



**ANALYSIS OF THE**

**HAVANA CONFERENCE**

**IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE**

**INDEPENDENCE OF**

**PUERTO RICO**



AMALGAM OF THE

HAVANA CONFERENCE

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INDEPENDENCE OF

PUERTO RICO



THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT TO THE STRUGGLE OF THE PUERTO RICAN NATION, AND OF ALL OTHER NATIONS STRUGGLING FOR INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONAL LIBERATION, IS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE FOR REVOLUTIONARIES THE WORLD OVER.

THE RIGHT OF SELF DETERMINATION (TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS) IS one of the basic foundations of Marxism Leninism. As Engels pointed out "...no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations." Supporting liberation

struggles, putting into practice the principles of Proletarian Internationalism, is not a matter of empty rhetoric and opportunist declarations, but a question of

concrete support which translates into political, material and military help as the struggle develops and greater commitments become necessary. It was this type of commitment which allowed the glorious red army of the soviet proletariat, under the leadership of Joseph Stalin, to help many countries in Eastern Europe to free themselves from the nazi dictatorship and from the yoke of capital during the Second World War. It was this same type of commitment that led thousands of heroic soldiers from the Peoples' Republic of China to fight against the yankee invaders in Korea.

We could go on quoting endless examples of how proletarian internationalism translated into concrete actions, becomes an auxiliary force, a very important reserve, of the peoples' struggle for their liberation. This is, without losing sight of the fact that in the last analysis, it is the effort of the peoples that determine the road the revolution will take. We have the recent examples of Viet Nam and Cambodia that show us clearly that outside help is a complement, but never a substitute, for national liberation struggle. To state or imply otherwise is clearly counterrevolutionary. Revolutions are not imported, they are not made through international resolutions, they are made in the national territory, carrying on armed struggle.

To the above position we have to add the way in which the fight for world hegemony between the two superpowers influences national liberation movements at this moment. Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are trying to make by any means possible every country, every fighting nation, every corner of the world become part of their sphere of influence. In Latin America, since U.S. imperialism is the principal enemy, it has been relatively easy for the soviet social imperialists to penetrate the national liberation movements utilizing various ways. By utilizing the prestige gained by the fact that they were the first country to make a socialist revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat (already overthrown), the soviets present themselves to the nations in struggle as their allies. Through their Latin American mythpieces, the so called "Communist" Parties push all their revisionist theories of "peaceful tran-

sition to socialism", the "multi Party vanguard", that "detente is the basic strategic principle of the proletariat", and all these positions have made the Soviet Union a most dangerous enemy of the independence of the peoples throughout the world.

It was precisely because they followed that strategic line of Moscow that the Popular Unity government in Chile created the favorable conditions for reactionaries, aided by the CIA, to carry out the fascist coup that has brought about so many deaths, jailings, tortures, pain and misery to the Chilean people. The same thing had taken place in Indonesia. Blinded by the soviet propaganda and by the economic aid provided by the soviets to many countries, many political organizations have lost their political and ideological independence, and now merely adapt to the specific conditions of their countries the counterrevolutionary thesis that are put forth by Moscow.

It is in the light of the absolute control exercised by the soviet revisionists over the Solidarity Conference taking place in Cuba that our organization not only has not supported this conference, but has gone beyond this to denounce it as a plan of the social imperialists to convert the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico into just another pawn in their hegemonic plans.

The celebration of the conference was decided in the Soviet Union. They took charge of organizing and financing it, of choosing the host country, making the invitations, controlling the participation of organizations that do not follow their line, etc. For this purpose, they utilized the World Peace Council, one of their front organizations used by them to push their revisionist, counterrevolutionary line. In the calling for this conference many organizations, besides the Peace Council, were present such as the International Student Union, the World Press Federation, the World's Women's Federation, and a great many other "world" organizations that have been created and are controlled by the soviets. This sectarized the conference from the very beginning. But there are more important points to consider.

In the preparatory conference which took place last March in Cuba, the organizers stated that "Colonialism is dying...", and "the forces of peace, social freedom and socialism impose an international detente." Both statements have the characteristic trademark of soviet revisionism. Colonialism does not die! Colonialism is killed! It is not of revolutionaries to just sit in front of one's house to watch the funeral procession of one's enemy. But according to the soviets and their mouthpieces, colonialism is disappearing by itself, it "is dying". And hence their theory that detente should be the basic strategy of the revolutionary movement, that lasting peace is possible even while imperialism exists (which according to the is also dying) and that negotiation tables can substitute the battle front. So according to them, power does not spring "from the barrel of the gun", but rather from negotiations. Let's examine the interpretation given by Juan Mari Bras, Secretary General of PSP:

"The yankee imperialists are very clear on the importance the Havana event has on the outcome of the Puerto Rican drama. It's not only that for the first time in history there is a meeting of hundreds of representatives from hundreds of parties, movements and organizations that gather together the force from all five continents on the earth, that oppose the imperialist domination and preponderance, for the exclusive purpose of discussing measures of support and solidarity with our struggle for independence, but also that this meeting takes place in a

ment of extreme fluidity in contemporary history when the parameters of the politics of detente begin to take shape, to which imperialism has been forced to comply, cornered by the preponderance of the socialist camp and the anti imperialist camp in the world, which grow more and more each day; and the yankees know well, the yankee imperialists, as opposed to our lost first cousins over here, that in this redefinition of the parameters of detente, it is vital, it is important, it is transcendental for the Puerto Rican people in struggle, that the cause of independence for Puerto Rico be inserted as a non-negotiable principle by the revolutionary forces of the world."

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Let us examine here this talk of the "new parameters of the politics of detente", and what is meant by saying that "In this redefinition of the parameters of detente, it is vital, it is important, it is transcendental for the Puerto Rican people in struggle, that the cause of independence for Puerto Rico be inserted as a nonnegotiable principle by the revolutionary forces of the world." Behind all this pompous empty phraseology what Mr. Mari Bras is really saying is that the U.S. imperialists are so weak that they have no other alternative than to accept the "peace proposals" of the Soviet Union, and that if the soviets and all other countries and parties throughout the world really work on it they can make the U.S. accept in the negotiations table to grant independence for Puerto Rico.

Undoubtedly, from the point of view of the Secretary General of the PSP, the most important aspect of the Puerto Rican revolutionary process is the "international solidarity", on which their general strategy is based. In fact, in this same speech, Mari Bras also states that:

"Cuba's support and solidarity to the struggle for independence of Puerto Rico has been a decisive factor in the breakthrough of the universal conscience on the case of the colonial domination over our homeland, and if that is so, it is also true that the international support for the independence of Puerto Rico must be a factor of very great importance in the unchaining of the struggle of our people towards its victorious objectives."

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So Mari Bras does not see international solidarity as a factor which influences the end result of the struggle, but rather as a factor that will unleash such struggle and force the granting of independence by the U.S. This plain and simply is the same trotskyite thesis that holds that it is the external factors that determine the internal. Based on this the activities to which PSP has given greater importance have been outside of Puerto Rico. The Conference of Non-aligned countries in Algiers, participation in the U.N., the carnival at Madison Square Garden, the recent conference of Non-aligned countries (this time in Peru), and now, the Conference in Havana. What is important for PSP is to be recognized as the vanguard of the Puerto Rican people outside of Puerto Rico, to achieve the independence of Puerto Rico outside of Puerto Rico!

The soviet revisionists consistently push this line. For them, there is no real need for national liberation movements to utilize armed struggle to rid themselves from the yoke of imperialism. Everything can be taken care of through negotiations in this world of "new parameters of distention". After all, we are "in a period of great fluidity in con-

temporary history". This is pure revisionist rhetoric, counterrevolutionary politics. It is precisely this act of placing the issue of Puerto Rican independence within the framework of the Soviet politics of detente, which has made many revolutionary and progressive organizations in different parts of the world refuse to participate in the Conference. One thing is to support the independence of Puerto Rico, which as a matter of principles is supported by revolutionaries the world over, and quite another, to play the game of following the counterrevolutionary politics of the soviets.

#### SECTARIZATION OF CONFERENCE IN PUERTO RICO

If it were true that the purpose of the Conference was to gain support for the independence of Puerto Rico, the sectarianization of the Conference had to be avoided by all means, as well as avoiding the absolute control by one tendency, in this case the revisionist, over the Conference. But the organizers did exactly the opposite. In Puerto Rico they sectarianized it by putting it under the control of PSP and the Puerto Rican Peace Council, whose leadership is a group splintered off PIP (Puerto Rican Independence Party). PSP, with its sectarianism boycotted the participation of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR-ML). Neither the Puerto Rican Independence Party, the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, nor the Socialist League, formed part of the Committee in preparation for the Conference. In reality, what participants are being asked is not just solidarity with the struggle for independence of Puerto Rico - on which all these organizations agree - but support for PSP as well. And since PSP follows faithfully the revisionist line of the Soviet social imperialists, solidarity becomes, not support for the independence of Puerto Rico, but support for the politics of detente and the hegemonic plans of one of the two super-powers. Similarly, this sectarianism and subordination to the Soviet social imperialists prevented the participation of representatives from many countries, parties and organizations in the Conference in Havana, who undoubtedly support the independence of Puerto Rico.

#### SECTARIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE IN THE U.S.

The same process of sectarianization which occurred in Puerto Rico also took place in the U.S. Here, the preparation for the Conference began on October of last year in Madison Square Garden. On that occasion they started the exclusion of some organizations - Resistencia Puertorriqueña was one of these. The main slogan for the October 27 rally was "Bicentennial without colonies". This slogan, clearly reformist (See RESISTENCIA Vol.5 Nos. 16, 17 and 18), was accepted (or at least not openly attacked) by most organizations that composed the "Solidarity Committee" previous to the activity of October 27. From the beginning, our organization fought this revisionist line in a series of documents (see above). During the activity only one voice was raised to condemn the revisionist line of the activity, and the two super powers - that of a present member of Workers' Viewpoint. The mad screams of the revisionist coalition there shut out this voice. Later, Workers' Viewpoint was ignored in the preparations for the Havana Conference. The committee was well aware that they would be put in an embarrassing position by their anti-revisionist line. The same thing happened with PRRWO. Months later, the October League also refused to take part in the Havana Conference and denounced it in their newspaper. The Congress of African People stated in a forum that they would not send a representative to the Conference because of the clearly revisionist character of said Conference. The Comité-MINP took a centrist position; they attacked support for the politics of detente, criticized the slogan "Bicentennial without Colonies" and questioned the privileged participation of the "Communist" Party USA. Despite these differences

the Comité-MINP supported this Conference and despite th s support the revisionists vetoed the inclusion of a member of the Comité in the U.S. delegation to the Conference. The revisionists did not allow even the slightest show of disagreement. So the Comité-MINP became an organization that supported the Conference since the beginning and yet which was not allowed a representative to it.

Of course, in order to maintain appearances, the revisionists selected as part of the U.S. delegation the loyal opposition of the Guardian, whose Irwin Silver, in order to remove any doubt of this loyalty, declared in Claridad before taking his vacations in Cuba that he has committed himself "to do everything within his power to insure that the Conference does not deviate from its central point: the independence of Puerto Rico", and said as well that "I am confident in that other points such as detente and the divisions in the international movement, will not deviate the Conference from its theme". Clearly and simply Silver, who supposedly represents the anti-revisionist forces in the delegation, has committed himself to not raise his voice against the politics of hegemonism and detente which is the true central point of the conference.

In addition, here in the U.S., Florencio Merced, who represents the Central Committee of PSP here, has written two articles in open support of the Soviet social imperialists and their highest representatives here, the "C" "P" USA. His article "Anti-sovietism in the US," has left no doubts that the political line of his organization is one of subordination to the soviet revisionists' orbit. And it is precisely because of this subordination to the soviet revisionists' orbit that PSP is pushed by them as the "legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican people". It is on these premises that we sustain, that support to the conference in Havana does not mean support to the struggle for independence of Puerto Rico, but rather, it means supporting PSP and the soviet revisionist line, as well as contributing and aiding in the consolidation of these forces in the world. (It is also within this context that we should look at the recent discussion in the Decolonization Committee on the U.N. with which we will deal later in this article.)

## SECTARIANISM ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

On the international level the thick of the sectarian attack falls on the People's Republic of China, its Communist Party, and its respected leader, Chairman Mao Tse Tung. In June of this year, for example, 20 self proclaimed "Communist" organizations or parties of America met - precisely in Cuba - to approve a document in which the politics of detente, of peaceful transistion to socialism, and of the multi party vanguard, were raised to the level of strategic principles. This document made malicious attacks against the Peoples' Republic of China. It not only happens that the place of the counter-revolutionary meeting is the same place where the Conference of Solidarity with Puerto Rico is taking place, but that the 20 so called "Communist" parties that signed the declaration are participating organizations in this Conference representing their respective countries. And there's more: The Communist Party of Cuba, host country of the Conference, was the leader of this attack against China. It has also been the principal defender of the soviet revisionist politics in Latin America. To prove this one has only to point out Fidel Castro's intervention at the non-aligned countries meeting in Algiers, where he came out in defense of the soviets to answer the accsuations presented by some of the Arab delegations and by the Cambodian delegation. Even more recently, Raúl Róa, prominent member of the Cuban party and government, attacked "those who are constantly speaking of two superpowers; those who constantly attack (the Soviet Union), the principal ally of all struggling nations" (according to him). It is statements of this type, it

Is the subordination of their political line to the soviet revisionist line what has made Cuba the principal soviet stronghold in Latin America. That is why Cuba becomes the ideal place for a conference that intends to utilize the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico as a spearhead for a greater Soviet penetration in the continent. These - and not the romantic notion of "commitments in the spirit of Martí" - are the real reasons behind the Conference.

We want to stop here a moment and criticize the political inconsistency of those who are always attacking soviet socialimperialism, but never mention the political and economic hold which this superpower has over Cuba. This tactical silence, this not daring to question Cuba for fear that the aura surrounding the figures of Fidel and other leaders of the Cuban revolution will not allow people to understand the present revisionist politics of the Cuban government is pure liberalism. Furthermore, it is opportunism of the worst kind. We cannot allow that due to the political inconsistency of these comrades the Soviet Union become, theoretically, the only imperialist country without colonies. And this is precisely what Cuba is now, a neo-colony of the Soviet Union, regardless of who is hurt or who is bothered by it. Let us remember comrades, things are what they are, and not what we would like them to be. What we need is concrete analysis of concrete situations, and not petty bourgeois wishful thinking.

#### THE U.N. AND LIBERATION STRUGGLES AROUND THE WORLD

It should be understood that within the soviet plans for hegemony it is very important for them to support in each country those parties or organizations whose politics go hand in hand with their own interests and line. These organizations that put themselves within the sphere of the soviet revisionists receive political and economic aid from the Brezhnev clique, as well as ideological direction. At the international level, the Communist Party of the Peoples' Republic of China and the Party of Labor of Albania are the leaders in the struggle to death that we Marxist Leninists are waging against the two super powers. This struggle takes place at all levels. In Portugal for example, we see how the pro-soviet "C"PP has been responsible for killing and jailing portuguese Marxist Leninists who are opposed to their revisionist line of making a revolution led by the very same army that the Portuguese bourgeoisie organized.

In their campaign directed at discrediting China, the soviet revisionists have even accused the Chinese of being the biggest drug dealers in the world. In their plans for hegemony they constantly clash with the Marxist Leninist line and the proletarian internationalism of the Chinese and Albanese comrades. Thus we see China denounce the arms race and the control of nuclear weapons that yankees and soviets have, and we see their support for the struggle of many Third World countries to control their off-shore waters, etc. This correct line is directed towards isolating the two super powers, and towards creating a world front against the plans for hegemony of both super powers, in order to make sure that the 3rd World War, for which both the U.S. and the Soviet Union are making preparations at full speed, does not lead to a momentary strengthening of the imperialists, but that it rather become its burial.

It is within this context at the UN that the Chinese communists had to deal with the question of Puerto Rico. Let's take a look at what really happened at the Decolonization Committee. The Cuban representative to the U.N. attempted to manipulate the Decolonization Committee into recognizing the National Liberation Movement of Puerto Rico



(which in the Cuban-Soviet language means the PSP) as the legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican people. So, through international dealings, an attempt was made to name a legalist, revisionist, pro-soviet organization (PSP) the "legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican people". How can a Marxist Leninist Party like the Chinese support this scheme of the soviet revisionists? How can the Chinese push for the international recognition of an organization that is objectively their enemy? Or is it that the general interests of the world proletariat have to be sacrificed in order to avoid looking like a supposed enemy of the cause for the independence of Puerto Rico? Comrades, if we were in the position the Chinese were placed in, we would not have supported the recognition of PSP as the legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican people. And many of you would not either. We are not going to give in to the politics of PSP that tell the Puerto Rican proletariat "I am your vanguard, I am recognized as such internationally. When the hell are you going to recognize us?" Vandards are established in practice. It is not what the U.N., or the Conferences of Non-aligned Countries say. It is what the Puerto Rican working class says and practice proves. And this class stands out for its absence from all these international conferences.

At the same time that the Cuban representative insisted that PSP be recognized as the "legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican people", and as such that it be granted an observer's seat in the U.N., the United States was also moving, not only to try to avoid that PSP be granted this, but also to avoid that the U.N. take a position on the truly important question of the colonial case of Puerto Rico. So a debate was being developed between two equally incorrect positions. One stated that Puerto Rico is a colony (true), that Puerto Rico has the right to independence (true), and that PSP, synonymous to the Puerto Rican liberation movement (false), should have an observer's seat at the U.N. This was the position pushed by Cuba. The other position was that of the yankee imperialists which states that Puerto Rico is a free country (false), that it is a free (false), associated (false), state (false). The Peoples' Republic of China could not support either position. It could, and has done so consistently, vote against the U.S. position, because of the fact that the independence of Puerto Rico was included in the Cuban "package deal", China could not oppose Cuba's position in its entirety. So that when Australia proposes that the discussion be postponed one more year, China decides not to participate in the vote, thus not compromising, not sacrificing, the future interests of the Puerto Rican revolution.

Comrades, we Marxists are dialectical. For us things are not black or white. The fact that one is opposed to the yankee imperialists position does not mean that one has to support the position of the soviet social imperialists. Such is precisely the politics of the two super powers. In each issue they put forth their positions and expect the rest of the world to support them, like a flock of sheep. But what about the ideological independence of the working class? Don't we have the right to put forth our own positions based on scientific analysis of the concrete reality we face? This is precisely what the Chinese comrades did. And we leave this issue here. More valuable than our support and defense of their consistent position of support for the independence of Puerto Rico is their revolutionary practice up to the present moment.

We have to avoid, as the Chinese comrades did, falling in the revisionist trap. The PSP and Puerto Rico are not synonymous. The PSP and the Puerto Rican national liberation movement are not synonymous either. To attack the ideological bankruptcy of PSP is not the same as attacking the Puerto Rican revolution; on the contrary, it is a way of strengthening it. The revisionists can only take Puerto Rico's working class down the road of

defeat, massacre and even fascism, or down the road of reformism, of the pro-yankee banana republic, depending on the correlation of forces existing at the given moment. The examples of Indonesia and Chile are still too fresh on our minds to allow us to stand by silently while a similar crime occurs. In this period of struggle against the two super powers, the words of a great Puerto Rican revolutionary comes to our memory. Ramón Emeterio Betances in his death bed said: "I don't want the colony, neither under Spain, nor under the U.S. Puerto Ricans must rise up!" And to Betances' words we add: nor with the Soviet Union!

That is why, as we denounce the Havana Conference as an attempt of the Soviet Union to use the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico as a springboard for ideological and organizational penetration in Latin America, we make a call for a resolute struggle against the plans for hegemonic control of the two super powers. We also call on all Marxist Leninist organizations, progressive and democratic organizations, labor unions, etc. to support wholeheartedly the right of Puerto Rico for its independence. Because, one thing must be made clear, and that is the lesson from the Havana Conference. That is, that to the extent that we do not fulfill our responsibility towards defending and propagandizing the right of nations to their independence, the democratic rights of the working class, the national minorities, women, etc., to that extent we are leaving the way open for the revisionists to raise these issues to the masses and in this way gain their confidence and lead them down the path of reformism and counterrevolution. Many people have supported this Conference honestly, thinking that by doing so they were supporting the independence of Puerto Rico. And these people think so because we have left the way open for the revisionists to spread their incorrect ideas and organize the masses on the basis of these incorrect ideas. So we have to combat not only the right deviation of those who promote unity without principles of struggle and go ahead and unite with the revisionists in all the activities called by the revisionists, in order to appear as if they were supporting the independence of Puerto Rico; as well as the left deviation which is the hiding under the ultraleftist slogan of "Zero compromises with the revisionists" refuse to take part in all concrete activities in support for the struggle for independence and socialism for Puerto Rico. Definitively, there are concrete ways, not merely propagandawise, to support this struggle. Without pretending to exhaust the examples, we would like to point some out:

- 1) Do concrete work around the demands for unconditional release of the five Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners, Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebrón, Andrés Figueroa, Irving Flores and Rafael Cancel Miranda. They are not only honest patriots, but a living example of the determination of the Puerto Rican people to struggle for their independence.
- 2) Denounce here among the working class the repressive campaigns launched by the yankee imperialists and their lackeys against the labor movement and the liberation movement in Puerto Rico.
- 3) Develop educational campaigns about the colonial situation of Puerto Rico. These serve to show the masses the true nature of imperialism. Protest the super-exploitation suffered by the colonies. This serves to explain why colonies are very important reserves of imperialism at this moment, and points to the fact that it is not only an unavoidable duty, but an imperative need for our own liberation as well, that we support the independence for Puerto Rico and all other colonies.

4) Provide revolutionaries in Puerto Rico with books, magazines and other materials that will allow better study and propaganda among the masses on Marxism Leninism. In Puerto Rico it is very difficult, and very expensive, to obtain a series of Marxist Leninist works which are essential for the ideological development of cadres that will form part of the true Communist Party, which is yet to be built in Puerto Rico (as is the case in the U.S.). Projects such as the one developed by our organization that permits the distribution of books such as Marxism and the National Question by Joseph Stalin and soon the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), are concrete ways in which we can help the development of Marxism Leninism and the socialist revolution in Puerto Rico.

5) Study more carefully the Puerto Rican reality, in order to be able to take correct and responsible positions, and to clearly distinguish which are the honest revolutionary forces and establish links with such forces in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

But the most important way in which solidarity with the Puerto Rican revolution can be shown, and this is the most important way, is to advance the revolutionary process in the U.S., it is by carrying out the socialist revolution in this country. This is the highest form of solidarity that we can give, not only to the Puerto Rican revolutionaries, but to all workers and oppressed people in the world. This is Proletarian Internationalism, which is not the same as "International Solidarity". To be able to travel the hard, tortuous, sacrificing path of the proletarian revolution, we need a Marxist Leninist Party in order to organize and lead the working class to fulfill the glorious role assigned to it. To the task of building this party we must seriously dedicate ourselves. It is in the spirit of advancing this process that we celebrate activities such as this today.

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**LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!**

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