

DE PIE

THEORETICAL ORGAN
OF THE MLN



Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional

**Y
EN LUCHA**

**CALL FOR A REVOLUTIONARY
INDEPENDENTIST BLOC**

**STATEHOOD AND CULTURAL
AGRESSION**

**DOGMATISM AND ARMED
STRUGGLE**

**TWO FORMS OF
INTERNATIONAL ORDER**

QUEBEC NEW AFRIKA CHILE

QUEBEC : THESES ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

THESES ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

1. National oppression intensifies in the epoch of imperialism. The bourgeoisie uses national oppression to enhance its own profits, to expand its empire, and to corrupt its own working class with the crumbs of the super-profits. But national oppression brings a revolutionary response. Capitalism's general crisis has been characterized by a growing wave of revolutionary struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. The uprising of the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America has shaken imperialism. Iran, Palestine and Nicaragua are the most recent examples.

2. The democratic struggle against national oppression is an essential element in the proletarian revolutionary struggle for socialism. It would be a "fundamental mistake," writes Lenin, to suppose such struggles are a "diversion." The struggle for political democracy, of which national liberation is one part, prepares the proletariat for victory over the bourgeoisie. "We must combine the revolutionary struggle against capitalism with a revolutionary program and tactics on all democratic demands: a republic, a militia, the popular election of officials, equal rights for women, the self-determination of nations, etc.," wrote Lenin.

3. The struggle against national oppression, far from being "solved" in the advanced capitalist countries, is a profound contradiction of great revolutionary significance. The "national question" is not some-

thing that capitalism outgrows: on the contrary, its importance increases. Contemporary examples include Northern Ireland, Wales and Scotland in the U.K., Brittany, Corsica and the Occitane in France, the Basques in Spain, the Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and Afro-Americans in the U.S., and l'Acadie and Quebec in Canada. "The socialist revolution," writes Lenin, "may break out not only in consequence of a great strike, a street demonstration, a hunger riot, a mutiny in the forces, or a colonial rebellion, but also in consequence of any political crisis, like the Dreyfus affair, the Zabern incident, or in connection with a referendum on the secession of an oppressed nation, etc." Significantly, Lenin's three examples are all drawn from national oppression in Western Europe.

4. The distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations was described by Lenin as "the focal point" and "the cardinal idea" of a communist position on the national question. Refusal to recognize this distinction is a feature of opportunism in the working class movement. Because the objective conditions of workers in the oppressed and oppressor nations are not the same, communist activity addresses different tasks.

Communists in the oppressed nation aim to push forward, deepen and radicalize the struggle for national liberation. "When the revolution is confronted with tasks of a democratic and anti-imperialist character, (communists) aim to develop it unceasingly, to raise it to a socialist revolution, to go over as

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Jose Lopez (M.L.N.)

Ricardo Romero

(Chicano-Mexicano Commission)

Ahmed Obafemi (R.N.A.)

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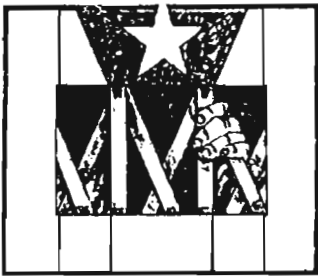
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DESDE LAS REJAS

FROM WITHIN THE BARS

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE ELEVEN PRISONERS OF WAR



Today, Tuesday August 26, 1980, we, the eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, wish to make a public call for the purpose of stressing various points of vital importance to the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement.

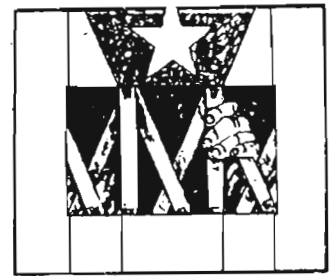
We call for the creation of a Pro-Independence Revolutionary Block as a first step towards the creation of the Puerto Rican National Liberation Front.

We address ourselves to all patriotic and pro-independence sectors affiliated and non-affiliated, committed and willing to unite around certain fundamental points in regards to the unity of the independence revolutionary movement.

We believe that the definition of this Block has to be socialist in content and anti-imperialist in character. repudiation of colonial elections, the expulsion of U.S. navy from Vieques to be seen within the contexts and perspective of ridding all Puerto Rico of imperialism, support for the armed struggle and all revolutionary clandestine organizations who are the embryo for the for-

mation of a peoples army to bring about peoples war, rejection of compulsory military registration to the armed forces of the U.S.A., support of all political prisoners and Puerto Rican prisoners of war, implementation of a solid and unified anti-annexionist campaign.

We hope that these ideas will serve as an incentive and catalyst for the



creation of such a Block, We understand that in the final analysis it will be those integrating the Block who will realize the work and develop a strategic program based on clear points of unity.

For the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, the unity of its forces in order to achieve indepen-

dence and to expel our enemy U.S. imperialism from our home land is of vital importance as it was for our Nationalist heroes Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Irvin Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda in their call to unity, as it was for our heroic revolutionary clandestine organizations: Organizacion De Voluntarios Para La Revolucion Puertorriquena, Ejercito Popular Boricua, Fuerzas Armadas De Resistencia Popular, Fuerzas Armadas De Liberacion Nacional Puertorriquena, in their acceptance of this call to unity given September 23, 1979 in Lares Puerto Rico, and as it is for us, the Eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War.

This call for unity is a historical necessity and historical responsibility in order to achieve final victory for our nation - Puerto Rico.

We call upon all Puerto Rican People to contribute with their ideas and creativity to the creation of a vehicle of unity which will bring about, and make possible the realization of the aspiration of our people in our homeland and in exile.

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quickly as possible to the fulfillment of socialist tasks," writes Enver Hoxha. They expose the narrow interests of the national bourgeoisie, which wants to cut the revolutionary upheaval short. This wavering class threatens to retard and sabotage the national liberation struggle, and to compromise with the oppressor. Finally, communists strive for unity with workers in the oppressor nation.

Communists in the oppressor nation fight for the right of the oppressed nation to self-determination, up to and including secession. They distinguish themselves from opportunists, who use the abstract slogans of "national equality" and "unity of nations" to cloak a chauvinist position. Communists aim to defeat the efforts of "their" bourgeoisie to hold the oppressed nation by force. They refuse all privileges. "Socialist Parties which fail to prove by all their activities now, as well as during the revolution and after its victory, that they will free the enslaved nations and establish relations with them on the basis of a free union -- and such a free union is a lying phrase without a right to secession -- such parties are committing treachery to socialism,"

Lenin.

5. For more than 200 years, Quebec has been an oppressed nation, first within Britain's North American colonies and then within independent Canada. The suppression of the 1837 rebellion, the Durham report (which advocated liquidation of the French nation), Confederation, the hanging of Riel, the conscription crisis of World War I through to the October crisis of 1970, are all episodes in the continuing oppression of Quebec.

Features of national oppression of the Quebecois include lower wages, higher unemployment, more dangerous working conditions, limited access to education, poorer housing, a higher mortality rate and inferior standards of medical and dental care. The English language continues to hold a privileged position, even in

Quebec. Outside Quebec, the linguistic rights of French-speaking minorities are everywhere denied.

There is a long tradition of resistance to this national oppression that has often taken on revolutionary dimensions. Louis Riel and 12 of the 1837 Patriots paid with their lives for their armed resistance to the chauvinist English-Canadian rulers. Following World War II, a renewed wave of national sentiment -- inspired in large part by anti-colonial revolutions in Asia and Africa -- rocked Quebec. The national bourgeoisie, which aspired to improve its own position with respect to its more powerful competitor in English Canada, dubbed this "the quiet revolution." But the working class forces, which had created the upheaval, were far from quiet. Their participation in the national struggle is a long history of strikes, demonstrations and street battles with the police. The Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) raised the spectre of armed struggle, and its revolutionary manifesto of 1970 fell on receptive ears among the workers of Quebec. The labor movement, led by the militant Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN), again and again challenged the chauvinist oppressors and their colonized French-speaking agents.

6. The struggle for the independence of Quebec is a component of the revolutionary struggle for socialism. Independentist sentiments among the workers of Quebec have unleashed powerful revolutionary energies. These have taken on an anti-imperialist and socialist orientation. We desire the development of this tendency, its advance to the stage of political general strike and armed struggle, and its eventual triumph over the English Canadian chauvinist bourgeoisie.

An obstacle along this path is the hesitant, wavering and compromising national bourgeoisie. Rene Levesque and the Parti Quebecois represent this class. Parliamentarist solutions, such as the referendum, offer little hope of striking a decisive blow for independence. They threaten to disarm and demoralize the most militant elements. Leves-

que himself is afraid to even use the word, though his "sovereignty" is the same thing as political independence. The "association" he proposes will perpetuate the economic domination by U.S. imperialism and its junior partner, English Canada. Levesque may become Quebec's Salvador Allende, leading workers into a bloody battle, all the while insisting that the army will not fight. 7. The working class must lead the national struggle. Leadership of the independence movement must be taken out of the hands of Levesque, and the proletariat put in command. Of course, the united front must encompass those elements of the national bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia willing to accept such leadership. Only the working class, guided by the Marxist-Leninist party, can provide the uncompromising commitment, as well as the revolutionary tactics, necessary for victory.

8. No nation can be free if it oppresses another. English Canadian workers must learn that they can never throw off their chains until Quebec is free. Our slogan is the right of Quebec to separate. This means we resist all attacks on Quebec and attempts to subvert the independence struggle, be they the daily political intimidation of Davis, Clark and the Globe and Mail, or the naked threat of armed intervention. We strive for the military defeat of the English-Canadian bourgeoisie in its efforts to suppress the national liberation struggle. We endeavor to popularize the progress of the struggle in Quebec among the workers in English Canada, to build solidarity, and to develop respect for the militant example that is being set. We desire increasing cooperation on an organizational basis between workers in both nations.

9. The New Democratic Party (NDP) and the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) play a particularly repulsive role as spokesmen for the English Canadian bourgeoisie within the labor movement. These organizations represent the backward views of the more privileged workers and the social-democratic intellec-

DESDE LA CLANDESTINIDAD FROM THE TRENCHES COLONIAL ELECTIONS AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

During the election year, it has been noted that all the participating parties have made a great show of recruiting union leaders as candidates for office -- a whole competition has emerged to demonstrate who is closest to the working class, who gives them more participation, and who represents them.

This situation has developed a great deal of debate in the heart of the left. Positions have flourished which go from an idealization of unions, of a populist shape, to the classic magic wand that some groups have continued repeatedly waving as a solution for everything, of the necessity for the communist party. Everyone has made a party analysis, throwing their coals on the bonfire, each above all, very partial. Certainly some have presented very valid arguments, but they have failed in seeing the whole scope of the problem.

The elements that stand out and seem of the greatest significance are the following:

- the necessity the bourgeois parties have had of presenting themselves in worker's clothing
- the right and the responsibilities the workers have (including the

union leaders) of participating in the political struggle

- what class character the political organizations that the workers participate in should have
- what benefits come to the working class as such, and to the unions, through the participation of the union leaders in those parties and in the bourgeois-colonial elections.
- should the unions determine the political participation of their leaders, and are their interests above the general ones of the working class?
- is there any particularity in the case of the UTIER?

The bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie have found themselves obliged by circumstances to disguise themselves as defenders of the working class. Organizationally and in its levels of political consciousness, the working class is still weak. Moreover it can be said that they haven't emerged from the ebb tide into which they fell some years ago. But everyone needs them to fix their perch in the government. They know that the economic crisis (above all in entering a recession phase) is suffered principally by the working

class. They are also well aware that the workers, for some years, have been in a process of development of political independence as a class. They have lost the hegemony they had in the first decades of the PPD, and everyone is struggling to be the substitute for it.

Possibly the ones who have the most interest in this are the PNP; or perhaps a very special interest. Being the present administration, it has stood out because of its anti-worker politics, and it needs a higher level of mass support to be able to proceed with its plans for annexation.

The PPD needs to be able to erase the anti-worker measures from its past administrations and try to channel popular disgust against the present administration.

Everything: its liberal declarations, its new thesis, its worker leaders, its attacks on corruption, its attacks on the PNP's americanization, etc. are part of its new wardrobe of opposition, "Puerto Ricaness" and workerism necessary to win office.

With the PIP, it's the same story. Only with the working class can anyone push through any change in the

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colonial political situation. Social democracy knows it, and is interested in replacing yanki imperialism with its own empire. Social democracy has demonstrated internationally a great capacity for the bourgeoisie to maintain control through governments and parties flavored with populism.

With the PSP things are a little different. Although this party is tightly linked organizationally and ideologically to the petty bourgeoisie, it presents itself as Marxist and as a workers' party. The case of the PSP must be seen from the perspective of the methods of struggle (employed); and as to how one contributes to the working class gaining consciousness as a class and consciousness of the necessity for revolutionary struggle to take power. PSP politics in regards to unions and to the use of union leaders has been very opportunist, and this has been debated so much that it is not necessary to go on recounting history. To a great extent, the rest of the analysis is applicable to these comrades.

What merits notice is that everyone, from the right to the reformists, have been pressured by the awakening and the unification demonstrated by the working class in the past 15 years. But it doesn't follow that anyone has a genuine interest in representing their interests, and much less that anyone aspires to a worker's state.

The fact that they have been able to integrate this gamut of union leaders, (from opportunists and grafters to so-called Marxists) also shows the low political development of the workers movement, the small amount of class consciousness, the penetration of bourgeois ideology, economism and reformism, and the precarious political organization of the left. This is not political participation of class conscious workers, it is completely the opposite. It is participation that strengthens different factions of the bourgeoisie. The workers haven't yet become aware that political participation of the workers, as a class, is essential to the political ends of the working class.

That their division among parties which don't have this class character debilitates the class and submerges it more in the political confusion, as much through the participation itself as through the not-very-militant position the PSP took through Lausell in the case of the UTIER.

It remains clear, however, that what is questionable is not the political party participation of the union leaders. Not only do they have this right, but it must be defended. Even more it must be defended from the point of view that they have the right to do so outside the bourgeois-colonial elections, from clandestine structures and in the armed struggle. It must be clarified also that it is a populist position to pretend that this participation can be determined by the unions. Where to participate organizationally in the class struggle is a party oriented question which the unions cannot dictate to their leaders. The unions are primary structures of struggle, ideologically heterogeneous which in their present development, respond to particular interests of sectors of the working class, but not to the historic interest of the class (seizure of power by the class, socialist society). For this reason UTIER cannot be consulted concerning the participation of Lausell and Dupry. This would only contribute to dividing UTIER more than it has already been divided by the participation of these principal leaders in the electoral process.

The candidacy of the different union leaders is not going to contribute anything to the development of the workers' movement. It has no utility for the workers. The ranks of the respective unions will be divided along party lines among parties foreign to the class; will strengthen their hopes for legislative reforms to alleviate their situation; they will continue believing in the bourgeois-colonial channels for political struggle. It will create a dependency on what the leaders can do instead of fomenting workers' participation in the struggles of the masses; it will strengthen the view of separating the unions from politics, when they see the disaster this brings to their unions or to the political organi-

zation of the class as to the development of the workers' consciousness.

Some have argued that the problem is the lack of a working class party. Again they bring the simplistic formula of parties, and don't even explain how the existence of such a party would resolve things. In reality if this ideal party existed, if Lausell were its candidate and if it participated in the bourgeois-colonial election process, its arguments presented here would be the same. It would do the same damage to the struggle for independence and socialism. In reality behind the argumentation for a party is hidden the hope of converting it into a powerful party so that some individuals could participate in elections. From this position, one of the arguments used against the PSP is that Lausell should be participating even when he has no chance. But if he had a chance, would the action be correct? NO!

In the case of the UTIER, the situation is graver. This union finds itself in negotiations and with the candidacy of two of its principal leaders, which is weakening the unity with which they should be confronting the bosses at this moment. The (mesquinos) party interests do not deserve the sacrifice of the political and organizational strength of the UTIER.

To conclude: the effort of the union leaders and of the workers on the left, as well as the socialist organizations themselves, should concentrate, in regards their union work and with the working class, in the development and strengthening of the processes of union democracy, the creation of the political consciousness of the class, and the organization of the working class not just in unions but primarily in partisan and non-partisan political organisms inside and outside the unions. They ought to seek the struggle in the streets and the mobilization of the masses which will foster political participation in the struggle and prepare the masses; they should avoid methods that detour from these objectives. Along this political and organizational line,
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PART TWO: DOGMATISM AND ARMED STRUGGLE A LITTLE HISTORY

The Third Communist International, having as its purpose to reunite and co-ordinate forces and tactics that were capable of seizing revolutionary state power by the working class, was founded in 1919.

The Bolshevik experience presented itself as the beacon that illuminated the path. For it was that party that had obtained the triumph, and its influence and prestige weighed heavily upon the revolutionary reasoning of that epoch.

The practice of the Russian communists had demonstrated the harmonious combination of both elements, and the European communists thought that the same could be repeated in their countries. In addition, they concluded that the Russian Revolution signaled the beginning of the revolution in Europe, and that this in turn signified the downfall of capitalism; all this within a short period of time.

Lenin shared this judgement, and along with the rest of the International, had his vision set on Germany. The German situation was frequently referred to as establishing parallels with the Russian experience. Parallels that did not correspond with the German political reality.

Three insurrections realized under extremely unfavorable conditions were smashed in Germany.

The Third International firmly maintained its insurrectional outlook in its revolutionary thinking; the defeats directed the revolutionaries to develop more effective forms of insurrection. But it was only after more insurrectional defeats, and in spite of the Third

International and his Party's leadership that Mao illuminated the correct road towards prolonged people's war.

The dogmatists, however, identifying armed struggle with insurrections, concluded that these insurrectional defeats signified the present incapacity or impossibility of taking up arms, and began to preach the "parliamentary tactic" as the first stage of the "Revolution" that would fortify the possibilities and ripen the "objective conditions" that would culminate in a victorious insurrection.



But the "tactical" incidence resulted in a deviation. The "means" became an "end" and parliamentarism became a true means of political and ideological perversion upon the leadership of the Communist parties. In Germany, in addition to the initial theory that the social democrats were the principal enemies, the parliamentarism of the Communist Party facilitated the fascists' rise to power.

All this was before the Second World War.

During World War II the French Communists fought in the Resistance against the Nazi occupation,

with a courage and heroism with few historical precedents. Thousands of lives were lost. While the Communists operated in guerrilla units, the non-Communist anti-fascists limited themselves to obtaining information for the Allies. Very few, if any, were combatants.

Once the war had ended, the leadership of the French Communist Party literally disarmed its combatants, whose organization was experienced, massive and solid; in other words, capable of developing the revolutionary struggle for the seizure of state power, at the War's end, and returned to the "revolutionary" parliamentarist tactic.

The piglets, Orwell would say, could no longer be distinguished from the humans.

Historically, the dogmatists have been extremely flexible in their tactics (the very cry of "flexibility" is a tactic). However, they have been extremely rigid in other things: they have reneged on the working-class struggle and have opted for compromise, with the active collaboration with the enemy class. The strikes, the mass demonstrations, and the confrontations with the armed forces of the bourgeoisie have all been replaced by the electoral fronts, the strike-breaking pacifism, the economism and other reformist leprosies.

They are, objectively, the fifth column of the "anti-fascist" or "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie within the working class. They are the tranquilizing pill with which fascism and imperialism paralyze the work-

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DOGMATISM AND THE ARMED STRUGGLE:

ing class, while they prepare to repress and make war.

THE SOLUTION

There is an old dialectical dictum that the remedy is a product of the illness.

With the rise and proliferation of prolonged people's war on a world-wide scale, the conditions which gave life to the development of dogmatism disappear. From the very entrails of dogmatism have arisen the revolutionary elements which, reacting against the collaborationist politic of the previous parties, have routed their militancy along paths productive to the working class: Carlos Marighella was a member of the Executive Commission of the Communist Party of Brazil, Douglas Bravo was a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Venezuela, and Salvador Cayetano Carpio was the Secretary General of the Communist Party of El Salvador.

Dogmatism, however, is not dead. The enemy sponsors it generously.

The politico-military development of the revolutionary guerrillas will lead the working class in overcoming this limitation. The stupefaction which its existence produces is dangerous, but if revolutionaries orient themselves correctly, they can annihilate it. One never undertakes or adopts a centrist position in relation to them. To do so would mean that Che's sacrifice was in vain, and that the Mario Monjes became once again effective.



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tuals. If armed invasion of Quebec is threatened, it will be Broadbent and McDermott egging the troops on to battle.

10. There is another variety of chauvinist which attacks the national movement from the "left." Organizations such as the Communist Party of Canada, The Forge, In Struggle and the Communist Party of Canada (ML), devote more energy to attacks on Levesque's petty-bourgeois nationalism than they do to the chauvinists in Ottawa. They betray their own Canadian -- that is, English Canadian -- nationalism. They see an independent Quebec as a threat to a "strong Canada," though such chauvinist drivel is often masked in slogans about a "free union" and a "new constitution." For example, the Communist Party of Canada (pro-Moscow) urges a strong Canada to fight U.S. imperialism, while The Forge (pro-Peking) urges a strong Canada to fight Soviet imperialism. The Communist Party has a long two-faced history of craven support for the most nationalist demands of the English Canadian petty-bourgeoisie, all the while condemning "nationalist tendencies" among the workers of Quebec. The virulent, one-sided attacks on the PQ pervade the propaganda of these groups, not only in Quebec but in English Canada as well, where they fan the flames of chauvinism.

11. Just as struggles in Iran, Nicaragua and Palestine have struck a mortal blow at U.S. imperialism, the struggle for the liberation of Quebec may devastate the English Canadian bourgeoisie, and bring on its own revolutionary crisis. Plagued by contradictions not only with Quebec but also with a long history of separatist movements in Maritime and Western Canada (mainly annexationists who wanted to join the U.S.), the main source of strength of the dominant Montreal-Toronto capitalist group has been its rule and oppression of Quebec. This is the cornerstone of Canadian capitalism, in much the same sense as Ireland has "served" British imperialism.

Quebec's favored natural resources, advantageous geographic position along the St. Lawrence, and rich source of labor (paid less and treated worse than workers elsewhere in the country), all contributed to the strength of the oppressor. Quebec was the plum that made this group supreme not only in Ontario but on the Atlantic and Pacific as well. Lenin says a revolutionary situation arises not only when the people have reached a situation where "they have nothing to lose but their chains," but also where the rulers themselves are unable to continue in the old way. Therefore, the possible break-up of Canada prompted by the national liberation of Quebec, could cause a crisis that would totally undermine the chauvinist bourgeoisie, and precipitate a revolution throughout Canada.

November 29, 1979

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valid for both public and clandestine organizations, will be found the base to organize the working class for participation and leadership of the struggle for independence and socialism.

Taken from Urayoan, the official organ of the Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular, (Armed Forces of Popular Resistance) F.A.R.P., 3rd year, May/June, number 3.

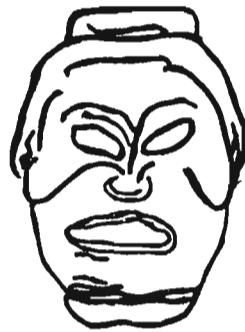
NO VOTE

STATEHOOD AND CULTURAL AGRESSION

Culture is one of the aspects of society whose study presents major difficulties. The principal barrier is that it is not limited to material production of a people, but rather is a phenomenon principally of the thought and the conduct of a social being. Also we consider that there are multiple concrete and tangible manifestations of culture such as the instruments of labor, literature the mode of production, the plastic arts, customs, crafts, architecture, clothing, music, language and dance. All these elements manifest particular features of the culture of a people and are possibly the principal instruments to approach the study and comprehension of the culture. They are a manifestation of and a part of, but do not in themselves constitute, a culture. This human process that we call culture also encompasses a way of seeing things, of appreciating various natural and social phenomena, of the concept of what is beautiful and what is ugly, of determining what function anyone in society (as a class or social sector) can hope to fulfill, as well as a code of ethics and the whole gamut of thoughts and tastes. All these are elements that sometimes are explicitly manifest and other times are implicit and in use even though never mentioned. The implicit character of many of these aspects is one of the barriers in the way of comprehending the cultural phenomenon of a people.

Two other characteristics of a culture are its dialectical essence and its dependence on the mode of life of the society. Culture is in constant development. Like all social processes it springs forth, develops and changes, and can die. It goes on discarding what is worn out, whatever becomes an obstacle to the economic development of the society. In this way the indigenous or Taino

culture which the Spanish encountered was affected by the imposition of another culture that came accompanied by certain methods of production and technology that were more developed. The aboriginal culture was halted in its own development and succumbed before a more developed social organization. The same thing occurred with the culture that was brought by the African element. Uprooted from their milieu, forced to adapt to other conditions of life; their concept of the world,



their way of seeing things, their mode of relating to other human beings and their form of showing their feelings were all changed. They were assimilated culturally by a milieu and a culture that was at an advantage.

This process of assimilation that took place with the Taino and the African culture, which we have mentioned very superficially and without detail, flowed in its turn into a development of the predominant culture, the Spanish. After this process one can no longer speak of a Spanish culture like the ruling culture of the metropolis (also one can not say that the culture of Spain remains the same before and after the discovery of America) corresponding to the culture among the Spaniards who lived in Puerto Rico at that time. In the process of cultural assimilation, from the adaptation of the Spaniards themselves to

different conditions of life, from the establishment of certain modes of production appropriate to the colony, the inhabitants of the Island continued adapting features of the assimilated cultures, and at the same time there emerged characteristics of that society which distinguished it from the metropolis as well as from the other colonies in America.

This differentiation was forming a new nation in America, the Puerto Rican nation. Descendants of Tainos, Africans, and Spaniards began to call themselves, and to feel like, criollos (creoles). The island economy acquired its own demands and interests. The people born here developed a patriotic love of this island and a particular form of expressing their sentiments.

There emerged two essential elements for the consolidation of a people as a nation: the national feeling of its component parts, that is, the consciousness of themselves as a nation; and what the sociologists call "spirit of the body" (a feeling of belonging to a larger group, family, team, barrio or country) together with certain economic interests that needed to create their own road ahead.

The new cultural formation which was consolidated in the 19th Century had in turn its own development. From the moment that we can observe the emergence of the new nation and its culture we see a movement that produced changes in two directions. In one direction distinguishing itself more and more from its origins and building its own personality; and in the other direction developing itself within the new mechanisms, channels, patterns visions and interests which had been forming in its breast. The struggle between the old and the new dynamized a culture. In turn this

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STATEHOOD AND CULTURAL AGGRESSION

acquires its own life and—even though determined by the mode of production—becomes independent and influences it.

The key word in the process is “determined.” Although a culture develops into a structure of its own, subject to its own laws of development, affected by interaction with other cultures, enriching itself by the acquisition of universal values, and even influencing the material medium of its existence, it is limited by the material base on which it is built.*1

It has been scientifically demonstrated that this material base is where there is erected the whole edifice formed by political institutions, the state, ideas, parties, religion and other factors usually known as the superstructure of the society. Culture is a broader concept than superstructure because it integrates aspects which constitute the material base, or the mode of production.

In the material base the most important factors are those which revolve around the economic life of a people. To the extent that the economic conditions of life of the population of Borinquen were differentiating themselves and becoming less dependent on the metropolis, they were forging different interests and methods of seeing things.*2

*1 The material base of a culture is constituted by its geography, climate and mode of production. By mode of production we mean what constitutes the productive forces, which embrace everything from the social being itself as an entity with experience, the instruments of work, up to the technology and scientific discoveries, and on the other hand the relations of production which are established among human beings at a particular historical developmental stage of the productive forces.

*2. Other influential factors were the distance from the metropolis and the state of communications media.

Also influential in the process of Yanqui intervention in Puerto Rico was the emergence of a capitalist power in America and the commercial relations already established before the invasion, between the Spanish colony and the U.S. This trade came to be part of the material base on which were developed classes and class interests which formed a contradictory nation where some defended the status quo, others sought to free themselves from the colonial shackles that impeded their development as a class, and others sought to deepen the relationships with the U.S. as a means to achieve their own interests. Within the pre-invasion commercial relations were established the political and ideological bases that facilitated the military intervention. These relations were developing the social base of support for the yanquis.

From the North American intervention up until now the Puerto Rican culture has been a debate between two antagonistic currents. One was national affirmation and the other assimilation into North America. Both, with their own development and at the same time interrelated. The great difference between them is that one, the pro-North American, has counted on the whole material weight of the ruling colonial relations. The assimilationist ideology has been the foundation of the predominant modes of production cultural assimilation has matched economic assimilation. The other current has had to fulfill the magnificent function of resistance.

It is not out of the geniality of the political rulers that the annexationists are governing now. Decades of yanqui colonialism and an entire period of free associated state-ism have been the base which has placed annexationism on the offensive. If in the past there have been criollos who have felt themselves to be Spaniards and Spanish patterns of life were felt to be the ones that should be imitated; today, thanks to eighty years of yanqui imperialism, we also have a sector of the population which feels itself to be North American and whose patterns of life copy those of the north.

The assimilationists want to present the Puerto Rican culture as something static and superficial, as a process subject to the will and whim of the Puerto Ricans. They attempt to show that conditions cannot exist, beyond the will of the people, that could assimilate the national culture into North American culture. Moreover they pretend to show that the yanquis have no such intention. Let's read some paragraphs from the pamphlet by Romero Barcelo entitled “Statehood is for the poor”:

“Puerto Rico is a duly constituted people, with a way of existing—what is called a culture—which is very much particular to us and well defined.”

“What was the situation when the U.S. invasion came to Puerto Rico in 1898 as part of the war between Spain and the U.S.?”

“...Then began a mistaken chapter in the relations between the U.S. and Puerto Rico. The Americans then began an attempt to convert the Puerto Ricans into Americans. And, mistakenly, some Puerto Ricans of those times began to believe that within a short time the Puerto Ricans would become Americans.”

“This experiment lasted some thirty years. And it failed, as it had to fail. Because the Puerto Ricans are Puerto Ricans and we cannot ever be converted into Anglo-Saxons without going crazy.”

“...This is so for many reasons. First because the Puerto Ricans of that time, who were our fathers and our grandfathers, had a way of being that they were not going to change for any other way of being, so abruptly and almost violently. In the second place the Americans did not move to Puerto Rico in great numbers...”

“All of the above only goes to explain a great truth which we all know and recognize in our most intimate hearts and our way of being: that we Puerto Ricans are what we are, and what we are going to continue being.”

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"Our culture, as we pointed out earlier, is our way of being. Is our Puerto Rican way of being going to change overnight when the U.S. Congress converts us, on our petition, into the 51st State? Clearly not. How is it possible to change? Peoples ways of being are not something that can be controlled by legislation."

"When another piece of legislation made Puerto Ricans citizens of the U.S. in 1917, our way of being did not change at all. We kept dressing the way we dressed. We kept eating what we ate. We continued to have the same religion. And we continued speaking Spanish. There is not one aspect of Puerto Rican culture that has changed since 1917 as a consequence of Puerto Ricans being made, by Congressional legislation, into citizens of the U.S."

"When Congress passes the law that converts us into the 51st State ...we will continue being the same people, speaking the same language that we now speak, dancing the same dances that we now dance, and celebrating the same holidays we now celebrate."

And he concludes:

"How do we guarantee to the Puerto Ricans that this will be so?"

"We guarantee it simply by insisting that it be so."

The man who denied Puerto Rican culture, the party that describes our culture as a provincial one, now wants to give it a false strength and limit it to dance, dress, food and language. In truth, the reality of what they describe has been different. The beginning of the century was a titanic resistance to preserve our culture before the coarse and savage yanqui attempt to assimilate us. The children of this land who lived or were born in the beginning of this century know another reality. They have seen how "our way of being" has been changing. How a sector of the population has been americanizing; how the "american way of life" has penetrated even into our countryside.

If the Puerto Rican culture has succeeded in surviving and developing itself as it has, this has been because of two fundamental factors. When the North Americans invaded Puerto Rico they encountered a nation already constituted, with strong cultural characteristics in full development. The mechanisms of



defense and development already had decades of establishment and had manifested themselves in the Grito de Lares, in a struggle to abolish slavery, in art, literature, politics, in an autonomous government and in a social class (the large landowners) who, having economic power, were seeking political power.

Assimilation did not easily result from these conditions, and the process required fundamental changes in the economic order. The first years were ones of unequal struggle between a power, and an economy in transition that did not have mechanisms for struggle. But what did exist was an economy that would have to be absorbed in order to facilitate cultural assimilation, constituted an initial barrier of resistance.

Today, after 82 years of Yanki penetration, we find an economy absorbed by imperialism. Now they have the material base to complete the cultural assimilation. In the process they have accomplished the Americanization of a great sector of the population, but they have encountered a tenacious resistance in the order of the spiritual culture of our people. The PPD and the ELA served as an instrument of assimilation in order to create the platform from which they launched the pro-statehood forces, who are hurrying to surpass the servility of the others.

The PNP has been outstanding for its attempts to consolidate the mechanisms of destruction of the Puerto Rican culture. They have

intensified the process of americanization in the whole educational system, they have proposed to abolish sovereignty in sports, they have introduced the primaries of the Yanki parties and propose to introduce the U.S. presidential vote with the intention of assimilation the local parties; they have deepened economic dependence and have attacked institutions like the Puerto Rican Ateneo, the University and the Institute of Culture. Their intention is obvious: to eliminate the sources of resistance in the cultural sphere. If this is so even while we are not yet a federal state, what remains for us when they win their goal?

Under federal statehood all the vital institutions of the people will be integrated into the institutions of the empire. The political system, the educational system, sports, the legislature, the development of culture, the whole judicial system, would be at the service of the national interests of the U.S. Already, in practice, many of these institutions fulfill this function. Statehood would end with taking away the instruments needed for the will of the national struggle of the people to be able to find means to concretize themselves in a development of their culture.

Moreover they propose to bring the people to stop thinking in terms of their national identity. They would not speak in terms of the nation and the Puerto Rican people. They would be the people, and the nation of North America. These are the true objectives of the annexationists. In the past they have encountered strong resistance from the people against the disappearance of the nation. Today, when the imperialists have achieved absolute domination over the economy, it is of vital importance to strengthen the instruments of defense of the culture and to win national independence, the only way in which the people and the working class can create the mechanisms for strengthening and developing the national culture to higher levels.

DESDE LA TRIBUNA FROM THE PODIUM

UNITED NATIONS

STATEMENT BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON DECOLONI-
ZATION OF THE UNITED
NATIONS ON THE COLONIAL
CASE OF PUERTO RICO AND
PUERTO RICANS IN THE
UNITED STATES
ON BEHALF OF THE MOVI-
MIENTO DE LIBERACION
NACIONAL

Jose Lopez
National Coordinator
August 18, 1980

Honorable Delegates:

It has been exactly two years since we last addressed this august body. At that time we outlined the conditions of the Puerto Rican people inside the United States—or, as Jose Marti referred to it, to live within the belly of the monster and to know its ways.

Since that time, much has happened, particularly in regards to the revolutionary Puerto Rican independence movement, both in Puerto Rico and in the U.S. We have witnessed the glorious escape of William Guillermo Morales, the death of the Patriot Andres Figueroa Cordero, the unconditional release of the remaining four Puerto Rican national heroes: Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Irvin Flores, the issuance of a joint communique by four of the six active Puerto Rican revolutionary guerrilla organizations in response to the unitary call made by the Four upon their release. Since then, we have witnessed also, the horrible and barbaric assassination of the Patriot Angel Rodriguez Cristobal,

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Mr. President, and Distinguished Delegates:

I am Ahmed Obafemi, the Eastern Regional Vice President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. I appear before you today on behalf of 20 million New Afrikan people of the New Afrikan Nation, in North America, to express our full support and solidarity for the Independence of Puerto Rico and the 11 Prisoners of War.

The New Afrikan Nation is an internal colony of the United States. The territory of the nation is located in the southeast portion of what is currently called by imperialists the United States of America. As a colony, we have suffered the hideous results of colonization, rampant unemployment, wretched health care, and diabolical mal-treatment in the educational area. In the area of criminal justice at this very moment the state of Illinois is attempting to put to death 17 Black men on a frame-up prosecution in Chicago. This continues an American tradition wherein 54% of the persons executed in the United States have been New Afrikans, although the New Afrikan population is only 12% of the total population of the United States.

The New Afrikan people became a nation upon this land via the institution of slavery when millions of Afrikans were kidnapped from the Afrikan continent, and from various tribal nations and brought to the Americas. In North America a New Afrikan nation was born, the captives from numerous Afrikan tribal nations merged into one people during slavery, with one culture, a new Afrikan homeland, and one language

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Statement Before the Committee on Decolonization of the U.N. By Ricardo Romero Representative of the Chicano/Mexicano Commission of the M.L.N.

I would like to thank all the Members of the Decolonization Committee, all the nations present here today, who have made it possible to address ourselves to the question of Independence and Socialism for Puerto Rico.

I also choose to take this opportunity to address myself to the plight of the Chicano/Mexicano people in the United States.

I will begin by giving a brief historical background and analysis of the necessity of our struggle.

Since the early 1500's, with the invasion of our homelands by the Spaniards, the Chicano/Mexicano people have struggled to gain their Independence. We struggled against Spain for 300 years until finally, in the year 1821 we gained our independence from Spain.

Our people have a history of struggle that is unequalled in the history of the Americas.

Our independence from Spain was short-lived, as the French imposed an Emperor on our nation by the name of Maximilian. We struggled against this invasion by the French and defeated them on the Fifth of May at Puebla in the year 1867.

During this period we had a neighbor to the north of us who was the rising capitalist power, who had deliberate plans to expand their capitalism and looked to our country as a basis from which they could begin.

Thus the Mexican nation was coming out of 80 years of internal

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leader of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, at the hands of his jailers in Tallahassee Federal Prison. A month later, we witnessed a political execution, by a combined commando force of the guerrilla organizations, during an attack on a U.S. Navy bus—one of the most dramatic and well-executed military actions in Puerto Rico's history. This incident, which left 2 sailors dead and 10 others wounded, saw the revolutionary forces escape unharmed, while some of the Naval survivors were given the Purple Heart—a military honor bestowed by the U.S. government for actions of courage demonstrated in a war situation, a clear testimony that a state of war exists between Puerto Rico and the U.S. On April 4, 1980, we witnessed the capture of 11 Puerto Rican freedom fighters, accused of membership in the heroic Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (F.A.L.N.) by the civilian police of Evanston, Illinois. It is this latter incident that we wish to address ourselves to today.

Before continuing, it is appropriate that we salute those peoples and movements who today, along with us, struggle against the greatest enemy of humanity, U.S. imperialism: we stretch our hands to greet the courageous people of Iran who have demonstrated to the world that a small nation can bring a major power to its knees. We take note of and solidify ourselves with the heroic Chilean resistance against the bloody Pinochet's dictatorship. We salute the valiant people of El Salvador, who like their brave neighbors of Nicaragua, have pledged to rid their territory of imperialism and its dictatorial lackeys. We embrace the heroic Palestinian people in their struggle against Zionism, which is a specific form of racism and imperialism. We wish to extend our unconditional solidarity to the people of Ireland, who struggle for a United Ireland, to the Mexican revolutionary movement which seeks to realize the dreams of Zapata in this new era, and the Black Li-

beration struggle which seeks to end internal colonialism and which in Miami gave a prelude of the militant and revolutionary mood that is sweeping the Black community in this decade of the 80s. We wish, at this time, to make particular note of the struggle of the people of Quebec for self-determination and independence, and to extend to them our revolutionary greetings.

Honorable Delegates, all these forces, and many of the nations represented in this body, in one degree or another are challenging U.S. imperialist hegemony, particularly as enunciated in its strategy of trilateralism. I am sure that all of you



are familiar with trilateralism. However, it is necessary for us to elaborate a bit on the subject, as it relates significantly to Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

The organization whom I have the great honor to represent before this august assembly, the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (M.L.N.) has enunciated a four-pronged program for the total liberation of the Puerto Rican people, placing it within the context of the world-wide struggle against imperialism and for social progress. In analyzing our program, which is essentially the program of the Puerto Rican revolutionary movement, we see Puerto Rico playing a

strategic role in the human struggle for liberation. Why do we have the audacity to proclaim this?

Honorable Delegates, the reasons are two-fold. We need only look around this room to see that national liberation in this epoch is the motive force for social progress, and in the struggle for national independence. Secondly, Puerto Rico is both the Achilles Heel of U.S. imperialism and its Trojan Horse. There is no doubt in our minds that, regardless of who is elected in November 1980, the present Trilateralist strategy will continue.

Internationally this means that the declining U.S. imperialists will attempt by whatever means to sustain a hegemonistic position over the so-called free world. While trying to make some concessions to three other Western economies, particularly Western Europe, Canada, and Japan, and perhaps even share some of its technology with emerging Third World countries with mineral wealth, it will do everything possible to suffocate liberation struggles wherever they appear. However, we know that the world is changing and inter-imperialist conflicts are definitely emerging. This brings us to the point of domestic trilateralism.

As the U.S. is weakened abroad, as its economic and political position wanes, the U.S. monopolists, particularly the finance capitalists, will have to confront major internal conflicts. For hundreds of years the U.S., not content with settling the lands of the native peoples, and not content with the takeover of half the national territory of Mexico, and not content with enslaving millions of Africans, and not content with its military intervention in Puerto Rico, has attempted, by whatever means—from starvation to lynching, from sterilization to assassinations, from infanticide to national annihilation of these subject peoples—the U.S. has done everything possible to transform these peoples within its federal structure into objects. This policy can only be called genocide.

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The common history of objectification of Third World people within the imperialist borders of the federal state has given birth to a common history of resistance. This resistance of Native People, of Black People, of Chicano-Mexicano people and of Puerto Rican people reached a high point in the 1960's. Particular note of this is made in the Trilateralist blueprint for fascism in the U.S., *Crisis in Democracy*. This document, which we discussed when we last addressed this body, clearly states that fascism is the only alternative for the U.S. It is within this context that one must examine both police, F.B.I. and I.N.S. terrorism in Third World communities, as well as the reimplementation of draft registration. For as the U.S. tightens its belt, it must insure its ability to combat the growing insurgency from its internal colonies.

Honorable Delegates, one only has to look at America to see clearly the road it is trotting. Cities are being transformed from dwellings for the poor into renaissance centers for the wealthy. The policy of gentrification is resolving one of America's greatest problems— for, unlike in any other cities in the world, in the U.S. the poor and the people of color live in the inner cities, while the white and the wealthy live in the outskirts. Through an urban policy that pours money directly into communities, the Carter administration is changing the urban settings of America. While Carter whitens the cities, the financial oligarchy begins to directly manage them, even to the point where city budgets are now approved by finance capital. They can no longer trust the politicians to do their work for them. The whole superstructure increasingly is transforming itself into a fascist corporate state. Fascism is characterized by the state's ability to mobilize the masses to wholeheartedly support the programs of the national monopolies. One has only to look at Hitler addressing one million applauding German workers to understand that his ability to do this was

at the expense of millions of lives of Jews, Poles and other Slavs, whom he sacrificed as scapegoats. One does not have to be a wise man to decipher who are to be America's scapegoats. They most certainly will be found in this country's internal colonies— the Blacks, the Chicano-Mexicanos, the Puerto Ricans and the Native Americans.

Across the land we are seeing a reemergence of fascist and racist organisms, from the election of a Nazi to a Congressional seat in Michigan to open attacks by the K.K.K. on Blacks and Mexicans everywhere. The most blatant forms of racism were channeled and orchestrated by the state against Iranian students in the U.S., even to the point where young Iranians cannot walk the streets of America's cities without fear of losing their lives.

Not only are the masses of white people being mobilized to support the right-wing trend in the U.S., but an all-out effort is being made to control the Third World population in the U.S. As we mentioned earlier, a general wave of dispersion of Third World communities in America's urban regions is taking place. This dispersion is systematic, and well orchestrated. At the same time, certain areas in the suburbs are being opened for occupancy by people of color. Do not be surprised if America's suburbs of today are transformed into America's bantustans tomorrow. At the same time that this is happening, America's jails are filled with Third World people. 70% to 80% of the nearly 500,000 prisoners in this country's jails are Blacks, Chicano-Mexicanos, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans; although we still constitute a minority of the general population. Do not be surprised when today's American prisons are transformed into tomorrow's American political internment centers.

Honorable Delegates, I did not wish to develop a thesis on domestic trilateralism or fascism in the U.S. I did want you to understand the situation of Third World people, their relationship to world-wide imperialism, and that U.S. imperial-

ism has developed a fully operational strategy to maintain its hegemony ; that is, trilateralism.

And a challenge to this strategy must be developed. We, as an organization, intend to contribute our grain of salt to the evolution of such a strategy against U.S. imperialist hegemony across the Americas, based upon the principle of self-determination and mutual respect, accepting the idea that we are distinct peoples whose conditions require the realization that only a common strategy will insure the destruction of our common enemy. Therefore, one of our organizational perspectives, upon which we have built our strategy, is to nurture and enlist the support of oppressed nationalities as well as progressive white people within this country.

Today, as a consequence of our efforts and those of the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, this body is being addressed by representatives of the Chicano-Mexicano and Black liberation movements. They have come to demonstrate their support for our cause as articulated by our eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War. They have come, along with their brothers from Quebec and Mexico, to tell you that by your recognition of the P.O.W. status for the eleven, you are actually recognizing the right, not only of Puerto Ricans, but also of Chicano-Mexicano, Black and Native peoples to rid themselves of the shackles of colonialism by whatever means are necessary, including armed struggle.

Honorable Delegates, history charges you with a tremendous responsibility. Your support, the support of the General Assembly, the support of peoples everywhere, is of the utmost importance in our quest to reclaim our national sovereignty, taken from us 82 years ago by the armed forces of the U.S. There are only few of you sitting here today whose nation has not been a pawn of imperialism; there are few of you who have not tasted the bitter experience of being a non-human entity. There are few of you
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who are not living the legacy of colonialism.

That the struggle from within the U.S. is as legitimate an anti-imperialist struggle as that of peoples in Asia, Latin America, Africa and Europe. The eleven Puerto Rican P.O.W.s were captured within the enemy's lines. They organized themselves to challenge the power of U.S. colonialism. They have clearly stated that the struggle of the Puerto Ricans on the island and the struggle within the metropolitan hearth are one and the same. They, following the heroic examples of Oscar Collazo, Griselio Torresola, Lolita Lebron, Andres Figueroa Cordero, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Irvin Flores, have opened and strengthened what we refer to as the rearguard struggle.

This brings us to the second point of our four-pronged strategy, the development of a rearguard struggle deeply rooted in the Puerto Rican reality of the barrios of the U.S. and capable of mobilizing the Puerto Rican masses to support concretely the revolutionary struggle of Puerto Rico. We intend to develop a rearguard movement that addresses itself to the reality of oppressed nationalities here, and to develop a strategic unity with these forces. A unity that recognizes the diversity of historical experiences and the commonality of our resistance. As we enter the decade of the eighties, the very survival of our people will depend upon this unity. We intend to develop a rearguard struggle that is capable of mobilizing solidarity from progressive whites and sectors of the white working class who have not been bought off by the state. In doing this we hope to contribute significantly to revolution in this country. We believe that from the ashes of a totally dismembered federal structure, a new order will rise, a new order in which injustices, racial and national oppression cannot exist.

At this point we see that the priority, because of the rising contradiction, because of the U.S. imperialist attempt to annihilate our nation through statehood, is Puerto

Rico. From our programmatic perspective, there are two other strategic points: international support and solidarity, and the creation of a National Liberation Front.



Honorable Delegates, let your conscience guide you through these difficult moments. It is imperative that in the decade of the eighties, colonialism be put to rest. You have a tremendous role to play; accept the challenge. Two years ago I told you we, as a people, have accepted the challenge of history. Today we bring you the courageous examples of Luis Rosa, Elizam Escobar, Carlos Torres, Ricardo Jimenez, Carmen Valentin, Adolfo Matos, Lucy Rodriguez, Alicia Rodriguez, Maria Haydee Beltran Torres, Dylcia Pagan and Alfredo Mendez. These cadres of the Puerto Rican conscience in arms accepted the challenge to free our homeland, to bring the struggle within the entrails of the monster and to tell the world that Puerto Rico cannot be free without a strategy that revolves around the concept of prolonged people's war. These eleven are committed to a life and death struggle against imperialism; they clearly understand the consequences of their actions and are willing to accept the responsibility. You, who have long lists of freedom fighters, are being asked to recognize their right to be Prisoners of War, to be treated according to international mandates of the 1949 Geneva Convention, and subsequent U.N. resolutions.

Even though the U.S. has charged them with criminal activities, one quick review of the transcript of their so-called trials will suffice to tell you that they were tried for political reasons. An all-white jury condemned them to long years in

prison for criminal actions that in most cases would be served under probation. The state's attorney stated these people have declared war on us, we have to teach them and their supporters a lesson. What is the lesson—incarceration in control units, where a prisoner is not allowed human contact, not allowed to read or write, not permitted visits, where he or she must vegetate for years. The charge of conspiracy which, if present legislation is passed, can be an automatic death penalty. I could go on but, Honorable Delegates, there is no reason for me to. Most of you know that under the guise of a campaign of human rights this nation has the greatest human rights problem in the world today.

The eleven have heard the call of freedom and they have responded. They shall continue to do so until final victory. They clearly understand that Puerto Rico cannot be free without the emergence of a National Liberation Front. The embryo of such a front is emerging as the ideological debate sharpened by the question of the position of prisoners of war grows; and as armed organizations advance their joint politico-military work.

Puerto Rico will be free by the efforts of the Puerto Rican people and with the support of peoples everywhere. Your recognition of the right of Puerto Rico to be free, your support of the eleven to be treated as prisoners of war, will advance the cause of humanity. As the Puerto Rican revolution grows, I can assure you, U.S. imperialism will be altered dramatically. A free Puerto Rico in Latin America will be the Achilles' Heel of U.S. Imperialism; and the struggle of the Puerto Ricans and other oppressed nationalities will be its Trojan Horse.

Honorable Delegates, we call upon you to heed our message; we do not want violence, we want peace. You can ensure this through your direct involvement by demanding that the U.S. respect Puerto Rico's right to independence and repatriate our freedom fighters, Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marciano.

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The provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika was founded by a Declaration of Independence in 1968, at a New Afrikan Peoples' Convention in Detroit, Michigan. With the signing of the Declaration We declared ourselves formally and before the world as non-citizens of the United States and instead as citizens of our own Nation. The Provisional Government is a leader among the many formations which are currently working for the liberation of New Afrika and the New Afrikan people. The Provisional Government is a political descendant of the slave rebels who fought to overthrow the plantation. It is also a political descendant of the New Afrikan independence fighters who fought for the freedom of the New Afrikan communities in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama immediately after the institution of slavery in North America was declared to be legally abolished. The Provisional Government is a political successor of the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Marcus Garvey, the Afro-American Blood Brotherhood, the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women, the Nation of Islam and numerous other formations. Our struggle for the independence of New Afrika and the freedom of New Afrikan people is conducted in union with the Afrikan Peoples Party, the New Afrikan Prison Organization, the Black Liberation Army, and various black united fronts including the National Black United Front, and the National Black Human Rights Coalition.

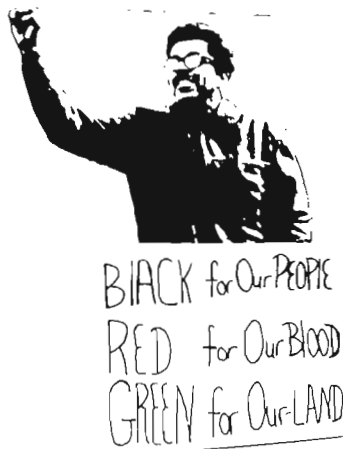
In 1970 the Provisional Government established its national government headquarters in the subjugated territory.

The intentions of the Republic of New Afrika were well known to the United States government as early as May, 1968, when the United States State Department met with an official of the Republic of New Afrika and accepted a note containing a request for negotiations over questions of land and reparations. The United States State Department said the note would be studied.

Again in March 1971, United States Congressman John Conyers Jr. delivered a Republic of New Afrika proposal to the then United States President Richard Nixon. The legal case for the existence of the Black Nation can be found in the Article Three Brief which was filed in United States District Court for the Southern District (The U.S. vs. Imari A. Obadele).

However it is worthy to note that the Attorney General of Mississippi stated to the press in April of 1971, that he had no authority to negotiate with the Republic of New Afrika since he had no authority to negotiate in the area of foreign affairs.

In response to the Attorney General of Mississippi's request to rid the state of the Republic of New Afrika, the United States Government as a part of its war strategy "COINTELPRO" conspired to militarily attack the Republic of New Afrika. Shortly after sunrise on



August 18, 1971, in Jackson Mississippi, the official residence of the Republic of New Afrika was raided by 15 policemen, and 14 FBI agents seeking to serve a fugitive warrant on a young man believed to be in the house. Gunfire was exchanged and a policeman was killed and two other law enforcement agents were injured. Seven Republic of New Afrika citizens in the house and four others at the Republics nearby office were arrested and jailed on charges of murder, assault with a deadly weapon and "waging war against the State of Mississippi." The latter charge was based on a pre-civil war statute. Eventually, certain charges were dropped and some Republic

of New Afrika citizens were released after serving fail terms. Three, however, were sentenced to life imprisonment, one received two concurrent 10 year prison terms. In May 1973, seven Republic of New Afrika citizens were ordered to stand trial on federal charges on conspiracy and assault -- charges on which they were found guilty and were sentenced to prison terms ranging from three to seventeen years. These prisoners became known as the RNA-11.

Previous to the attack on the Republic of New Afrika, the Counter Intelligence Program had decimated the Black Panther Party, sent the Revolutionary Action Movement members into exile and forced the Afrikan Peoples Party and many others underground. The implementation of the infamous COINTELPRO was declaration of war on the Black community. It was an attempt to crush the indigenous leadership and to neutralize, (an intelligence term for destroy), the movement of Black people. Just as this government attempted to crush the people's struggle on the Afrikan continent, Southeast Asia, Latin Ameirca, and other parts of the globe so it saw the need to crush the legitimate struggle of its domestic colony here in North America.

It was during this period that the Black Liberation Army, an armed clandestine formation emerged in response to the colonial violence of the United States government. After many successful actions against the state, the Counter Intelligence Program isolated the Black Liberation Army, and eventually rendered it ineffective with the capture of many of its soldiers. However, it still lives.

In May of 1975, the Republic of New Afrika called upon the United Nations Organization to recognize the 15,000 square mile District of KUSH, the Republic of New Afrika, also sometimes known as the western side of Mississippi, as a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the purview of the Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization, for the following reasons:

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a. New Afrikans, persons of Afrikan descent, have been the majority population in this area for 200 years: We have worked and developed this land, and We have fought to stay here;

b. But a white minority government rules KUSH by fraud, coercion, force, and naked violence, in collusion with the District Courts and other agencies of the United States Federal Government; this white minority Government in KUSH is a lineal descendant of the Government found to be illegal by a Select Committee of the United States Senate in 1876 (see Senate Report 527, Part 2, of the 44th Congress, First Session), and it ruthlessly pursues a campaign of Genocide against the New Afrikan Population, in contravention of the United Nations Convention on Genocide of 9 December 1948 and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, to which (the latter) the United States is signatory, and suppresses the authentic political will to the majority population:

c. The minority white government in KUSH, with the support and collusion of the United States, persistently interferes with the exercise of New Afrikan nationality by the majority population in violation of Article 15, of the Declaration of Human Rights, which reads; Article 15. "(1) Everyone has a right to a nationality. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality."

We also requested the release of the RNA 11 and called upon the United Nations Organization to insist that the government of the United States cease the use of criminal statutes against captured male and female soldiers of the Black Liberation Army and accord to these soldiers full status as Prisoners Of War. This petition was denied. In part primarily because our independence movement was in its embryonic state of development and had state of development and had not as of yet gained mass popular support.

In the past few years the conditions of New Afrikans have become more deplorable. We have begun to organize around these conditions. Black people are being victimized more and more by racist killer cops. Black youth as young as 10 years old are being shot down in cold blood! We find massive cut backs in anti-poverty programs and essential services as well as attacks on affirmative action in education and employment. The response to the mass movement of New Afrikans has been more military aggression by the United States government and right wing terror organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. The resistance of the Black community in Miami, Florida, Wrightville, Ga., and Chattanooga, Tennessee, are clear expressions of Black people's struggle for self-determination.

On November 5th 1979, the National Black Human Rights Coalition led a mass march of over 5000 people to the United Nations under the banner of self-determination for the Black Nation at that time again We submitted a petition to Salim Ahmed Salim, President of the General Assembly, seeking recognition of our Prisoners of War.

On November 2nd, just two (2) days before the demonstration at the United Nations, in an action to dispell the United States governments insistence that the Black Liberation Army was dead, the armed clandestine formation went into a New Jersey prison and freed our most prominent Prisoner of War, Assata Shakur. In Assata's own words she speaks about the army, "There is and always will be until every Black man, woman and child is free a Black Liberation Army. We must defend ourselves and let no one disrespect us. We must win our liberation by any means necessary."

The support of the New Afrikan Nation for the independence of Puerto Rico reflects an understanding of its colonial status based upon our own experience of 400 years of colonial domination by United States imperialism.

The Republic of New Afrika agrees with the United Nations bodies when they say that colonialism is a crime of the highest sort, and therefore We support the rights of colonized nations to engage in armed struggle in its quest for independence.

An armed struggle for the liberation of Puerto Rico has been in progress, and recently 11 Puerto Rican freedom fighters have been captured. The United States government has attempted to apply criminal status to these courageous freedom fighters, who in no uncertain terms have made it clear that they are embers of the clandestine army in their war of liberation for independence and socialism for Puerto Rico.

The Republic of New Afrika fears for the life of these courageous Puerto Rican freedom fighters under the jurisdiction of the United States government without the rights of the Geneva Convention, and therefore call upon the Decolonization Committee to grant full status as Prisoners of War to the 11 Puerto Rican freedom fighters.

In these great international commitments and declarations you have pledged to support the independence knowing that as those oppressed colonies before us have gained their independence so too will We witness in the near future the Independence of both Puerto Rico and New Afrika.

LONG LIVE THE CLANDESTINE
ARMY OF PUERTO RICO

LONG LIVE THE BLACK
LIBERATION ARMY

INDEPENDENCE AND
SOCIALISM FOR PUERTO RICO

INDEPENDENCE AND
SOCIALISM FOR NEW AFRIKA

FREE THE LAND!!!

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strife and revolution; and, being economically powerless, was no military match for the United States. The United States, on the other hand, since the presidency of Thomas Jefferson had their eyes on the Mexican nation, because they needed new markets and labor power for their expanding capitalism, and they saw Mexico as a prime target.

In the year 1825, Joel Poinsett, the first Ambassador from the U.S. to Mexico, was sent on a mission to try and purchase the territory now known as California, Texas, New Mexico and parts of the states of Sonora and Coahuila.

When the Mexican government refused to sell her northern territories, a mechanism was then put into order, whereby military force would be used to acquire and control those areas.

With the election of President Polk in 1844, whose political views had their roots in the great-nation chauvinist idea of Manifest Destiny, the whole mechanism of capitalism was set into motion for acquisition of the northern territories of Mexico.

In 1846 Polk declared war upon the Mexican nation, and with that started the 134 year period of internal colonization for the Chicano/Mexicano people who resided in the United States.

The territory acquired through that war included the states of New Mexico, California, Texas, the state of Colorado and parts of Utah and Nevada, and all of Arizona. Today to drive from Colorado to the Gulf, Brownsville, Texas is 1600 miles; to drive from Colorado to Oakland, California is 1400 miles. In terms of a land base, you can see that the territory that was taken from the Mexican nation constituted an enormous amount of territory, in total over 945,000 square miles.

This amounts to half of the Mexican national territory.

Since 1848, as a consequence of the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, there exists a militarily imposed border across our nation, a border which attempts to legalize

the imperialist division of our homeland.

Since 1846, the Chicano-Mexicano people have been the victims and subjected to both physical and psychological genocide at the hands of the United States.

We do not recognize the border that divides our country, for that border was imposed upon us militarily by a capitalist power and is sustained today only by the military capabilities of U.S. imperialism.

For us to recognize the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, for us to recognize the border, is to recognize the legalisms of imperialism; and thus recognizing the right of the U.S. to colonize the Chicano/Mexicano people.

The different methods which the U.S. used to colonize the Chicano/Mexicano people were aimed at completely destroying us psychologically through uprooting and destruction of our culture. By colonization they wished to make us a reflection of our enemy. Their attempt to strip us of all our identity had at its basis the desire to make us more yankees than the yankee.

They attempted to destroy all of our internal fabric as a people, indeed as a nation! The living proof of this came when we started to reject ourselves, when we started to recognize the border, when we started to say that we are Spanish American, or that we are Hispanics, that we were Chicanos, not Mexicanos . . . totally ignoring and trying to change who we really are, what we really are!

We see, then, a trend in the U.S. for Chicano/Mexicano people to try to assimilate into the mainstream of society, but it's impossible for us to do so because we refuse to relinquish our language, our cultural values and our way of life.

We must also address ourselves to the question of racism in the U.S. The North American people have felt that they are racially superior to the Chicano/Mexicano people since the occupation of 1848. This attitude was evident in the position of Manifest Destiny and continues

to be imbedded in the present society. Chicano/Mexicano people refuse to become part of the mainstream and give up our cultural values.

The similarities of struggle that we have with other peoples is clear in terms of the oppression in the U.S. and the conditions that we face everyday.

The same conditions that affect Black people in the South, lynching, the raping, the mutilation, are faced in the southwestern part of the U.S. by Chicano/Mexicano people.

That is why we can understand and recognize the colonization of Puerto Rico by the United States.

After U.S. capitalism perfected colonialism with us, they exported the process to other countries . . . to other nations . . . to the Caribbean, to the Philippines, to Cuba . . .

That is why we can recognize and understand clearly the similarities of struggle with the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian people are in the same position as the Chicano/Mexicano people.

They lost their land to Israel in 1948, when the Zionists held a plebiscite and took it before the United Nations. The Zionist idea was supported by the imperialist powers of the world and the settler state of Israel was carved out of Palestine. We also have a clear understanding of the struggle of the Irish people for unification of Ireland, and we support that struggle as we support the Palestinian people's struggle for their homeland.

At this point I would like to address myself to the current miserable situation of the Chicano/Mexicano people within the U.S. We have one of the lowest levels of attainment in the educational system of the U.S. And Chicano/Mexicano people have one of the highest unemployment rates in the U.S. We are affected by institutional racism, by some of the most deplorable of housing conditions.

Chicano/Mexicano people suffer physical genocide at the hands of the police departments across the United States. cont. on page 19

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Last year, for example in:

Texas 34 Chicano/Mexicanos were killed by police
California, 23 Chicano/Mexicanos were killed by police
New Mexico 22 Chicanos/Mexicanos were killed by police
Colorado 18 Chicano/Mexicanos were killed by police.

Who knows how many more in the other areas in which Chicano/Mexicano people live.

As we struggled to regain and retain our national identity as a people, the term Chicano came forth in the middle of the 1960's, as a way of identifying ourselves as being Mexican, but living in occupied Mexico, in the colonized territories of Mexico.

From these conditions we started demonstrating, marching demanding civil rights and equal treatment patterned after the Black struggle that was taking place in the United States.

As our struggle heightened in the early seventies and we started to move, the masses of the Chicano/Mexicano people marched in the Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles, California, in protest against the war in Vietnam. Three Chicano/Mexicanos were killed by the police at that demonstration. As our struggle intensified the repression intensified against our people. In the state of Colorado we have the Symbols of Resistance of the Chicano/Mexicano struggle.

Twelve young people, nine who were viciously liquidated, two who were forced into political exile and one who remains maimed for life.

The names of these companeros and companeras are:

Ricardo Falcon from Fort Lupton, Colorado
Florencio Granados from Brownsville, Texas
Heriberto Teran from Laredo, Texas
Reyes Martinez from Alamosa, Colorado
Neva Romero from Ignacio, Colorado
Una Jaakola from Minnesota
Francisco Dougherty from Lare-

do, Texas

Mario Vasquez from Michigan
Kiko Martinex from Alamosa, Colorado

Antonio Alcantar from Laredo, Texas

Carlos Zapata from Denver, Colorado

Luis Jr. Martinez from Denver, Colorado

These particular people were singled out because they were political activists and leaders of the Chicano/Mexicano struggle. They were involved in the student movement in Boulder. They worked with prisoners in the State Penitentiaries; they were involved in creating alternative education institutions. They were spokespersons of our people's struggle and that's why they became a threat. They had to be dealt with.

Six of them died in two car explosions in Boulder and one was maimed for life.

Ricardo Falcon was killed in Orogrande, New Mexico, by Perry Burnson, a member of the American Independent Party, which was George Wallace's party at that time in 1972. There is also suspicion of involvement by the C.I.A. through their Operation Chaos program.

Kiko Martinez had to go into political exile!

Mario Vasquez also had to go into political exile!

Luis Jr. Martinez was killed in 1973 by the Denver police.

Still our people have always maintained active resistance to the U.S. imperialist colonization of our homeland.

We are the Chicano/Mexicano people and we remain one nation. We do not recognize the border or the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Our position today is the reunification of the Mexican nation to create the Socialist republic of Mexico.

We recognize that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States and we Chicano/Mexicano people support the Puerto Rican people's right to Independence and Socialism . . .

That is why we are before this body to ask your support in recognizing the Puerto Rican Prisoners of

War status of the Eleven Puerto Rican Companeros and Companeras:

Carlos Alberto Torres

Luis Rosa

Alfredo Mendez

Adolfo Matos

Elizam Escobar

Ricardo Jimenez

Carmen Valentin

Dylcia Pagan

Alicia Rodriguez

Ida Luz Rodriguez

Haydee Beltran Torres

All who are incarcerated in the United States Prisons.

The Chicano/Mexicano people support the Puerto Rican Independence Movement not only in theory but in practice: this was proven when 3 Chicano/Mexicanos were sent to Federal Prisons for refusing to testify before Federal Grand Juries who were investigating the Puerto Rican Independence Movement.

Land will be reconquered!

Maps will be changed!

Countries will be renamed!

Viva Puerto Rico Libre!

Viva Mexico Reunificado!

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We ask you to be like Prometheus, who dared to challenge the mighty gods, not like Sisyphus, condemned forever to serve them.

Honorable Delegates, I would like to leave you with a thought: if Puerto Rico is the Achilles' Heel of U.S. imperialism abroad, and Puerto Ricans in the U.S., united with their Black, Chicano-Mexicano and Native American brothers are its Trojan Horse at home; then together with our allies in Canada, Quebec, Mexico and Latin America, our freedom fighters possess a Pandora's box with a storm the enemy cannot contain.

NO TO DEFEATIST SOLUTIONS!

YES TO PEOPLE'S WAR!

FREE PUERTO RICO,
THE ELEVEN WILL FOLLOW!

DESDE NUESTRO PUNTO DE VISTA

FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW

FORCED EMIGRATION

The emigration of Puerto Ricans to the US since the yanqui invasion of 1898 is a direct result of the colonial status of Puerto Rico. Although even prior to the US invasion Puerto Ricans were forced to emigrate, at that time it was to escape Spanish persecution and oppression.

In order for one to better understand the relationship between yanqui colonialism and Puerto Rican emigration, it is necessary to divide the yanqui domination and presence in Puerto Rico into two historical stages.

The first stage covered a period from 1898 to the 1930's. It was during this period that US imperialism pursued a policy of entrenchment, but in order for this phenomenon to take place it was necessary to destroy those forces capable and willing to consolidate a national idea.

For this policy to be successful two factors had to be assured. First, it was necessary to destroy the national legislative process started in 1897 when Puerto Rico won a Charter of Autonomy from Spain. The second component of this imperialist scheme rested on its ability to create a circumstance that would allow for the complete destruction of the incipient national economy which was in the process of coalescence.

The latter was to be accomplished by the destruction of the coffee industry and the class represented

by it (whose political life was rooted in the independentist sector of the Unionist Party). For it was within this sector that the potential for the creation of an independent national economic life lay. This, together with the devaluation of Puerto Rican currency, the destruction of small scale industry by the introduction of North American products (soap, mining goods, canning, preserves, cattle, etc., etc.) and by taking over the land which previously belonged to Puerto Ricans, had a devastating effect on the national economic life of Puerto Rico.

The success in destroying the Puerto Rican national legislative process was due primarily to the internal contradictions prevailing at the time of the invasion. The yanqui placed in the leadership role that force in Puerto Rico which staunchly advocated assimilation, those who saw Americanization as synonymous with democracy, progress, modernity, indeed even with civilization. Led by Dr. Jose Celso Barbosa, this force had economic and political interests compatible with those of the invader and antagonistic ones to those whose interests are best characterized as national. These "pitiyanquis" were only too willing to convert themselves into a parasitic or comprador bourgeoisie. Thus it was to the benefit of the imperialists to create a leadership role for them.

It was this concubinity between Barbosa, those Puerto Ricans in-

involved in sugar production, and the imperialist financiers from the North that helped entrench the yanquis in Puerto Rico, and created the conditions for the wholesale destruction of Puerto Rico's incipient national economy. For all practical purposes this—together with the denial to the owners of the coffee plantations (los hacendados) of the power to legislate—delivered what was effectively a "coup de grace" to this sector of the population.

It was this process which led to the stifling of the national forces to develop an independent political life. It was also this process which forced more than 100,000 Puerto Ricans to emigrate.

The stifling of the national forces (economically and politically) generated a displacement which resulted in the forced emigration of artisans and small proprietors to the United States. This process of emigration resulted in the depletion of a very important sector of Puerto Rico's productive forces which was crucial to the Island's economic development. For it was the artisans who possessed the necessary skills needed to help Puerto Rico's incipient national economic life if it was to ascend.

It was the depletion of this very important economic grouping via the newly-developed mechanism of emigration that created the circumstance for further imperialist entrenchment in Puerto Rico: by 1930

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the island had been effectively converted into a massive sugar plantation and a captive market for all manner of US products, subject to the political whims of Washington and the economic ones of Wall Street finance.

By 1930, over 40% of the Puerto Rican population depended on sugar production. This dependency brought extreme poverty to the point that the mortality rate was twice as high as that of the United States. Tuberculosis and every disease associated with malnutrition reached epidemic proportions. Puerto Rico underwent a change from poverty under Spain's colonial rule to dire pauperism under the wing of American imperialism.

The monocultural character of the sugar system forced the Puerto Rican masses to sell their labor at the cheapest rates imaginable. It was in this period of Puerto Rico's history that the true nature of capitalism exposed itself to the Puerto Rican masses, for wages were just enough to allow the cane workers to reproduce themselves and to consume North American products in the process. Thus, it should come as no surprise that during this epoch Puerto Rico was bestowed the title "Poorhouse of the Caribbean" thanks to the ogre of yanqui imperialism.

By 1930, the Nationalist Party was emerging as a patient and potent leader of the independence forces. During this time the issue of independence began to accelerate to the degree that it was soon to occupy the forefront of all struggles. It became so that even the accommodationists (those who supported assimilation) had to say that they too supported a type of independence.

To better understand the significance of this upsurge and the forces which governed this period of anti-colonial struggle, one need look no further than the sugar cane workers' strike in 1934. For it was no longer Santiago Iglesias Pantin, or the liberal reformers whom the workers sought to defend their interests; rather they looked to Pedro Albizu Campos, who had emerged in this

period as the leader of the true independentist ideology as well as the Nationalist Party.

In the face of this rising independentist tide, the concubinity which had existed for over 30 years between the accommodationists and the imperialists began to crumble. This was due exclusively to the fact that the balance of forces was tipping favorably to the side of independence. The imperialists and their lackeys understood that the sugar cane workers made up the only force with a common material base and a collective life, strong enough to destroy the chains of colonialism. It was also clear that a potential alliance between the workers and the Nationalist Party would serve greatly to accelerate the independence process. It became clear that if yanqui imperialism was to maintain hegemony over the colony, a systematic plan of repression had to be devised.

Toward this end the imperialists developed a plan that is best characterized as one that was in the nature of an iron fist hidden in a velvet glove. For this plan to be successful, a wholesale campaign of terror had to be unleashed against the rising independence movement. It was also necessary to break the back of the developing workers' movement. By utilizing systematic repression it was possible to destroy any alliance between the workers and the independentist forces.

The second part of the strategy for the destruction of this alliance rested upon imperialism's ability to institute new reforms. It was toward this end that the Franklin Roosevelt administration seized the opportunity to extend to the Island the liberal bourgeois reforms comparable to those that had been instituted in the United States. Roosevelt was of the belief that as soon as Puerto Ricans learned English, that would create a sufficient base for economic and political advancement. It was this perspective which prompted the appointment of Dr. Jose Gallardo to the post of Secretary of Education. Washington's second major reform was the appointment of Rexford Tugwell, a Roosevelt

protegee, to the governorship of Puerto Rico. This appointment would be crucial—as we shall see later—to the imperialists' plans for the colony.

Of significant importance during this time is the fact that, as Puerto Ricans clamored for an end to colonialism, the emigrants residing in the US made echo to this call. Those artisans and small proprietors forced out of their homeland by imperialism now called on Vito Marcantonio to take the independence struggle to the Congress of the United States. This Congressman from Spanish Harlem not only defended the issue of independence but also put it in its correct historical perspective when he said "the main cause of misery and unemployment in the Island is due primarily to the fact that Puerto Rico's economic life has been strangled by American intervention." He understood that the issue of colonialism had to be resolved before anyone could address the problems of the Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

During the decade of the 30's, due to the success of a series of liberal bourgeois reforms and of sending the independence forces into disarray, the yanqui imperialists gained the necessary momentum to begin to put into effect a new economic order for Puerto Rico. Thus starts the second historical stage of American presence and domination over Puerto Rico.

This new economic order for the colony was not independent of the yanquis' global interest. The fascist war had brought a certain degree of prosperity to the United States, and with it a redirection of its productive forces. The American involvement in the war forced close to 100,000 Puerto Ricans to join the imperialist military services. This resulted in another displacement which affected the internal situation of the colony.

War production and military preparation deeply affected the internal situation of Puerto Rico. Construction of military bases, roads, irrigation projects, energy generating sys-

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tems, etc. created a new type of work force in Puerto Rico. The liberal bourgeois reforms of the Roosevelt administration brought with them the necessary funds for the above-mentioned projects, and even for the establishment of government-owned corporations. This new economic activity had a negative effect on cane production, which had already suffered an adverse transformation during the Depression (US quota system was applied to Puerto Rico and sugar beets from the Southwest had preference.)

This economic activity was accompanied by a political reform and a new concubinity. The realignment of forces brought together a group of professionals headed by Luis Munoz Marin, and the masses of wage-earners (mostly made up of sugar cane workers and urban proletarians) who had joined the new Confederacion General de los Trabajadores.

The concubinity was consummated by this Puerto Rican force and the imperialists from the North, whose political representative was Rexford Tugwell. This arrangement brought about a new economic and political orientation.

This new economic orientation was the "Bootstrap Program;" the political one was to allow a Puerto Rican to become governor and to manage the colonial administration. This was a remarkable arrangement because: 1) sugar production did not enjoy the economic advantages which it had prior to the Depression; 2) the Nationalist Party and the independence forces had been neutralized; and 3) the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) had fused the workers' movement, the reformists within the independence movement and the liberal reformers into one political organization which took orders from Washington, the State Department and Wall Street.

It was the creation of this remarkable relationship, together with the end of the fascist war, that was to help the new economic order even further. Yankee imperialism

had now inherited uncontested hegemony of the capitalist western nations, the Pacific and part of the Orient. Thus in the US a new internal economic orientation occurred; and as a consequence, its productive forces were realigned. The conglomerates and the multi-national corporations needed more and more industrial workers. The economic emphasis was on industrial development, and as a result of this agricultural work was relegated to a less significant category.

There was a vacuum in the United States agricultural sector, which called and demanded workers who would sell their labor cheap. This particular internal economic situation brought about the recruitment of Puerto Ricans to do seasonal farm work in the United States.

Such an environment was conducive to a healthy take-off for "Bootstrap." For the implementation of Bootstrap, according to Robert H. Lbroner, it was necessary to shift the country's productive forces from the area where economic activity was stagnant (agriculture) to another area of accelerated production (industry) without hurting the capital formation base which is necessary to industrialize and develop. In such a situation, industry had priority over agriculture. Thus a displacement of the productive forces occurs, the farm worker or peasant has to be sacrificed and the industrial sector gains in importance.

The question arises under "Bootstrap," where does the Nation aspiring to industrialize place the excess of the agricultural workers and peasants?

Because of the colonial relationship that exists between the US and Puerto Rico, the excess in the productive forces in the area of agriculture were simply disposed of via emigration.

One aspect of emigration, and probably the most important for the implementation of "Bootstrap," which has been underplayed, is the fact that Puerto Ricans who emigrated contributed more to the capital formation of Puerto Rico than any other single factor. Their

earnings were saved and sent to family and relatives on the Island. This money was then put in circulation through consumption, almost all of it ending up back in the hands of the US imperialists. Even the tourist trade was mostly made up of Puerto Ricans going back and forth to visit their families or to do seasonal work. We can see how the displacement of the excess in the agricultural productive forces, rather than having a negative effect, resulted in a positive one for capital formation. Unfortunately, it was only to help the imperialists.

By 1948, Rexford Tugwell (the representative of the imperialists) and Luis Munoz Marin (the head lackey of the imperialists) had instituted a plan for mass emigration. The plan also involved the US Dept. of Labor, which helped to accelerate the process of forced emigration. The plan was accompanied by a systematic propaganda campaign, which made emigration so palatable that masses of Puerto Ricans just packed their belongings and hopped on a plane, to sweep up the riches off the streets of the United States.

The emigration plan established a cozy relationship: Puerto Rico would get rid of its excess in its productive forces without losing or jeopardizing its capital formation base, and the US would receive these emigrants and at a very low cost, and they sustained necessary labor force for its agricultural economy.

But the U.S. got more than workers who were forced to work for cheap wages. Through Bootstrap, the whole economic and political character of the Island was transformed. An unparalleled tax exempt system was instituted and a haven for the Wall Street investors was created. The money that was generated by Puerto Rico's productive forces, including that of the emigrants, was used to build factories, roads and energy sources to lure the investors from the United States. By 1960, 77% of all the industry in Puerto Rico was in the hands of the imperialists from the

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North; and 85% of the capital was in their pockets.

Puerto Rico underwent a transformation from a labor intensive system to a capital intensive system of production, but it did not enjoy the benefits of this change. On the contrary, by 1960, the unemployment rate was 13% (according to statistics from Dept. of Labor) in comparison to an 11% rate in 1940. Also, by this date, Puerto Rico had lost more than one million of its people through forced emigration.

Again, as it had happened during the first historical stage, a displacement of the productive forces occurred. This time, it was the sugar cane worker and the marginal urban worker. This displacement was a tremendous victory for the imperialists and their lackeys of the Popular Democratic Party (PPD). By the forced emigration of over 1 million Puerto Ricans, the imperialists had robbed the base of the independence movement.

The threat which the sugar cane workers and marginal urban workers in alliance with the Nationalist Party, presented to the Imperialists' presence and domination of Puerto Rico, had diffused due to forced emigration. Not only did the Imperialists benefit, but also the colonial lackeys, for now the PPD no longer had to deliver the promises made to the masses of Bread, Land and Liberty. So when Munoz Marin took the reigns of the colonial administration in 1948, he knew that there was no force present in the Island that could successfully oppose him.

It was precisely for the above mentioned reasons that Bootstrap, as a liberal bourgeois reform was so successful from its conception in the 30's, to its implementation after the War. It became the biggest and most profitable maneuver of the century for the Imperialists from the North.

With the introduction of American industry, the capitalists best ally, the North American organized labor movement also made its presence felt on the Island. By 1955, the so called Internationals, had the

uncontested control of the labor movement in Puerto Rico. To add more obstacles to the Puerto Rican masses, the Taft-Hartley Act, the most repressive and anti-labor piece of legislation ever enacted in the United States, was also applicable on the Island. Under such horrendous, barbaric and oppressive conditions, emigration became an attractive alternative.

Puerto Rico was now on its way to becoming an industrial/military Colony, with an unparalleled system of incentives, an ample skilled working force, roads sources of energy all of which contributed handsomely for the investors from Wall Street. At the same time there was no force present to oppose these maneuvers, for the PPD and Washington had taken care of this, by co-opting the labor movement, destroying the Nationalist Party and forcing the masses of Puerto Ricans to emigrate.

Through Bootstrap one can see the integral relationship which exist, between colonialism and emigration. Since the Yanqui invasion of 1898, emigration has been viewed as the perfect escape valve for colonialism. The displacement which occurs, is another form of separation and division; although it is a temporary solution, thus far it has worked well for American Imperialism. For, to this day, the Yanqui imperialists have retained their colonial yoke over the necks of the Puerto Rican masses.

It is precisely this integral relationship which depicts vividly that the problems of Puerto Ricans whether residing in the Island or the United States, can only be resolved by destroying the structure of colonialism. To clarify this point better, one need only take a look at the Puerto Ricans living in the United States.

The Puerto Rican who was forced to emigrate, is different than all other immigrants living in the United States. First, the Puerto Rican did not come seeking a new homeland or a sanctuary to escape from political or religious oppression. We did not bring with us the cultural and religious institutions which the other

immigrants brought and which helped them to formulate a collective life, once settled in the U.S. Examples: The Irish brought the Catholic Church, their political organizations and their trade union movement. The Jews brought with them synagogues, their political expertise and their tradition as independent traders. We were and remain colonial subjects and estranged of the United States, all at the same time.

The Puerto Rican immigrant sought solely economic prosperity, and our stay here was to be a temporary one. Nothing attests to this fact better than the return migration of over 1 million nationals to Puerto Rico every year. The most significant factor, is the one of support for Puerto Rico's independence, which has been waged by Puerto Rican immigrants, and which will be discussed at a later point in this paper.

The Puerto Rican immigrants' conception of the United States is yet another factor which must be pointed out. Due to the fact that the Wall Street investors and Washington desired us out of the Island, a massive propaganda campaign was orchestrated. This campaign distorted the facts about life in the United States, and it was only a tool to lure us out of our homeland. We were told that richness awaited us in the streets of the large metropolitan centers of the U.S. The only thing that we had to do was to sweep it off the streets and it was ours. For the starving Puerto Rican masses, this was the perfect temptation.

Puerto Ricans emigrated by the thousands, and a virtual aerial bridge was created. In less than 15 years, over 1 million Puerto Ricans had emigrated. The economic prosperity and richness we were supposed to sweep off the streets was nowhere to be found.

On the contrary, what we found was dire poverty, extreme forms of racism and discrimination, and a literal human race for the few menial jobs left in the inner cities.

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A fact which we must point out here is that after the Second World War, the urban center, or the so called inner cities have been depleted or drained of economic opportunities. The move now was from the large urban areas to the suburbs, where the giant corporations had space to expand, and where the whites could enjoy the life of suburbia without having to worry about blacks or other minorities living next to them. So as early as 1950, large urban centers like New York City, were decaying rapidly, primarily because they were losing their economic base to the suburbs. They no longer enjoyed the prosperity which made them popular at the turn of the century.

So when Puerto Ricans arrived en masse in New York City, because it no longer possessed the economic or capital movement which it had enjoyed before, we faced dire consequences. In the city the only economic activity which remained was light industry (mostly garment) and the service industry (mostly generated by hotels and tourism).

The absence of economic opportunities negated Puerto Rican access to a material base which could bring them parity with the rest of the North American working class. Besides encountering this economic situation, we also found a socio-economic political structure nourished by racism, and alien to us. This situation still prevails today.

The absence of the most fundamental need of all workers, which is the need to have access to a market to sell their labor, left the Puerto Rican immigrant (mostly made up of workers) in a social limbo. The only work available to us was that which no one else wanted. Farm hands, seasonal work, dish washers, factory laborers -- jobs with little economic compensation and very degrading to the human being.

The hastiness which the colonial administration and Washington used to force us to emigrate, left us prey to unscrupulous employers, to abide by contracts which were only beneficial to the contractor,

to work in the most horrendous conditions (in forms which resemble more a concentration camp than a place to earn a living); For example, a group of migrant workers was sent from Puerto Rico to work in Southern Illinois. The workers arrived in March, wearing tropical clothes, when the temperature was below freezing. Upon their arrival, they were informed that the farm had stopped operations the previous year because the train did not stop in the town any longer. The Dept. of Labor and the colonial administration had arranged for these workers to emigrate to this town. The horrible experience of standing in a strange land, freezing and finding out that there was no work had to be a traumatic experience for these workers.

Another case which clearly depicts the negligence of the colonial administration and Washington, was the Arizona Plan. Under this plan 5,000 Puerto Ricans were supposed to emigrate to do farm labor in that state. The recruitment process had already started when the Governor of Arizona found out; incensed by such a move, he told Washington that he would not allow one single Puerto Rican in his State. If the Governor of Arizona hadn't found out, there would have been 5,000 Puerto Ricans in a State which did not want them. This clearly reflects the fact that the only concern of the colonial administration in Puerto Rico was to rid itself of its excess population.

If this were not enough the Puerto Rican immigrant still had to encounter more -- the malignancy of American racism. An example of this was the case of a Puerto Rican family sent to work in Batavia, Ill., in the military ammunition factory. Their teenage daughter had to attend school outside of the camp. When she tried to be served in a restaurant, the owner refused because she was not white.

The father was a World War II veteran and the mother had been active in the labor movement. They decided to sue the restaurant for discrimination. Although they won the case, the scar which

that experience left on their child could not be cured.

But we still had to face and endure more hardships. We were subjected to living in the most deplorable ghettos: places like Hell's Kitchen, Harlem, South Bronx, Williamsburg, in New York City, or in the Near West Side of Chicago. These slum-blighted areas, with houses infested with rats and roaches dilapidated, without proper sanitation services, were traps which resembled pigsties rather than homes where human beings were to live.

The Puerto Ricans did not create slums; we were forced into them. The ghettoization of the Puerto Rican is another reflection of the benign negligence of the colonial administration and Washington, and once again clearly proves that their only interest was to force us out of Puerto Rico.

Today, after three decades of living under the most deplorable, infra-human conditions, it is no surprise to find out that we are the most oppressed people in the United States. We have the lowest median income per family, the lowest educational level, the highest mortality rate, the highest percentage of suicides, the highest incidence of alcoholism and drug addiction, and alone occupy the bottom of the economic ladder. In essence, it seems as if the Puerto Rican has become the receptacle and depository of all the social ills of American society, rather than the beneficiary of any social advancement.

Our assertion and affirmation that the colonial status of Puerto Rico and the colonial government and Washington are the key factors responsible for the plight of the Puerto Ricans in the US can best be understood if we compare our situation to that of another group of immigrants, the Cubans.

When the Cuban refugee program was instituted in the '60's, the immigrant was provided with suitable housing, health care, economic aid, employment and an environment conducive for the person to live in a collective life and to develop.

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There was not a single need that was not addressed and met.

By 1965, in the city of Chicago, there were multiple agencies which had been instituted for the sole purpose of helping the Cuban immigrant. In that same year, there was not one single agency in the city which addressed, much less met the multiple needs of the Puerto Rican community. There was only one employment agency, administered by the colonial government of Puerto Rico, known best for its chronically ineffective operations (this is the agency responsible for sending those workers which we mentioned earlier to Southern Illinois), but its primary role was to deal with the Puerto Rican migrant farm worker.

The so-called industriousness of the Cubans is not any different from the industriousness of the Puerto Rican or any other group for that matter. What is different is the preferential treatment which the Cubans received in comparison. The Puerto Rican immigrant is treated as a colonial subject, as a slave of the imperialists, but the Cuban, because of his reactionary, counter-revolutionary stance, is treated as an ally of imperialism. The preferential treatment of the Cubans is not based on altruistic or philanthropic motives, but rather, on the realities and necessities of imperialism.

It is as colonial subjects that the Puerto Ricans must wage their struggle in the United States. During the past three decades, we can attest to the fact that the struggle to redress the plight of the Puerto Ricans in the United States has always been accompanied by the struggle for independence. As the time has passed, the compatibility between the two issues has crystallized and become more pronounced. In the late '60's, the struggle gained a new dimension.

Up to then, the struggle for independence was looked at as an issue which was relevant only to the Puerto Ricans with roots in Puerto Rico. But with the emergence of such organizations as the Young Lords, this belief was totally dis-

proved. When second and third generation Puerto Ricans took to the streets to demand the independence of their homeland, the fact that there is a correlation between immigration and colonialism was confirmed.

Today the affirmation of Puerto-riquenidad has taken the forefront of the struggle. But to better understand this affirmation, it is necessary to put it in the correct perspective. The struggle of the Puerto Ricans—the protests, the riots, the demands for redress—has created two distinct groups within the community, with different aspirations and class interests. One group's economic and political base depends primarily on the poverty and infra-human conditions of our community. This group, correctly called "poverty pimps," has attempted to integrate and to climb or ascend the American social ladder. Petty politicians, professionals, patronage workers and religious leaders form the basis for this particular group.

In spite of the fact that this group aspires to assimilate into the mainstream of American life, its social position is often contradictory and precarious. Precarious because it must respond to the political party or political machine in power. It must form alliances and allegiances with the Republican or Democratic Party or the powers to be. If it forms the wrong alliance or allegiance, it is doomed. Contradictory because on the one hand its ambition as a group is to assimilate; and on the other, what gives it its reason for being is the oppressive conditions of our community. So in order to perpetuate itself, it must identify with the Puerto Rican community and its struggle. Even more, at times it is forced to voice and defend the demands of the community. Thus, we can see how a Herman Badillo or a Robert Garcia is forced to support the release of the Nationalists, and the community's demand for better education, health, housing, employment, etc. This group claims the community as their constituency in order to survive. By this we don't mean that it is a legi-

timate representative of the community, for the contrary is the reality.

The other group is made up of Puerto Ricans who support independence and who see the end of colonialism as the beginning of their freedom. Puerto Rico thus becomes its homeland.

This group finds its historic roots dating back to the 1890's and the organization of the Puerto Rican Clubs, the Nationalist Party, the attack on Blair House, the attack on the United States Congress. But most important, it finds its roots in being Puerto Rican and a worker. This affirmation is its essence.

It is no surprise then, to see this group seeking redress of its social, economic and political condition, and at the same time fighting for Puerto Rico's independence.

It is in this struggle that the Puerto Rican in the United States finds his affirmation for being.

As we stated earlier, the Puerto Rican immigrant did not come to the United States seeking a homeland, because he has one. And as a result of the socio-economic-political conditions prevailing in the United States, he has not assimilated or integrated into the mainstream of American life.

The absence of a material base negates to the Puerto Rican the ability to join the rest of the North American working class. Racism, which is part and parcel of the socio-economic-political structure, further negates the Puerto Rican's ability to assimilate or to integrate. On the contrary, what these factors do is to force the Puerto Rican to affirm his "puertorriquenidad;" otherwise he will be stripped of his personality both culturally and historically. This affirmation is what constitutes the basis for his struggle. This struggle is not an abstraction, for not only history proves its validity, but also the need for a people to be free. Only by destroying the chains of colonialism can we be free. Only by destroying the chains of colonialism can we have a choice. A choice to return to a free Puerto Rico—the original aspiration—or to stay in the United States and integrate into the North American working class and wage class struggle.



TWO FORMS OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER

During the weekend before the Decolonization Committee again heard the colonial problem of Puerto Rico, and during the two days when our case was debated in the Committee, there coexisted two forms of International Order, two concepts, two distinct methods of international law: the official and the revolutionary.

In relationship to both we, the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, along with our fraternal organization, the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional, (centered in Chicago), put forth a new dimension of the struggle for independence. The new proposition was based on the position assumed by the 11 Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, captured in Evanston on April 4th, 1980.

In our position before the United Nations Decolonization Committee we put forth:

"We recognize the magnitude of this matter. The task of advancing a step further before the international legal community the Puerto Rican claim for the recognition of the state of war existing between Puerto Rico and the United States. What these valiant comrades captured in the United States claim is to be recognized as belligerents.

"By claiming this right now, our comrades insert their claim within a revealing and justly opportune chronology.

"I have here clearly and directly exposed the contents of that simple claim which expresses the high level of our consciousness: We are Prisoners of War."

We are clarifying a historical point of order; any one of the Nationalist Comrades captured since 1949 could have, under the sanction of the Geneva Convention and its Additional Protocols, claimed that

recognition on the part of the official international law.

That step, to demand treatment as Prisoners of War was curiously not taken, despite the fact that the existence of a state of war between Puerto Rico and the United States has been constant throughout the judicial struggle of the Nationalist Party. Moreover in New York, William Guillermo Morales, and then in Puerto Rico, Angel Rodriguez Cristobal both assumed the position of Prisoners of War. But the 11 Puerto Rican Prisoners of War captured in Evanston were the first to direct themselves to an international organism claiming recognition of their Prisoner of War position, and demanding treatment as such, in accordance with the Geneva Convention, its Additional Protocols, and four United Nations Resolutions, especially R-3103, of Dec. 12, 1976.

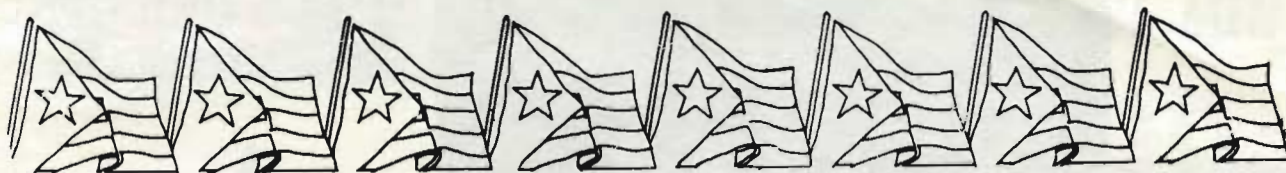
It is worthwhile to review the situation created before the United Nations by the Puerto Rican revolutionary claim. We were the only ones who explicitly put forth the real content of the petition made by the 11 Puerto Rican Prisoners of War—status of belligerents—while the rest of the speakers indicated the right of our comrades to such recognition. Before such a situation, the ideal would have been to force the machinery to include this claim in the Resolution drafted by Cuba and Iraq. However, due to the division among the votes assured for Puerto Rico, the most energetic resolution until now approved, would not have been approved with this added provision. We can actually affirm that three, maybe five delegations were ready to do battle. But doing so would have been to fall into the trap that the United States saw as the opening of the heavens: to postpone the discussion until next year—the last recourse Washington had to win the occasion. Upon previous consultation with our Prisoners of

War in Chicago, we had decided not to press the issue further. The friendly delegations that so desired made reference to the Prisoners of War without this being included in the Resolution. In this manner, the strongest and clearest Resolution for the Independence of Puerto Rico was approved by a majority vote, not one vote against, and a small minority in abstention.

The beginning of a long struggle for the recognition of the existence of a state of belligerence between the armed clandestine organizations, representatives of Puerto Rican independence, and the United States government represented by its armed forces, was brought before the official international legal order represented by the United Nations. This occurred when the Cuban delegate stated: "This year there is added to the repression and persecution of the persons and organizations in struggle for independence and self-determination, the incarceration of 11 young Puerto Rican Patriots in Chicago, accused of violating the laws of the United States. Demonstrating the dignity that ennobles them, they unanimously reject the power of the yanki courts to judge them, declaring themselves Prisoners of War, because the struggle against foreign repression and colonial domination cannot be described as a crime. One day the international community will recognize that all those who today struggle for independence deserve that status..."

The Liga Socialista Puertorriquena has for many years practically since the moment of its foundation, refrained from entering into alliances and narrow relations with governments or governmental parties. We have limited our relations, very few to be sure, to revolutionary movements in armed struggle that have nothing to do with their countries governments, or with non-electoral political organizations of struggle.

SOLIDARITY MESSAGE



Companeros & Companeras of the Exiled Chilean Community in Venezuela;

On behalf of the Eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, Pablo Marcano Garcia and Nydia Ester Cuevas, we, the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional, wish to extend our revolutionary greetings and support to the heroic cause of the Chilean people.

Companeros, our solidarity must not be denigrated to mere words, for solidarity is not words, and it is not charity, and must never, ever be interpreted as such. True solidarity is, and will always be an act whereby two forces strike one blow to one enemy. As revolutionary internationalists we must always remember that in a war to the death there are no frontiers. Companeros chilenos, examine these words carefully, for they guide the destiny of our two nations. All over the world people of merit have begun the task of digging imperialism's grave. From Palestine to Ireland, from the Philippines to Azania, people are rising up and shouting in a thousand tongues, "Esta lucha va a llegar a la Guerra Popular!"

Today in the Americas, the whole of our hemisphere looks to Chile and Puerto Rico, not because we wish it, but because it is in our two countries that imperialism has dug its trenches. A great responsibility has been thrust upon our peoples, and we must be equal to our tasks.

In Puerto Rico, imperialism designs a scheme whereby a whole Latin American nation will be swallowed up by U.S. imperialism. But this scheme, to make Puerto Rico change from an external to an internal colony via statehood, is being challenged by the rapid emer-

gence of an armed clandestine movement, which today wages guerilla warfare, and tomorrow will lead the peoples' war which will transform our national reality, and lead our people to the establishment of an independent and socialist republic. The impact of the Puerto Rican revolution must not be diminished, for while Puerto Rico is small, its consequences will be great. The four million rearguard members existing within the belly of the monster assure us that our struggle will be integral in the destruction of the U.S. empire from within.

Companeros chilenos, the task you have is equally important, for the vicious intervention in your country by the yankee imperialists and their fascist lackeys place Chile at the enter of the Latin American struggle! for Chile is not Nicaragua, and Chile is not El Salvador. This is not to diminish the importance of these two countries, but as Marxists we must understand that no two we must understand that no two things are equal; and mineral rich Chile will never peacefully remove itself from imperialism's orbit. The coup against Chile, while a terrible blow to the Chilean people, must be understood within a greater context by all of Latin America, for the coup was an attack on the whole of Latin America. The survival of the Chilean resistance must be understood then within its proper context. If Chile does not win, and the fascist junta is not destroyed, no country in Latin America will be able to achieve revolution. So companeros, the importance of your task is not lost upon us. The future of Latin America rests with your people. Your willingness to openly

admit mistakes and rethink strategy assures us that you move forward towards your country's complete and total liberation.

The victories of Puerto Rico and Chile will mark the destruction of imperialism as we know it. Our commitment to dig imperialism's grave is sealed with the blood of our great heroes such as Don Pedro Albizu Campos, and Angel Rodriguez Cristobal. Your commitment is sealed in the highest example of heroism of President Salvador Allende, and in the spirit of Calixto Garcia.

Companeros, the fate of Latin America hangs in the balance. The solution is simple and is to be found in the slogans of our two organizations, but they must cease to be words and must become political realities.

**NO TO DEFEATIST SOLUTIONS,
NO TO IMPERIALIST SCHEMES!"**

We also make your slogan ours:
**"LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM,
WHATEVER THE COST!"**

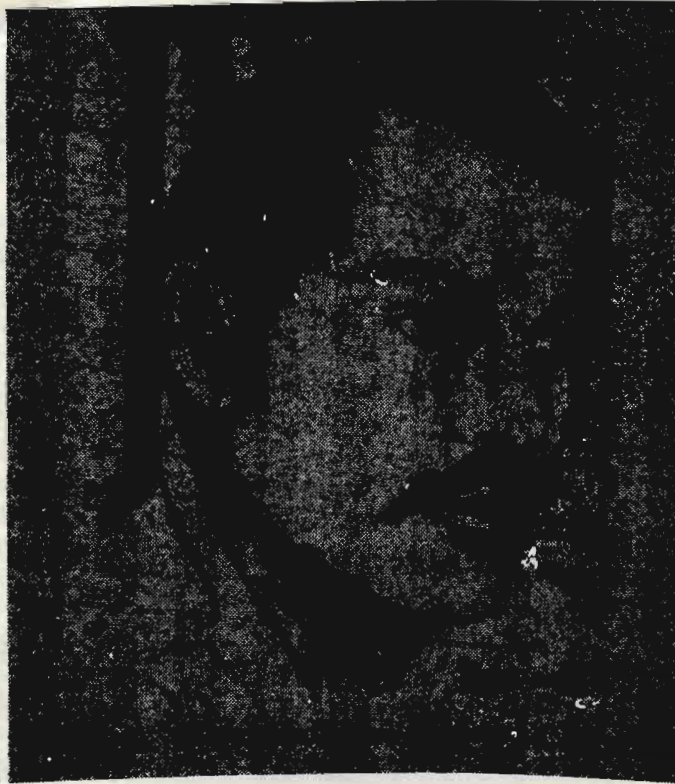
FREE PUERTO RICO

**DEATH TO PINOCHET AND THE
FASCIST JUNTA!**

**WAR AND DEATH
TO IMPERIALISM!**

**LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE
CHILEAN AND PUERTO RICAN
PEOPLE!**

FROM THE BEACH TO IMMORTALITY



I sustained there and I sustain now that the CIA assassinated Angel Rodriguez Cristobal for being a prominent member of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, the only organization that has backed the revolutionary -- politico/military clandestine activity of the clandestine apparatus in Puerto Rico and the U.S.A. They have wanted to provoke, to make a provocation of the clandestine organizations, especially the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional) in the U.S. to provoke a reaction that would facilitate their penetration of the capture of some of their members. It is a provocation directed at the FALN with the precedente of Fraunces Tavern and the Anglers Club in hopes that the precipitation of a punitive action could occasion and provide them the conditions to destroy the FALN in the U.S. and the clandestine movement in Puerto Rico. They won't get away with it.

Juan Antonio Corretjer

The yankee military strategists should not deceive themselves. The blood of the Puerto Rican martyrs and patriots will be revenged with the blood of the Imperialists. The Yankee occupying forces will be a target of the Patriotic Fire every time that the assassin hand of the Imperialist takes the life of a Puerto Rican patriot. We warn the Imperialists that they should respect the life and security of our prisoners according to the Geneva Convention, otherwise they will be responsible for the irreversible consequences that will follow as a result of our people's popular indignation.

The clandestine organizations that suscribe to this statement are not playing at war. We are prepared to take this struggle to its last consequences.

For independence and socialism

Long Live a Free Puerto Rico!

Organizacion de Voluntarios para la Revolucion Puertorriquena, (OVRP), (Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution), the Ejercito Popular Boricua, (EPB -- Macheteros), (Boricua Popular Army), and the Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular, (FARP), (Armed Forces of Popular Resistance).