

**VIVA  
PUERTO  
RICO  
LIBRE**



**PUERTO RICO**  
**A Colony of the United States**

# PUERTO RICO: A COLONY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

## Introduction

Puerto Rico, whose indian name is Borinquen, is an island with an area of 8,890 sq. km. (100 miles east to west, 35 north to south) situated in the Caribbean to the east of the island of La Hispanola, which is composed of the Dominican Republic and the Republic of Haiti. Puerto Rico is the smallest of the islands of the Greater Antilles and has a population of approximately 2.5 million. Originally the name Puerto Rico had been given by the Spaniards to what we know today as San Juan, the capital, because of the strategic importance they considered San Juan Harbor had for navigation.

Christopher Columbus discovered Puerto Rico during his second voyage to America. He landed on our shores on November 19, 1493. Juan Ponce de Leon, famous for his search for the "Fountain of Youth", was in charge of the conquest and colonization of the Puerto Rican nation and he became the first colonial governor of the island.

The native inhabitants of Puerto Rico, the Taino Indians, were forced by the Spaniards to do hard labour and were submitted to cruel economic exploitation. The Tainos revolted against this state of affairs and were massacred by the Spanish. As a result of the exploitation and massacres and of their lack of immunity against new diseases brought by the Conquistadores the Taino Indians were exterminated. "Mestizaje" or intermarriages between the Spaniards and the Indians and the exodus of many of them to the Virgin Islands also played an important role in their disappearance.

After this the Spanish rulers began to import African slaves. The Black Africans also suffered cruel economic exploitation and were deprived of the most elementary political, social, economic and cultural rights. The 18th. and the 19th. centuries saw the first revolts of the black slaves against the oppression and exploitation which they suffered at the hands of the Spanish slave owners and colonizers. These sporadic uprisings enjoyed the support of a section of the white population in which could be found some revolutionaries and some "whitey liberals" who were beginning to have a national conscience and to feel themselves to be Puerto Ricans and not Spaniards. Ramon Emeterio Betances was the greatest patriot and leader of the struggle against slavery and of the 1868 Lares uprising (Grito de Lares) for independence. Because of this he is known among Puerto Rican independentistas (fighters for independence) as the Padre de la Patria (Father of Our Land). Other abolitionists and leaders of the independence movement during the 19th century were: Segundo Ruiz Belvis, Eugenio Maria de Hostos, Manuel Rojas, Andres

and Juan Vizcarrondo, Buenaventura Quinones, Joaquin Parrilla, Manuel Rosado el Lenero, and others. A North American revolutionary, Mathias Bruckman also fought for Puerto Rico's independence on the 1868 Grito de Lares. By then a lot of revolutionary secret societies had emerged in the island as for example: La Torre del Viejo, El Palomar, Lanzador del Norte, Centro Bravo and the one under the leadership of Bruckman, Capa Prieto. There were other kinds of societies such as the Sociedad Amigos del Pais and the Comité Revolucionario de Nueva York. In this last one Cuban and Puerto Rican revolutionaries discussed strategies in their struggle against colonialism.

The first stirrings of the Puerto Ricans for liberty were drowned in blood by the supreme Spanish military power. But these uprisings announced to the world the birth of a new nation, the Puerto Rican nation which since then has never ceased to struggle for its national independence.

The struggle against exploitation and Spanish colonialism continued to develop. On September 23, 1868 the Puerto Rican people, led by the members of the secret societies mentioned before staged the first armed uprising in the country for national independence. After hard struggles the Puerto Rican patriots succeeded in routing the Spanish army to the mountain town of Lares and they proclaimed the Republic of Puerto Rico. Immediately after this, the armed forces of the Republic were to take the town of San Sebastian and the rest of the island with the aim of liberating our country from the Spanish colonial yoke. But, after a bloody struggle the Spanish army succeeded by force of numbers in dominating the armed insurrection. Two negative factors that affected this result were: the lack of big extensions of forests such as the Sierra Maestra or the Sierra Cristal in Cuba where our revolutionaries could escape to prepare a counterattack and the fact that a ship and arms that were



RAMON EMETERIO BETANCES

to be used in the uprising were confiscated by the Spanish authorities causing this to be a precipitated action on the part of the revolutionaries that ended in a military failure. Nevertheless Puerto Rico in arms had shown its unshakeable desire to become, a sovereign and independent republic.

Every year on the 23rd of September the Puerto Rican independentistas make a pilgrimage to the town of Lares to pay homage to the heroes of the "Proclamation of Lares" and to reaffirm our determination to finish the epic begun in 1868. The greatest of all of these pilgrimages was the last one on the centenary of the Grito. In this occasion about 30,000 members of the different patriotic groups gathered in Lares to celebrate the festivities even though it was a working day for everyone, even though students were supposed to be in school that day and even though to go to Lares through small rural roads is very difficult and takes time.

After the Grito de Lares in 1868 the people of Puerto Rico have continued their determined struggle for national independence in spite of all the repressions, imprisonments, persecution and pressure used by the Spaniards since then. As a consequence of the people's systematic struggle and the weakening of the Spanish empire the feudal monarchy was obliged, in 1897, to grant an autonomous regime with wide powers to the people of Puerto Rico which was supposed to constitute the first stage of the national independence which the people longed for. This new autonomous regime granted the Puerto Ricans the rights to have its own customs, monetary and banking systems, postal service, etc. Puerto Rico could enter into commercial relations with any country of the world. Puerto Rico had 16 representatives in the Spanish Cortes and no law or treaty approved by Spain concerned Puerto Rico unless it was approved by the Puerto Rican Parliament. Spain continued to assume external responsibility for the military defense of the island. The Puerto Ricans also had their own citizenship and were not obliged to enter into military service in the Spanish army.

But, on July 25, 1898, the United States invaded our country, and established a military occupation of Puerto Rico. This invasion came as an aftermath of the Spanish-Cuban-American war. That year the U.S. sent the warship "Maine" into the Bay of Havana on the pretext of assuring protection for American citizens residing in Cuba. For a long time the U.S. had wished to take over the Spanish possessions in the Caribbean and submit them to their own colonial domination, so they allowed the "Maine" to be sunk and used this as an ideal pretext for a war and thus snatched Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean and the Philippines and Guam in the Pacific.

With the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1898, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines became North American colonies. Cuba was placed under North American military occupation for two years and after this period the United States undertook to recognize its formal independence. By imposing the Platt amendment the United States maintained a semi-colonial regime in Cuba until January the first, 1959, when the revolutionary forces led by Fidel Castro, Comandante Guevara and others took power of the government.

1898 marked the birth of the United States as a colonial power of the first order. From that date up to the present the United States has continually intervened in the internal affairs of the countries of Latin America, Asia, Africa and Europe. Many Latin American countries have seen their sovereignty trampled underfoot and their territory subjected to military occupation by the armed forces of the Yankee colossus. Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Panama, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mexico and other countries have had first-hand experience of "North American Democracy" in action.

After 70 years of North American military occupation, the people of Puerto Rico are now in the situation that they have far less autonomous powers than they had under the feudal Spanish monarchy. The "Commonwealth" which the colonial governor Luis Munoz Marin translated, contradicting all recognized definitions, is simply a mask with which they have tried to cover the real situation in Puerto Rico and to create confusion before international public opinion. The translation of the Estado Libre Asociado is not "Commonwealth". It would be "Free, Associated State" which means nothing at all because we are neither a free country nor are we a state, nor are we associated as equals with the U.S. in any sense. Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States of America.

## THE "LIBERATORS" IN ACTION

The first act of the North American regime of occupation was the dissolution of the Autonomous Parliament and the establishment of a military government which set Puerto Rico back to the time of its discovery and the period of colonization. The people unanimously demonstrated their opposition to this state of affairs. A change in the currency was another action undertaken by the "Liberators". The Spanish peso which had been used in Puerto Rico had a higher gold and silver content than the North American dollar. By imposing the currency change the U.S. gained the equivalent of 60 cents for each peso. In this "democratization measure" they got from the Puerto Rican people a sum estimated at 200 million dollars.

In face of the popular refusal to accept the military occupation, in 1901 the United States imposed the Foraker Law which provided for the establishment of a "civil government" in Puerto Rico. According to the provisions of this law, the Governor, the members of the colonial Cabinet and the heads of the agencies of the colonial dependencies were named by the President of the U.S. and, as was to be expected, they were all North Americans who knew nothing of our language, customs, tradition or culture. The law provided for colonial elections every four years to elect the members of a "Chamber of Puerto Rican Delegates". This chamber of delegates had only consultative status and had no power whatsoever. It could only make recommendations for internal legislation and the North American colonial governor could adopt or reject them through his right to veto, according to the interests of the U.S.

At the same time attempts were made to anglicize our country by destroying our culture, traditions, customs and national language. All education was in English. The students were required to take an oath daily on the U.S. flag and to swear fidelity to the United States of America. Attempts were made by all imaginable means to destroy the patriotic sentiment and to supplant love for Puerto Rico by love for the U.S. Although the U.S. had partial success in this campaign among minority sections of the population, the truth is that the people of Puerto Rico heroically resisted all attempts made against their national culture and feel and think as Puerto Ricans, not as North Americans. The people of Puerto Rico succeeded in defending their nationality, language and culture.

The process of the invasion of Puerto Rico with North American capital was also begun, and continued for years at an increasing rate until it has reached the present alarming proportions in which 85% of our economy is in the hands of North American investors. During the first World War the United States remained in a state of expectancy for three years. They were waiting to profit from hostilities to become the world's greatest imperialist power. In 1917, the U.S. entered into the war and that same

year they imposed North American citizenship on the people of Puerto Rico, as a result of which more than 20,000 Puerto Ricans were obliged to enlist in the U.S. Army. Since then the Puerto Ricans are obliged to do compulsory military service in the U.S. Army and if we refuse we run the risk of being sentenced for 5 to 10 years of imprisonment or a \$10,000 fine or both and risk losing our civil rights. More than 200,000 Puerto Ricans were obliged to enter into military service during the 2nd World War and 100,000 during the U.S. war with Korea. Some 4,000 of them lost their lives there. At present thousands of Puerto Ricans are forced to enter into compulsory military service in the United States Army. They are stationed in Germany, Guantanamo, Okinawa, Japan, Taiwan, Panama, South Vietnam and other countries throughout the world.

When they imposed North American citizenship on the people of Puerto Rico in 1917, the U.S. Congress did not consider the people's unanimous refusal or the opposition expressed by the Chamber of Deputies which was created by the North Americans themselves. The people's opposition was so strong that the North Americans did not even dare to maintain the so-called 'democratic forms'. Instead of demanding that all those who desired American citizenship should swear an affidavit before a judge, the Americans demanded the contrary: all those who refused to accept North American citizenship should swear an affidavit before a judge. North Americans used psychological warfare to achieve its aims. When a person rejected North American citizenship by swearing an affidavit he became the victim of boundless repression and persecution which went as far as loss of employment and civil rights.

Other factors which helped the Americans to carry out their plan were the small number of judges, the lack of awareness on the part of a substantial number of people of the crime of denaturalization and the way in which it had been perpetrated by the U.S. The patriotic leaders did not mobilize the people for a massive, militant struggle of protest against the forced citizenship and others. In spite of this, hundreds of Puerto Ricans appeared before the few judges in the country at that time to swear the affidavit rejecting North American citizenship, thus openly braving the North American government and its repressive apparatus stationed in our country.

The people of Puerto Rico continued their unceasing struggle for national independence. The patriotic movement used all forms of struggles which correspond to the revolutionary development of that period: from political voyages through Latin America seeking solicitude and support for our struggle for national independence to the political struggle of the masses in the country itself. One of the results of this struggle was that the revolutionary political level of the masses rose continually.

The tragic economic situation through which the country passed, the political exploitation and oppression, created revolutionary agitation among the people. The revolutionary movement grew from day to day. In 1935, in the university city of Rio Piedras, under the order of the U.S. colonel Francis Riggs the colonial police assassinated Ramon S. Pagan, secretary for labor affairs of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and three young students of the University of Puerto Rico. The motive for the crime was the unprecedented success of the movement for Puerto Rican independence under the leadership of Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos. Colonial violence was unleashed against the patriotic forces which were beginning to gain sufficient strength to shake and even overthrow the North American colonial domination.

The U.S. colonel Francis Riggs, head of the colonial police was killed by two young patriots, Elias Beauchamp and Hiram Rosado on February 23, 1936. As a result the North American government launched a violent wave of repression against the patriotic forces. Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos was arrested on the charge of having desired to "overthrow the government of the U.S. established in Puerto Rico". The national leaders of the Nationalist Party were also arrested.

In the face of this situation of struggle in Puerto Rico, Tydings, a member of the U.S. Congress, presented a draft bill before that body demanding recognition of the national independence of Puerto Rico. More than 40 of the 77 municipalities in Puerto Rico lowered the United States flag and raised in its place that of Puerto Rico. Public meetings were held in many municipalities demanding recognition of the independence of Puerto Rico. In spite of the fact that the vast majority of the people of Puerto Rico demanded national independence the United States Congress rejected the Tydings draft.

Once again it was clearly demonstrated that the United States was prepared to use all means to defend its economic, political and military interests in Puerto Rico and that if the people of this country wished for national independence and national liberation they would have to win it from North America through an implacable struggle.

The people of Puerto Rico will only be able to win its national independence and national liberation through a long, hard struggle against North American interests. Today this is truer than ever before.

## THE MURDERERS OF THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE

Towards the end of 1936 all the national leadership and all the leaders of the local organization of the Nationalist Party were in prison. There was a large mass movement in support of Dr. Albizu Campos and the other imprisoned patriots. The first attempt to condemn Dr. Albizu ended in failure. The jury composed of North Americans and Puerto Ricans could not reach agreement. **THE PUERTO RICAN JURY MEMBERS WERE IN FAVOUR OF ACQUITTAL AND THE NORTH AMERICANS VOTED FOR HIS CONDEMNATION**. After this a new trial was ordered and a new jury empanelled. The new jury was chosen in the palace of the colonial governor, in the presence of the U.S. attorney Rockwell Kent, and **WAS COMPOSED OF 10 NORTH AMERICANS AND TWO PUERTO RICAN ANNEXATIONISTS**. Dr. Albizu Campos was condemned to 10 years' imprisonment and was placed in the penitentiary of Atlanta, Georgia in the United States.

On March 21, 1937, a large public demonstration was organized at Ponce, the second largest city in the country, to demand the liberation of the imprisoned patriots and the national independence of Puerto Rico. It was a peaceful demonstration for which official authority had been granted by the colonial authorities of the city. The demonstrators began to gather and to form columns. Suddenly strong police detachments appeared on all sides and surrounded the demonstrators. The chief of police notified the leaders of the demonstration that the authorization of the Mayor of the city had been withdrawn and the demonstration banned. The demonstrators did not yield and continued their preparations.

The column started to move forward to the strains of "La Borinquena", the national anthem, and at the same time the police opened fire on the demonstration. The criminal toll taken in the streets of Ponce by the murderers of the people was 20 dead and more than 200 wounded. Women, old people, youth and children were deliberately killed by the colonial police for the sole crime of having organized a peaceful demonstration for the liberation of the political prisoners and to demand national independence for

our people.

A new wave of repression followed the Ponce Massacre. But it could not prevent more than 25,000 people from attending the burials of the martyrs. The organization of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico was practically destroyed. More than one thousand patriots were imprisoned. The Federal and colonial authorities unleashed the full force of its terror on the people. Popular indignation knew no bounds and the determination of the people to liberate Puerto Rico and our will to struggle grew stronger than ever.

Placing themselves on the defensive and wishing to stifle the popular struggle, the North American government introduced minimum reforms into their colony. With this aim Governor Blanton Winship was removed and Rexford Guy Tugwell, a "liberal" and proponent of the "New Deal" was named in his place.

For its part, the United States sought a colonial politician who had not lost his prestige among the masses to serve them as an instrument in stamping out the struggle of the people for national independence. It found such a politician in the bohemian circles of Greenwich Village, New York, in the person of Luis Munoz Marin. This was the son of a politician who had originally been in favour of independence, then for autonomy under the Spanish colonial domination, and later, under the North American domination, had been converted to annexationism. He exactly fulfilled the requirements of the United States government.

In order to play his role as a tool of the United States, Luis Munoz Marin had to prevent himself before the masses as a champion of independence in order to "evolve" towards autonomism and to fall finally into the mire of annexationism. This was the political career of the colonial governor, Luis Munoz Marin, who faithfully played his role as an instrument of the US to stamp out the struggle of our people and to maintain Puerto Rico under colonial domination. Governor Sanchez Vilella, following the same policies succeeded Munoz Marin in 1964.

At the time when Munoz Marin began his first political campaigns the theory that was spread among the popular masses and in the patriotic movement was that the colonial elections would not resolve anything and that participation in these elections did not constitute a means of struggle since the U.S. exercised complete control over the elections and prevented the free expression and self-determination of the Puerto Rican people. The slogan was armed insurrection as the only means of struggle for the liberation of Puerto Rico.

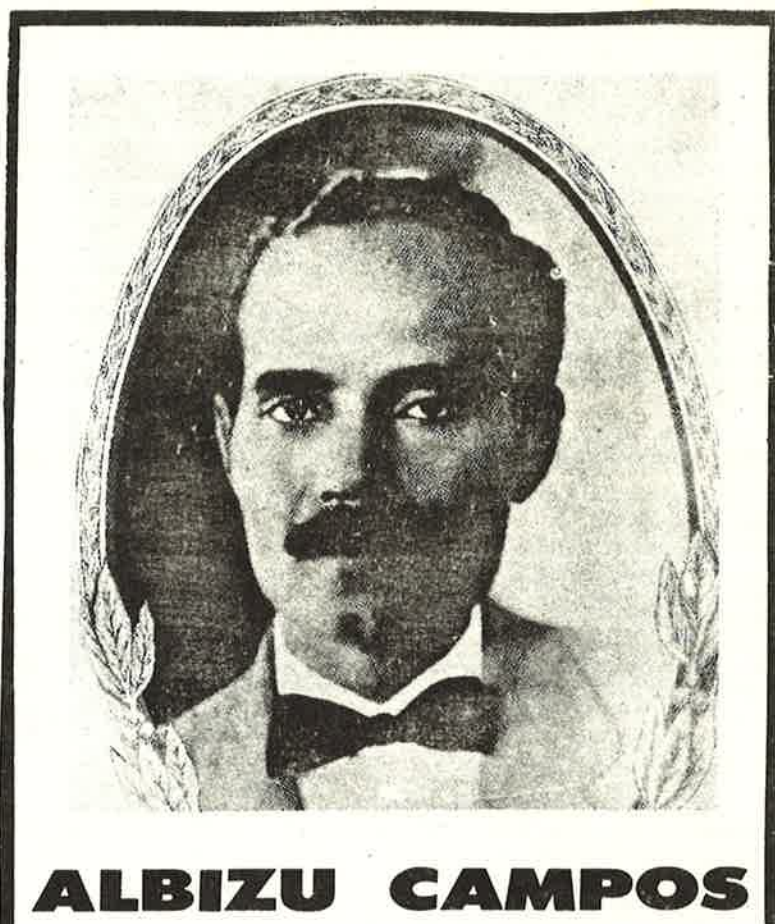
The US placed their whole colonial apparatus at the disposal of Munoz Marin. The colonial press and radio began to make an intense campaign in his support. The programme of corruption known as the "Emergency Plan for War and the Reconstruction of Puerto Rico" was placed in the hands of Munoz Marin who boasted that he had "many millions in his budget".

In turn, Munoz travelled throughout the country staging his "electoral campaign" under the slogan of "For Bread, Land and Liberty". IN HIS SPEECHES MUNOZ DECLARED THAT IF THE PEOPLE VOTED FOR HIM INDEPENDENCE WOULD BE JUST AROUND THE CORNER. Munoz Marin and his followers were never hounded by either the FBI or the colonial police.

Since all the national leadership and all the leaders of the local organizations of the patriotic movement were in prison in the United States and in Puerto Rico, they were unable to direct and correctly orientate the struggle of the people for national independence. The North American Imperialists and their puppet Munoz took advantage of this fact to confuse the people and to draw them into participation in colonial elections which resolved nothing.

The United States tried to stamp out the revolutionary struggle of the masses and to limit the struggle waged for national independence to the circle of fruitless elections. Because of the unconditional control of the US over the electoral machinery, the US was sure that it would never be defeated in this field. The 70 years of colonialism and colonial elections make it perfectly clear that Puerto Rico will never obtain its national independence and national liberation through elections.. The national independence and the national liberation of Puerto Rico will only be achieved through a long revolutionary struggle of the masses. This is why those who called for armed insurrection and non-participation in the colonial elections were massacred, persecuted and imprisoned while those who preached participation in the elections were given help by the US lackeys in the colonial government in the form of economic assistance, electoral subsidies; they facilitated inscription in their parties and offered them all kinds of aid, defending and stimulating them.

In 1947, after his release from the penitentiary of Atlanta, Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos returned to Puerto Rico and immedi-



ately began to reorganize his impetuous Nationalist Party. In 1948 the Student's Council of the University of Puerto Rico invited Dr. Albizu to give a lecture on the final solution of the political status of Puerto Rico. The rector of the University, the well-known colonialist Jaime Benitez refused Dr. Campos permission to give the lecture. The students protested vigorously and declared a university strike which lasted for 4 months. The students lowered the United States flag and raised the Puerto Rican one. The colonial police attacked and occupied the University campus. Hundreds of students were maltreated, wounded and imprisoned and several University professors who had spoken in defense of the students were expelled from the University, removed from their office and even imprisoned.

Following the dissolution of the General Council of Students, the Puerto Rican University students were no longer represented in the University ruling bodies and they had no possibility of organizing themselves freely and legally. In 1956, the University Federation for Puerto Rican Independence (FUPI) took over the banner of the Council and continued the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, for a Puerto Rican orientation in education, for student rights and democracy.

On October 30, 1950 an armed insurrection broke out in the mountain town of Jayuya. The colonial forces in the town were driven out and the Republic of Puerto Rico was proclaimed. There were also armed uprisings in the towns of Arecibo, Ponce, Mayaguez, Utuado and San Juan, Aibonito, Cayey, Penuelas and others. The United States army and its reserve forces were ordered into the streets to stamp out the uprising. Attacks were made on the towns of Jayuya, Utuado and others. The revolutionary forces fought heroically against the colonial police but they were overwhelmed by force of numbers after the colonial authorities declared martial law and a state of siege.

Puerto Rico in arms had once again demonstrated to the world its resolute desire to be a free, independent and sovereign country and its determination to struggle until the North American invaders are driven from its soil.

North Americans launched another wave of violent repression against the patriotic movement. Hundreds of Puerto Ricans were persecuted and/or imprisoned and some were assassinated. As a form of reprisal a nationalist commando left New York for Washington with the mission of killing Harry S. Truman, President of the United States. In doing this the Nationalists wanted to draw world attention to the crimes committed in Puerto Rico by the North American government.

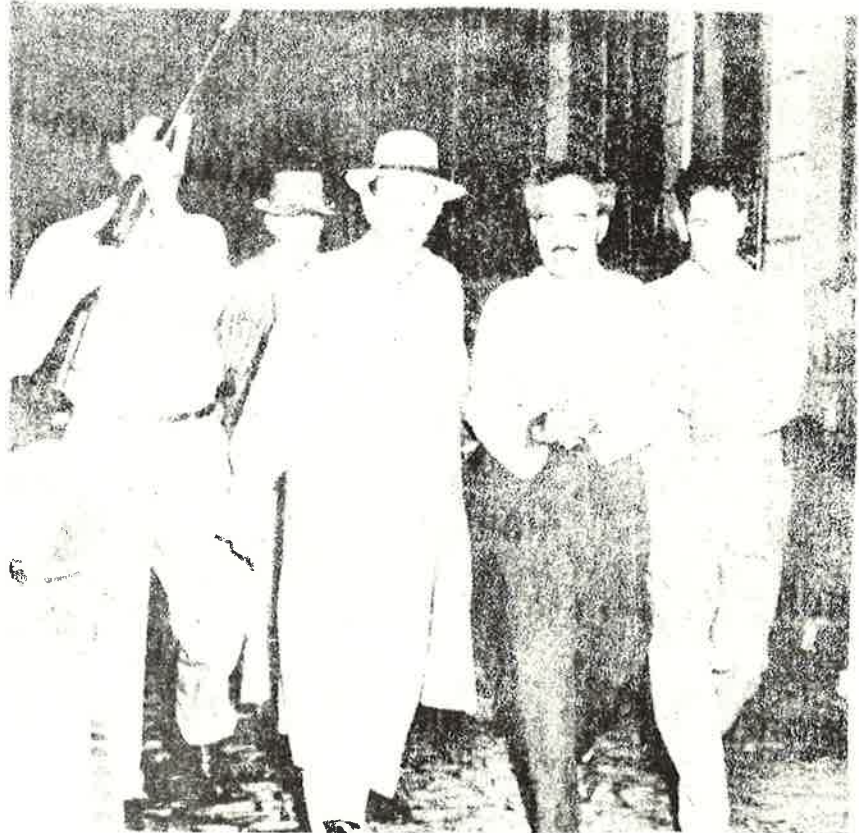
In 1954, another nationalist commando travelled from New York to Washington with orders to shoot United States Congressmen in order to draw the attention of public opinion to the fact that Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos was being assassinated in the La Princesa prison at San Juan. Although Albizu was seriously ill and suffering from cerebral hemorrhages he was given no medical treatment and it was thus that they wished to kill him.

The brave and heroic actions undertaken by the militants of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico drew vicious reprisals against this organization forcing it to go underground and almost completely liquidating it structurally. The history of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico is filled with deeds of heroism, self-denial and sacrifice.

The nationalist movement committed various tactical errors, some of which seriously prejudiced the organization itself, and later the development of the revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, nationalism was of supreme importance in the history of the revolutionary movement of Puerto Rico.

By learning from the past in order to avoid repeating mistakes and by adapting techniques to suit the specific situation in our country and developing these tactics to keep pace with the changes taking place daily in Puerto Rico, the INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT (MPI) SINCE ITS FOUNDATION IN 1959, has carried on the struggle begun in Lares in 1868 and continued by the Nationalist Party during the two decades between 1930 and 1950. The MPI is determined to carry the struggle through to the end: for the national independence of Puerto Rico, the withdrawal of military and atomic bases set up in our country by the United States and the realization of the national liberation of Puerto Rico with the establishment of a Democratic and Popular Republic.

Through their active and militant struggle, the people of Puerto Rico under the leadership of the patriotic avant-garde which is organized within the Independence Movement, will finally triumph over North American interests and its local colonial agents.



## THE SO-CALLED "COMMONWEALTH" OR "FREE ASSOCIATED STATE"

After Dr. Albizu Campos returned to Puerto Rico and began his work of reorganizing the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, the radical struggle for national independence won new successes. In order to stamp out the struggle the United States government in 1948 named a Puerto Rican as colonial governor and allowed this nomination to be confirmed by election. At the same time the North Americans were preparing for a new repression.

It was in 1948 that the newly founded Puerto Rican Independence Party participated in the elections for the first time. This party had been founded by a large group of militants from Munoz Marin's party who were convinced that Munoz was betraying the struggle for independence. The Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) has been a non-revolutionary party which held that electoral struggle is the only means of winning national independence.

Immediately after the armed uprising of 1950, the United States was obliged to grant a few nominal reforms. To this end, it imposed a so-called "Referendum" in which the people had a single choice: to vote for or against Law No. 600 of the U.S. Congress. This law changed the country's name from "Colony of Puerto Rico" to "Commonwealth of Puerto Rico", made it legal for the Puerto Rican flag to be flown with the United States flag from all public buildings controlled by the colonial government, allowed the national anthem to be played - provided that it was always followed by the United States anthem - during radio and television broadcasts, as well as in schools and during public ceremonies, and it also provided for other nominal reforms. The Puerto Ricans were then permitted to write a local constitution subject to revision and amendment by the U.S. Congress. All laws passed by the United States Congress are in full force in Puerto Rico.

The colonial government organized an intense campaign in favor of this law. The official propaganda played on the patriotic feelings of the people. Munoz Marin continually declared throughout the country that anyone who opposed the law would be opposing our country's anthem and flag, and that such a person was in favor of colonialism and an enemy of the people of Puerto Rico.

Immediately after the elections in which more than 50% of the enrolled voters failed to participate, the colonial governor Munoz Marin spoke profusely of the "self-determination" exercised by the people of Puerto Rico and the "desire for permanent union with the United States" which was "expressed by the people at the polling booths" (less than 50% of enrolled voters). At the same time John Cabot Lodge, the United States representative at the United Nations, informed that organization on the self-determination exercised by the people of Puerto Rico and promised that "if they sought a greater degree of autonomy or even national independence through elections, the United States declared before the U.N. that it would consider such a petition favorably." In his conclusion Cabot Lodge requested that Puerto Rico be removed from the list of colonial countries and be henceforth considered as an autonomous country.

By a close vote which was taken after a wide debate, the U.N., which at that time was under the control of the U.S., decided to eliminate Puerto Rico from the list of dependent countries. This decision was made in spite of the fact that the different organizations for Puerto Rican Independence had demanded that they be heard by the United Nations and that they had sent memoranda, which were not considered by the U.N.

The facts showed later on how false and hypocritical were the words of Cabot Lodge, United States representative. In 1959, on the basis of a joint demand made by the colonial legislative Chambers, the colonial governor himself requested some minor, rapid reforms for the colony. To this end a bill, called the Fernos-Murray bill, was brought before the United States Congress. The United States Congress refused to discuss this draft legislation, in spite of the fact that the colonial governor, Munoz Marin, had made countless trips and approaches to Washington. The failure of the six planned referendums once again clearly showed the falseness and hypocrisy of the U.S. government.

The North American government has always turned a deaf ear to any colonial reforms presented. But what is even worse is the fact that they simply refuse to discuss them. This makes it perfectly clear that Puerto Rican independence will not be obtained through "petitions", "joint resolutions from the colonial Chambers", "trips to Washington" or "colonial elections". Independence will only be obtained through struggle as was the case with Algeria and other countries.

In 1969 Puerto Rico has much less liberty than it had under the feudal Spanish monarchy in 1897. Under this monarchy, Puerto Rico had the right to enter into trade relations with any country in the world; we had our own citizenship; we were not obliged to do military service in the Spanish army, and we controlled our own postal, customs, banking, monetary, and judicial systems.

Under the so-called "Commonwealth" or "Free Associated State" and under North American "protection", in 1969, Puerto Rico cannot enter into commercial relations with any country except the United States; We do not have our own citizenship and we are forced to enter into military service in the United States Army. We do not control either our postal, customs, monetary, banking or judicial systems because these depend on the judiciary system of the United States to which we must have recourse for all decision.

In 1897, under the feudal Spanish monarchy, Puerto Rico had 16 representatives at the Cortes Espanolas in spite of the fact that the laws passed by these Cortes or the Treaties signed with Spain did not apply to Puerto Rico unless the Puerto Rican Parliament adopted them. Under North American domination and under the so-called Free Associated State, **WHILE WE HAVE NO REPRESENTATION OR VOICE IN ANY NORTH AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE BODY, WE ARE THE VICTIMS OF THE ARBITRARY IMPOSITION OF ALL LAWS AND TREATIES SIGNED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES**

The so-called Free Associated State is nothing but a farce. Its name is meant to mislead international public opinion and for a while it succeeded in confusing sections of the Puerto Rican population. The Free Associated State has never been anything but a re-sounding name used in an attempt to hide the colonial reality of Puerto Rico.

Before the Free Associated State, the U.S. controlled our custom, postal services, the issuing of passports, our radio

and T.V. They exercised a trade and shipping monopoly and controlled emigration and immigration, communication and external relations and imposed military service on our youth. Their military bases occupied 13% of our national territory and they controlled our economy. In short, all vital aspects of our life were dominated by the United States. None of this has changed since 1952 when the name was changed to Free Associated State. Today, the US controls all vital aspects of our national life. And not only this, but they have increased their economic, political and military domination over our country and interfere with our cultural development.

The facts listed here make it clear beyond any doubt that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States of America. And not simply a new kind of neo-colony. It is a classical type of colony. To maintain its colonial domination over our country, the US maintains an enormous repressive apparatus on our soil. In Puerto Rico, the United States has one agent of repression for each 24 inhabitants, or 10 per square kilometer. The colonial police force is 15,000 strong and it has been announced that many more are needed. The combined forces of the FBI, CIA, and the Agency for Internal Security and the Criminal Investigations Corp amount to more than 1,500 men. The United States National Guard and the National Air Guard have a force of more than 15,000 in Puerto Rico. Moreover, the US maintains units of the Reserve Corps of the US Army in our country amounting to some 20,000 soldiers, and over and above this there are 50,000 soldiers, marines and military personnel stationed at the military bases throughout our country. This combined apparatus gives a total of more than 100,000 agents of repression for a population of 2,500,000 in a country with an area of 10,000 km<sup>2</sup>.

This repressive apparatus has been gradually growing during the last years. It is used to persecute and repress the patriotic and progressive movement in our country. The main victims of this repression are the University Federation for Puerto Rican Independence (FUPI), and the Puerto Rico Independence Movement (MPI). The House Committee for Un-American Activities of the US regularly visits Puerto Rico to carry out its inquisitions and witch-hunts in our country.

### THE CIVILIAN POPULATION SURROUNDED BY MILITARY BASES

Puerto Rico can be described as a civilian population completely surrounded by military bases or as a military base enclosing a civilian population. In fact, 13% of the best arable land of Puerto Rico has been converted into large US military bases (Lately it has been reduced to about 12%). The US army annually carries out manoeuvres with the participation of more than one hundred warships and a force of 80,000 men. British, Canadian, French and Netherlands warships also participate in these manoeuvres in Puerto Rican waters.

The aim of the manoeuvres is quite clear: to try out in the territorial waters of Puerto Rico and on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, an eventual attack on other Latin American countries such as Cuba and the Dominican Republic and a landing by US troops on their soil.

NorthWest of Puerto Rico there is a huge base of the Strategic Air Command of the US Air Force. Stationed there are many atom bombers and the most modern supply planes as well as stocks of nuclear weapons. In the SouthEast region there is a training base for the launching of guided missiles, which has been constantly increased and strengthened ever since the triumph of the Cuban Revolution. A military personnel estimated at approximately 50,000 strong is stationed permanently at the military bases spread all over Puerto Rico and its adjoining islands, Vieques and Culebras. Our country is thus used as an anti-Cuba in the Caribbean, as a training site for troops that are sent to fight against people who, like ourselves, are struggling for national liberation and against US domination of their, economic, political, and cultural life.

The existence of atomic bases and guided missiles in our country turns Puerto Rico into a main military target in the case of a world war. This would result in the total annihilation of the population of Puerto Rico, for due to our limited territory it would be difficult if not impossible for our people to survive if ever a several megaton bomb fell on our country.

That is why the struggle for the immediate withdrawal of the military and atomic bases maintained by the US in our country, at the peril of our population, is an important struggle for our people. It is as much of a threat for those who want independence as for the partisans of the US, or those advocating people's rule. It is a threat against the old and the young, against all of us, men, women and children. It represents an equal threat for Catholics, Protestants and atheists alike. That is why the struggle for the withdrawal of military bases and for the denuclearization of Puerto Rico is a task which devolves on the whole people without exception.

We must realize ourselves and make the people realize that only by achieving national independence can we have concrete, real and effective possibilities for obtaining the withdrawal of the US military and atomic bases which are fraught with such a grave danger of death and extermination for our population. Moreover these bases play an important role in the realization of the US policy of aggression against the other countries in Latin America and elsewhere, for example the aggression against Vietnam.

Suffice it to mention the general alert issued for US troops on the occasion of the visit to Venezuela of the then vice-president of the United States, Mr. Richard Nixon. Similarly, the mobilization and general alert of US troops in Puerto Rico at the time of the Caribbean crisis in October 1962, the mobilization during the events in Panama in January 1964, when imperialism clamped down on the Panamanian students and people who are struggling heroically for their sovereignty over the Canal and against North American oppression. And most recently the invasion of the Dominican Republic by the US Marines.

### ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION AND EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION

The US does not hang on to Puerto Rico only for its value as a military stronghold. The commercial monopoly exercised by the US over our country brings it a big annual return of profits. Likewise the US investors extract yearly vast sums of money from our country.

Under the cloak of the "Economic Encouragement Plan" the US enterprises in our country do not pay taxes for a period of between 10 to 17 years. The North American investors as a rule, close their factories when the end of the exemption period is drawing near and re-open them under another name. In this way they enjoy exemption from taxes endlessly. And they benefit not only from tax exemption, the colonial government grants them loans, trains workers, builds industrial premises for them in keeping with the specifications submitted by the investors, then leases them out to them at a nominal charge, and finds workers for them. In short the colonial government accords all possible and imaginable "facilities" to the North American investors, who have come to exploit our workers and rake in all the riches of our country. Such a plan for the appropriation of a country's riches has never before been conceived in the course of history. It fell to the traitors Teodoro Moscoso and Munoz Marin to be the "creators" of this disgrace and



outrage.

As a result of the exemption from taxes and the low wages current in Puerto Rico, the North American monopolies and industrial enterprises, firmly entrenched in our country, obtain yearly profits, free of tax, accounting for 28% of the capital invested. In other terms, the North American investor recovers his invested capital in three years and a few months time. THE AVERAGE GAIN ON INVESTMENT IN PUERTO RICO IS WELL OVER DOUBLE THE SUM THAT CAN BE OBTAINED IN THE UNITED STATES ITSELF.

THE AVERAGE WAGE OF A PUERTO RICAN INDUSTRIAL WORKER IS ONE HALF TO ONE THIRD OF THAT OF AN INDUSTRIAL WORKER IN NORTH AMERICA. WITH THOSE WAGES, THE PUERTO RICAN INDUSTRIAL WORKER HAS TO PAY 25% MORE FOR CONSUMER GOODS. THE COST OF LIVING IN PUERTO RICO IS 25% HIGHER THAN IN NEW YORK, CHICAGO, WASHINGTON D C, PHILADELPHIA, ETC. Proof of this is the compensation or so-called "differential" granted to U S government employees in Puerto Rico to make up for the higher cost of living.

The maintenance of low wages rates in Puerto Rico is part of the policy of the colonial government of the United States towards our country. This system of cheap labor enables the North American investors to pocket enormous profits. For this reason, the North Americans have set up yellow trade unions which impede the struggle of the Puerto Rican workers for higher wages and better working conditions. Also for this purpose they have established a colonialist worker aristocracy who are traitors to the Puerto Rican trade union movement and attempt to thwart the legitimate national aspirations of our people.

U S capital investment on industrial and commercial projects during the last decade was about \$1,280 million. Since profits in general amount to 28% of the investment, it follows that every year over three hundred million dollars accrue to the North American investors, almost all of whom reside in the United States. Approximately 50,000 people work at U S owned industrial enterprises. All of them earn from one half to one third of the wages of a North American worker. So these Puerto Rican workers produce the goods and riches which allow the U S investors to obtain twice as high profits as they could by employing North American workers in the United States;

Every Puerto Rican worker produces an average \$6,100 of profit for the U S capitalists who do not pay taxes and live in the United States. But the Puerto Rican worker who receives only a tiny fraction of the riches he creates by his own labor, is obliged to pay taxes and 25% more for consumer goods than his counterpart in the United States; The North American worker earns three times as much as a Puerto Rican worker, produces less and pays lower prices. This is colonial exploitation and North American imperialism in operation and at the same time is an answer to those North Americans who envy the "lucky Puerto Ricans because they do not have to pay federal taxes".

The United States carries on a lucrative commercial monopoly in our country. Puerto Rico is the fifth largest market for U S exports in the world. In 1966 those exports were 1.42 billion dollars. Restrictions imposed by the colonial regime prevent us from entering into commercial relations with other countries on an equal footing. We are thus hindered from developing our merchant shipping, our agriculture, our fishing industry and others which produce goods for home use.

#### FALLACIOUS INDUSTRIALIZATION

Can Puerto Rico be considered as an "industrial" country as it is claimed by the colonial propaganda? Let us see.

The overwhelming majority of the industries established in Puerto Rico produce raw materials or semi-finished goods. They produce mainly for exportation. Industries which produce national consumer goods and process Puerto Rican raw materials are insignificant.

The General Electric Co., General Motors, the Carbide Union, the Sunbeam enterprise, etc., have opened factories in Puerto Rico to process raw materials and turn out products which are used by other industries as raw materials. This type of industry accounts for the overwhelming majority of enterprises in Puerto Rico, but it does not make Puerto Rico economically independent. On the contrary, it decreases the degree of economic dependence of our country. All the basic materials processed in these enterprises come from abroad and all their products are sold abroad. It is an industry depending entirely on foreign markets. If the foreign market is slack these enterprises close their activity in Puerto Rico. If not, they operate in Puerto Rico.

On the other hand, industrial enterprises which tend to make Puerto Rico economically more independent are not developed. These enterprises produce cigarettes, matches, salt, vinegar/ utilizing bananas as the basic material/ textiles, footwear, clothing, paper and wood/ from waste sugar-cane/ and fodder for livestock. There are also fishing industries, handicrafts, crystal, cement, marble, tropical fruit canning, sugar refineries and processing of agricultural produce.

This type of industry which produces goods for the home market could draw on abundant local basic material and help in achieving our economic independence and relieve us of the present high degree of dependence. But this is precisely the type of industry which has not been established in Puerto Rico.

The alleged "industrialisation" of Puerto Rico is nothing but a farce. A country is industrialised with the aim of obtaining a higher degree of economic independence, through producing articles and products which can be manufactured economically within the country and which can be exported. Those industries are developed for which the natural and climate conditions are most favorable and which allow the country to satisfy the home demands and export the surplus. In this way the industrialised country can earn foreign currency with which it can buy machinery or other industrial products which it cannot produce itself or cannot produce economically.

Can we consider an industrialised country which produces tobacco but does not manufacture cigarettes? A country which produces coffee and imports ground coffee? A country which produces sugar and imports refined sugar? A country which has big salt mines and imports salt? A country of islands with plenty of fish in its waters which imports fish or shellfish either tinned or frozen? Many other examples could be given, such as pineapples, tomatoes, lettuce, etc.

Only someone with no notion about economy would assert that a country can develop industrially by ruining and not

developing those sectors of the economy for which it has magnificent climate and natural conditions, and that industry can be developed by producing articles which are not consumed in the country and for which all basic materials have to be imported.

The colonial "economist" and the colonial government find themselves obliged to defend such an absurdity because otherwise they would have to admit to the people that on account of the colonial limitations it is impossible to develop the national economy of Puerto Rico on rational basis, benefiting the people, and not serving the economic interests of US imperialism. As long as Puerto Rico remains a colony of the United States, it will be impossible to build up our economy on a solid and rational basis, serving the interests of our people.

It is for this reason that the coffee-growers are being ruined while imports of instant coffee are increasing and our market gardeners are in the same situation while imports of frozen vegetables from the North American markets are increasing. For the same reason the small and middle businessmen are being driven out of business and replaced by chain-stores and super-markets set up with North American capital. Things continue endlessly in this way until finally the whole country will pass into the hands of North American capital.

85% of the investments in our country are made by foreign capital. 85% of the industries belong to North American capital. 50% of the wholesale and retail shops are owned by foreign capital. 40% of agricultural production is controlled by North American capital. North American capital is penetrating, at an increasing rate, into the branches of construction and the public services.

A sovereign and independent country can defend its economy and can develop it and prevent it from being controlled by foreign interests. Puerto Rico, as a colonial country, does not have this power.

Puerto Rican agriculture is in a state of ruin and permanent crisis. The sugar industry is affected by the imposition of a production and refining quota and by the ban to sell sugar on any other market than that of the US. During the periods when there is a shortage of sugar on the world market and when the price is higher than 5 and a half cents, the US raises the sugar quota. When such a situation arises, the US finds it convenient for Puerto Rico to produce a greater amount of sugar for the North American market. But when the world market price falls below 6 cents the US again imposes restrictions on the production of Puerto Rican sugar. It must also be pointed out that the purchase quotas assigned by the US to the producing countries are governed by political factors. Through the assignment of the sugar purchasing quotas the US uses economic blackmail to win political and economic advantages from the countries concerned. When a country refuses to submit to the imperialist blackmail, the US withdraws the quota. Cuba provides an example of this.

It is to be noted that the sugar quotas assigned by the US to the other formally sovereign countries do not limit the production of sugar in these countries. The independent and sovereign countries sell sugar to the US and all the other countries of the world. But, because of our colonial situation, Puerto Rico is forced to sell its sugar exclusively to the US. It is forbidden to Puerto Rico to sell sugar to other countries in the world.

It would be very advantageous for a free Puerto Rico to develop its sugar and tobacco industries and the production of coffee and vegetables and all other branches of industry and agriculture, to a high degree. The interests of Puerto Rico demand independent agricultural, industrial and economic development. The interests of North Americans require agricultural stagnation and the development of a dependent industry and economy. By taking advantage of the low salaries and the skilled labour the US is trying to convert Puerto Rico into an industrial colony along the lines of that created in Manchuria by the Japanese. But the North Americans in Puerto Rico will meet with the same fate as that which befell the Japanese in Manchuria.

The restriction of the production and refining of sugar and the ban placed on sale to other countries, the ruin of tobacco production and of coffee production and agriculture in general are in conformity with North American interests which are preventing the development of our agriculture and economy. It is in the interests of the US farmers that we produce only small quantities of vegetables, tomatoes, potatoes, onions, rice, cotton, maize, etc., because as a result of this the North American growers can find a market for their surplus and our country remains dependent on the US. While this is happening our farmers are falling into ruin and misery. It is only large landowners, such as Miguel Angel Garcia, Mendez, Ramiro Colon, the Cabasa's, and others who benefit from colonial domination. They receive high quotas for sugar production and control large sections of the coffee production.

The under-developed state of the fishing industry is also in accordance with the plans and interests of North American imperialism which wishes us to be as fully economically dependent as possible. The island country of Puerto Rico has only a negligible fish and shell-fish catch in spite of the fact that the surrounding seas abound in fish. One of the immediate tasks after the proclamation of independence will be the intensive development of the fishing industry.

From all that has been exposed here it is perfectly clear that Puerto Rico is a colony which is industrially completely dependent on the US and has a backward and ruined agriculture.

#### HUNGER, MISERY, SELF-DESTRUCTION AND EMIGRATION

The official propaganda of the colonial government and of North American exploiters seeks to create the impression, both within the country and abroad, that Puerto Rico is an earthly paradise where the people enjoy "liberty", a "high standard of living" and "happiness". But, let us consider this paradise:

Thirty five percent of the population of Puerto Rico live on alms and public charity. Unemployment reaches a total of 14% of the work force of 700,000; that is, a total of 98,000 unemployed. There are more than 100,000 people under-employed. These unemployed workers include agricultural workers that labor on the sugar and other harvests who are unemployed for more than six months out of each year. Altogether, 28% of the working force are out of work for six months and 14% are unemployed for the whole year.

Forty percent of the existing housing in Puerto Rico is considered by the Colonial Health Department as "unsuitable for habitation". The government is not disturbed very much by the fact that people live in these houses. They pay nevertheless a lot of attention to the construction of enormous luxury hotels for American tourists and houses for the middle and upper classes than they do

to solving the problem of housing for those living in the slums and the countryside. The colonial politicians only visit the slums and the countryside once every four years and then they do so with the aim of soliciting the votes of the residents in these areas. Once the colonial elections are over the colonial politicians forget the residents of the slums and the countryside until they return four years later to once again solicit votes.

In a recent research project (just published in January 1969) of the Puerto Rican Department of Education it was found that there are more than 80,000 youths between the ages of 14 to 21 years that are out of school and that have not been able to finish high school.

The public debt of the government and the colonial agencies is more than 600 million dollars. This sum is the equivalent of a debt of 250 dollars per head of population in our country. Private debt runs higher than 1,100 million dollars which is an average of 420 dollars per person. The total of Puerto Rico's private and public debt is over 1,700 million dollars. This sum represents an average debt of 670 dollars for each Puerto Rican and 3,350 dollars for each family of five members. To pay these debts the colonial government imposes the world's highest taxes while the North American investors enjoy tax-free facilities.



Social evils, vices, attacks, thefts, prostitution, in short, all the evils of a rotting society, flourish in Puerto Rico. In our country one person out of 50 is a drug addict according to information that appeared about two months ago in the New York Times. Young people between the ages of 18 and 25 years are the most affected by this vice. The thousands and thousands of school dropouts or the "kicked out" of the educational system, these young men who could become potential political dynamite for the system, destroy themselves. Prostitution as a supply flourishes where the United States military bases and the "tourist centers" have a demand for it. The root of these social evils and acts of self-destruction can be found in our colonial situation. Frantz Fanon describes a similar phenomena in his book "The Wretched of the Earth".

Because of our country's economic situation, thousands of Puerto Ricans are forced each year to emigrate to the United States of America. Our colonial government favors the mass emigration of Puerto Ricans, because in this way it can free the country of unemployed, discontented elements which are likely to touch off the social revolution which they fear so much. The US government on the other side, welcomes them hoping to achieve our acculturation and assimilation faster.

The colonial government annually organizes mass emigrations of Puerto Ricans to the agricultural areas of the United States and also stimulates emigration towards the industrial sectors where unskilled labor is needed and for domestic service. Many advertisements appear in your papers seeking Puerto Rican servants prepared to clean apartments, wash dishes and care for children in Miami, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, etc. These exiles driven out of Puerto Rico by hunger are forced to do the hardest and most menial tasks for starvation wages. In all the great cities of the US one can find Puerto Ricans working as cleaners, dish-washers in restaurants, dock workers, etc.

Approximately 40,000 Puerto Ricans emigrate each year to the U.S. There, besides economic exploitation, they are subjected to cruel racial and social discrimination. More than one million Puerto Ricans, which is almost one third of our population, are now living in the U.S. The city of New York has a larger Puerto Rican population than San Juan, our capital (700,000 in New York and 500,000 in San Juan).

In a very recent study done by the First National City Bank of New York and whose title is: "Poverty and Economic Development in the City of New York" (Read in page 18, El Tiempo, January 19, 1969) it was found that: 27% of the non-white families (many of whom are Puerto Ricans) in New York have an income of less than \$3,000. annually and due to the raise in the cost of living (approximately 14% between 1959 and 1969) it is estimated that this percent has increased. The study concludes that "the social and economic structure of the city will not be able to survive for much more time if the population continues suffering because of inadequate housing, poor education, inadequate training for jobs, unemployment, family instability and low incomes." This remark clearly shows how important it is for the capitalists to give palliatives or grant minimum reforms once in a while to avoid revolution.

#### THE COLONIAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The educational system in Puerto Rico is in the service of colonialism. Its principal task is to produce generations with a colonialist mentality and with a profound feeling of dependence on the US. The maxim of the so-called Puerto Rican educational system is to create a feeling of powerlessness, indifference and an enormous inferiority complex in the Puerto Ricans. Arising from this, in the schools of the colonial government it is firmly impressed upon the children that "Puerto Rico is very small" and "The US is very rich", that "Puerto Rico is a poor country" and "the US is a very large country", that "Puerto Rico is a weak country" and that "the US is a very strong country", etc.

The brain-washed school teachers use the following simile to compare Puerto Rico to the US: "Puerto Rico is like a pin point on the map of the world and the US is like an elephant". In this way they create a feeling of inferiority which becomes part of the mentality of the students in our country. They exalt the cultural values of the US and the disparage of our own cultural values, thus creating serious psychological problems for our youth. This situation which applies to the undenominational schools is even worse in most of the private church schools. There, education is given only in English. The students are forced to learn prayers, mathematics, etc., in English. These schools were created by the colonial bureaucrats and their pupils are drawn from the children of these classes. In spite of all their piety these religious institutions do not admit coloured children or children of poor

white people. In other words, these schools voluntarily or involuntarily practice racial discrimination against the black people and social discrimination against the poor whites.

Up to the 1940's all education in Puerto Rican schools was given in English. As a result of the persistent struggle of the masses for independence and for the defence of our national language, the colonial authorities and the North Americans were forced to give in and to re-establish education in Spanish in all the public schools in the colony. However, in the private schools, education is still given in English.

English is a compulsory subject in all schools and universities in Puerto Rico. Although the other subjects are taught in Spanish, the vast majority of the books used are text books from the US are printed in English. The Puerto Rican student is obliged to study physics, mathematics, algebra, biology, pharmacy, medicine, etc., from text books printed in English when these could be using Spanish texts. This is a cause of great mental torture for the student and prevents him from acquiring the necessary knowledge for the exercise of his profession after he has finished his studies. The result of this is that the Puerto Rican students almost never have a thorough knowledge of English, physics, mathematics, history, etc.

A concrete example of this is the fact that if you ask one hundred students, chosen at random, who liberated the African slaves in Puerto Rico, more than 90% of them will reply that it was Abraham Lincoln. And they give this answer in spite of the fact that they know that Lincoln was president of the United States in the 1860's and that at this period Puerto Rico was a Spanish colony. They reply Lincoln because they simply do not know who liberated the slaves in Puerto Rico and they have been made to believe in their subconsciousness that Puerto Rico was always a North American "protectorate".

The fact that Puerto Rican students do not know such elementary things about the history of their country should not surprise us. After all, this is the function of the colonial educational system: they want the Puerto Rican students to be ignorant of the history of their country and to isolate them from the national culture, traditions and customs. In other words, they want to deprive them of all patriotic feeling and to eliminate from them all traces of Puerto Rican character. In this way they are trying to facilitate the process of cultural assimilation.

Because of this the students know that George Washington was the first president of the US and that he "never told a lie" that Lincoln "emancipated the slaves" in the US but they do not know anything about Acosta, Betances, Baldorioty, Ruiz Belvis, Vizcarrondo and other great Puerto Rican patriots.

Because of the role they played in our history, some Puerto Rican patriots can not be omitted altogether from the formal education, but they are deprived of their merits and belittled in the eyes of the students. Thus we find that Eugenio Mario de Hostols is presented as a great educator and not as the great patriot who stipulated in his will that his mortal remains should not be transferred to our country until it becomes independent; Jose de Diego as "a great poet" and not as one who fought resolutely for our independence; Dr. Ramon Emeterio Betances is presented as "a great doctor" and not as a great revolutionary leader whose dying words were "I don't want a colony either with Spain or the United States, why don't the Puerto Ricans revolt?" The same thing is done with the lives of Acosta, Bernabe, Ruiz Belvis, Vizcarrondo and others.

Yankees yes, Puerto Ricans no! — this is the motto of the Puerto Rican educational system.

In spite of all the attempts to deprive it of its nationality, Puerto Rico continues to be a Spanish speaking Latin American country with its own culture and traditions. In reply to the cry of the colonialists "Yankees yes, Puerto Ricans no!" the Puerto Rican people have replied with the cry of "Puerto Ricans yes, Yankees no!"

#### ANTI-CUBA

The US is trying to use Puerto Rico as the AntiCuba of Latin America. Following the triumph of the Cuban revolution, the North Americans have made greater use of Puerto Rico as a indoctrination centre and the Puerto Rican colonialists as agents in the service of North Americans in Latin America.

Teodoro Moscoso, colonialist and Puerto Rican traitor, was appointed by the US to the post of US Ambassador to Venezuela. After his failure in this post he was named as coordinator for the Alliance for Progress. After failing here too, he became an advisor to the US government with ambassadorial rank. Now he holds an executive post in a Petrochemical Complex where he is very well paid.

Another Puerto Rican colonialist and traitor, Dr. Arturo Morales Carrion occupied the post of Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs in the State Department. Hundreds of Puerto Ricans are employed in middle posts in the different agencies of the US government where they have the task of serving the policies of the US in Latin America. Hundreds of trade union leaders, peasants, educators and people of liberal professions each year receive State Department grants for travel to Puerto Rico with all expenses paid. Each year the State Dept. also organises "regional conferences", seminars and training courses in Puerto Rico. A large number of Latin Americans receive grants to participate in these events.

At the same time the State Dept. uses the Puerto Ricans as instruments. Dozens of Puerto Ricans are sent as "advisors", "technicians", "school teachers", etc., to countries in Latin America. Some of them also work for the US government as CIA agents and military advisors.

Several years ago attempts were made to transform the University of Puerto Rico into a "Hemisphere Centre" for North and South America. The rapid mobilization of the students and people, led by the University Federation for Independence (FUPI), the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) and other patriotic organizations prevented the carrying out of the plans. In spite of this the North Americans have not given up their plans.

## NURTURING THE NATIONAL CONSCIENCE

The North Americans use all possible means to prevent the people of Puerto Rico from discovering the reality of the national and international situation. In this way they want to prevent the people of Puerto Rico from attaining a higher level of national conscience and from raising their ideological level. The North Americans and their colonial agents use all means from the campaign of falsifying political reality to the campaign of slanders and smears aimed at the patriotic movement by the yellow and annexationist press, to silence on national and international events.

When these methods fail to produce results they fall back on persecution, open repression and the mass imprisonment of patriots.

New postal services have been organized to control all correspondence received or sent by the patriotic organizations. All correspondence received or sent by the University Federation for Independence, the Independence Movement and other patriotic organizations.

Anyone wishing to subscribe to anti-imperialist reviews printed abroad receives a post card from the US post office demanding that he specify that he wishes to receive "communist propaganda". Reviews and books printed abroad are confiscated by the North American postal authorities.

The masses who aspire to independence know that they are not alone in the struggle for national independence. The heroic fighters of Vietnam, Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru, Santo Domingo, Bolivia, Panama, Angola, Mozambique and other countries are struggling at the same time as our people. The victories scored by these peoples weaken North American imperialism and facilitate our struggle. Our victories in turn, weaken North American imperialism and facilitate the struggle of other people. Our struggle is an integral part of the struggle of mankind for freedom, social justice, against oppression, the exploitation of man by man and the exploitation of colonial and semi-colonial countries by imperialist countries; against hunger, poverty, ignorance, emaciated rights and for world peace. The whole of mankind will inevitably be triumphant in this struggle.

The Puerto Rican people are a part of mankind and they will triumph. But this triumph will claim sacrifices and lives. The centuries-old struggle of our people for its independence has already cost many sacrifices and lives. But these sacrifices and lives were not offered in vain. They set an example and engraved it indelibly in the memory of our generation.

Since 1959, a new struggle has unfolded for the independence of Puerto Rico. This year marks the foundation of the Movement for Independence. All those who are really anti-imperialist and patriotic and who actively struggle for national independence and national liberation have their place in the MPI. Patriotism, militant anti-imperialism and the desire to build a just, democratic and popular Republic of Puerto Rico are the credentials necessary for joining the Movement for Independence of Puerto Rico.

The Puerto Rican Movement for Independence is the patriotic vanguard of the people of Puerto Rico. Under its banner thousands of men, women and young people are waging an unflagging struggle for the independence of our people. In the countryside, in the small towns and slums, to the farthest corners of the country, a new wave of patriotic struggle for independence is spreading, and involving the broad masses of the people. The people of Puerto Rico are acquiring every day a higher national and ideological conscience.

The popular masses make history. The MPI directs its efforts towards the work and struggle of the masses. This explains why the number of industrial and agricultural workers who are struggling within the Movement for Independence and giving it their backing and support, is steadily increasing.

Peoples struggling for their independence are bound to be triumphant. Puerto Rico is struggling and it will triumph. Over the past 10 years, under the leadership of the Movement for Independence, the Puerto Rican people have waged a new struggle for liberation. Puerto Rico will triumph. Colonialism and the North Americans will be defeated in our country.

## THE ELECTORAL STRIKE

The Puerto Rican Movement for Independence calls for electoral strike. We oppose the colonial elections for the following reasons:

1. At present Puerto Rico is a country with 13% of its national territory occupied by foreign military bases. If 13% of the national territory of the US, France, Great Britain or any other country of the world were occupied by foreign military bases, THERE WOULD BE NO NORTH AMERICAN, FRENCH, BRITISH OR ANY OTHER CITIZEN OF A COUNTRY LIVING UNDER SIMILAR CONDITIONS, WHO WOULD SAY THAT ELECTIONS HELD UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES ARE FREE ELECTIONS OR REPRESENTATIVE OF THE DEMOCRATIC OPINION OF THE PEOPLE'

Everybody knows that when France, Norway, Belgium, Holland and other countries were under the occupation of the German Wehrmacht the elections held under the auspices of Germany WERE NOT FREE ELECTIONS. IN THE SAME WAY ELECTIONS HELD IN PUERTO RICO UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED STATES COULD NOT BE FREE ELECTIONS'

2. If a foreign power controlled the postal services, the customs, foreign relations, the legislative and judiciary system, immigration, and emigration and the issuing of passports, foreign trade, the national economy; if it imposed its laws and compulsory military service on the youth of the United States, France, Great Britain or on any other country, NO NORTH AMERICAN, FRENCH, BRITISH OR OTHER CITIZEN OF A COUNTRY LIVING UNDER SIMILAR CONDITIONS WOULD SAY THAT ELECTIONS HELD UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES ARE FREE ELECTIONS OR REPRESENTATIVE OF THE POLITICAL OPINION OF THE PEOPLE'

These two examples are not isolated. We could list many others. 70.00 North Americans residing in Puerto Rico participate in the colonial elections and almost all of them vote for the maintenance of the colonial system in our country or what is worse, for statehood.

It is the tools of the North American government that are elected at the colonial elections in Puerto Rico. no candidate elected in our country has the power to solve the problems of our people. Neither the mayor that is elected, nor the representative

of the colonial chamber, nor the colonial senator, nor the colonial governor has the power to defend the interests of Puerto Rico and to put an end to the ruin, the economic stagnation, the unemployment, the poverty and exploitation, the military and atomic bases, the crisis of the country's agriculture, the illiteracy, etc. Whatever officials are elected at the colonial elections, IT IS STILL WASHINGTON THAT GOVERNS PUERTO RICO. AND THAT IS ENOUGH FOR US TO KNOW IN ORDER TO DEVELOP THE STRATEGIES OF OUR STRUGGLE.

The Puerto Rican Movement for Independence struggles for the right of our people to exercise a complete and democratic vote, electing officials who have the power to solve our vital problems.

WE DEMAND THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO TO GOVERN THEMSELVES!

LET US DECIDE THE AFFAIRS THAT CONCERN US IN SAN JUAN AND NOT IN WASHINGTON!

WE PUERTO RICANS MUST CONDUCT OUR OWN AFFAIRS!

LET'S STOP THE BLOOD TRIBUTE WITHOUT REPRESENTATION!

This work which was originally prepared by the Puerto Rican Youth Movement in 1964 and was revised in some of its parts in January 1969.

#### ERRATA

- page 1: line 3 ...has a population of approximately 2.7 million.
- page 2: line 62 ...population (the same minority which is holding power now in Puerto Rico), the truth is that...  
line 67 New paragraph should start with 'During the 1st World War..'
- page 3: line 53 ...in the presence of the North American artist Rockwell Kent, who later on denounced the plot...
- page 4: lines 37-38 ...Luis Munoz Marin had to present himself...
- page 8: line 9 ...WORKER HAS TO PAY 25% MORE FOR CONSUMER GOODS...  
line 59 ...Can we consider as industrialized a country which...
- page 10: line 14 ...is an average of 420 dollars per person.
- page 11: line 8 ...books used are textbooks from the US printed in English.  
line 9 ...printed in English when they could be using...  
line 12 ...almost never have a thorough knowledge...  
lines 27-28 ...Eugenio Maria de Hostos...  
last line ...have not given up their plans.
- page 13: Last note on this page should read: This work which was originally prepared by the JMPI (Youth of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence) in 1964, was revised in some of its parts in January 1969.
- page 14: The last article - 'Truth, But Not Yet All The Truth', should follow 'Puerto Rico: Past and Present'. The author is also J. Enamorado Cuesta and the date is 1946.

## OTHER RECOMMENDED LITERATURE

- Carreras, Carlos N. Betances El Intill ano Proscrito, 1961.
- Cuesta, J. Enamorado. El Imperialismo Yanqui y la Revolucion en el Caribe,  
2n. ed. 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Puerto Rico Past and Present.
- D'Estefano, Miguel A. Puerto Rico: Analysis of a Plebiscite, 1968.
- Iglesias, Cesar Andreu. Independencia y Socialismo, 1951.
- Monclova, Lidio Cruz. Historia de Puerto Rico.
- Pagan, Bolivar. Procerato Puer<sup>r</sup>orriqueno del S. xix.
- Ramirez, Ramon Medina. El Movimiento Libertador en la Historia de Puerto Rico, 1964.
- Truth, But Not Yet All the Truth.

published by  
New England Free Press  
791 Tremont St.  
Boston, Mass. 02118



