1928.



**José García Tañón** was elected to the House of Representatives in 1964. Graduate of U.P.R. Born August 5, 1934.



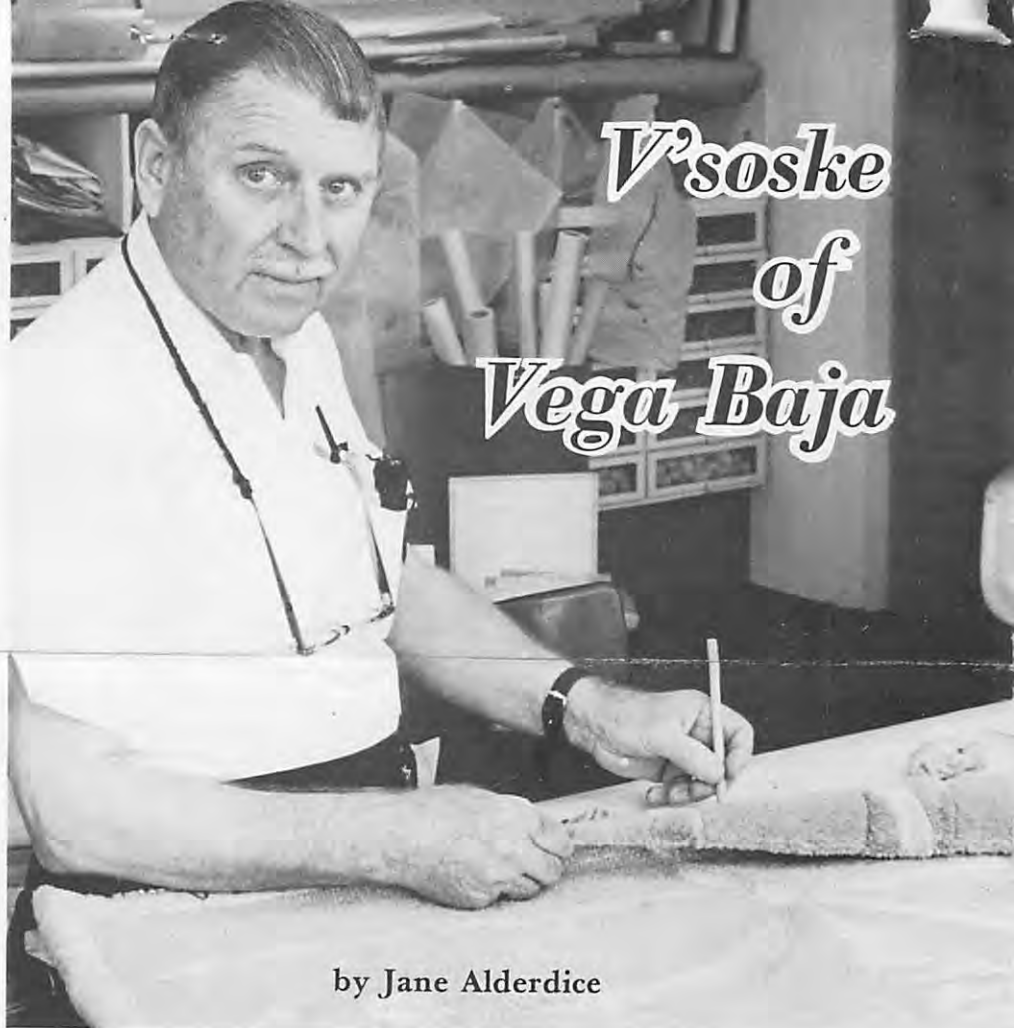
THE SHAH OF IRAN ordered one for his palace, Henry Ford has a few, the White House has four and the Museum of Modern Art considers them works of art and hangs them on the wall, like paintings.

What the aforementioned all have are rugs by V'soske — a name that for 40 years has been synonymous with the best in custom-made carpets. V'soskes can be found in the homes of international millionaires, in the world's luxury hotels, in banking institutions, embassies around the world and luxuriantly nestling under the coffee table in suburbia. In the best tradition of carrying the coals to Newcastle, the Shah of Iran, whose country used to be known as Persia, had one made for his palace in Tehran, and V'Soske recently shipped a large order to Beirut, Lebanon, which is more or less the royal seat of Oriental rugdom.

V'soske is also a family of brothers of Polish extraction who in the 1920's succeeded in revolutionizing the American carpet industry. There is Stanislaw (Stanley), the artist-designer brother and founder of the firm, whose work is commissioned by museums and who relaxes by listening to violin concertos, preferably Haydn or Mozart; Thaddeus (Thad) is the business head of the enterprise who guides its world-wide destinies from a large, air conditioned office in Vega Baja, Puerto Rico; Casimer (K.A.) is in charge of development and is the inventor who has made many of the special tools used in V'Soske production; Bronek (Burt) is in charge of carving and finishing operations.

The hub of V'Soske is eight large warehouse-like buildings spread over a tract of land in the rolling foothills near Vega Baja, an hour's drive west of San Juan. Every V'Soske rug is a custom order and every one is hand made. Wholesale Prices (there are no retail sales) range from roughly \$2 a square foot and up, and have gone up to as high as \$200 a square foot for a wall tapestry designed by Stanley for a synagogue in the United States.

Many of the designs originate with Stanley. Others come from interior designers, including Tony Duquette and T.H. Robsjohn-Gibbings, and some come from designers who work for the company on a free-lance basis. Often customers submit their own designs and send in swatches of upholstery material or drapes to



## V'soske of Vega Baja

by Jane Alderdice

match for color.

For each order, a color sketch of the rug is sent to the customer. When the design is approved, a two-foot square sample of carpet is made and this in turn is sent for final approval. When everybody is happy production begins.

V'Soske works only with pure wool since it is an article of faith in the family that only wool is suitable for quality carpets. (In rare orders silk is used along with the wool to produce a special, glowing effect). The design is perforated on to heavy paper which is placed over a cotton canvas in adjustable floor frames and brushed with stenciling ink. The resulting cartoon, or pattern, is actually the beginning of the carpet from which the workmen begin to weave.

The V'Soske firm is noted for its expertise in the selection and blending of wools from all parts of the world. Nothing is too good for the wools that are accepted at Vega Baja. Yarns are washed in a special (and expensive) detergent to remove excess lanolin and the company even put up its own plant to handle the scouring process. Bleaching is done with pero-

xide rather than with caustics.

Rich, glowing color is a foundation of the V'Soske reputation. There are more than 100,000 color formulas on file that have been developed in the V'Soske laboratories, and more are added every day. A recent order going through the dye room required 65 shadings of the same color, blending up from a pale white-yellow to a deep yellow.

One of the color formulas on file is what is known in the workshops as Kaiser Pink. In his multitudinous developments in Hawaii, Mr. Henry Kaiser is pleased to splash everything from hotels and shopping centers to his bulldozers and tractors with a bright pink paint. For the master bedroom suite of her Hawaiian home, Mrs. Kaiser ordered a luxurious carpet from V'Soske in, of course, Kaiser Pink.

This, according to one member of the firm, "is not a soft pink, not a retiring sort of pink, but PINK."

At the conservative end of the color spectrum workmen recently were putting the finishing touches on a 13' x 16' carpet, embossed and carved, for the Hartford National Bank. It was