



LATIN AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

EL LATINOAMERICANO

Spring 1978
Iowa State University, Ames

In this issue:

Editorial: Cuba and U.S.A.

Contributions by ISU Professors

Los Presos Politicos Puertorriquenos

Puerto Rico at the U.N.: 1976

Fact Sheet—The Case
for a Free Puerto Rico

Racists Use P.R. Status as Model

American Indian - Spanish American
Cultural Center

The Fight for Puerto Rico's Independence

Poesia: Pablo Neruda

Editorial:

La revista "El Latinoamericano" es el órgano principal de información de la Unión Latinoamericana Estudiantil (LASU). Intentamos en El Latinoamericano dar énfasis a los problemas económicos y sociales más agravantes de nuestra América Latina.

Reconocemos la variedad de opiniones y puntos de vista de nuestra comunidad hispana. De antemano pedimos excusas a aquellas personas cuyas opiniones o ideales difieran con la filosofía de los artículos publicados. Siéntanse en la completa libertad de someter cualquier comentario sobre cualquier materia relacionada con los artículos aparecidos en El Latinoamericano a:

LASU
401 Beardshear Hall, Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50011

Cuba and U.S.A.

by an unknown ISU Student

Por la pasada generación los Estados Unidos han estado comprometidos en una viciosa guerra sin declarar contra el pueblo cubano como consecuencia directa de la expulsión de la maquinaria imperialista Estadounidense en Cuba y la decisión de ese pueblo de desarrollar su revolución socialista. En su empeño por destruir la república cubana, los Estados Unidos han cometido los siguientes atropellos:

- * terminaron toda relación diplomática con Cuba
- * establecieron un bloqueo comercial que prohibió la compra o uso de cualquier producto hecho en Cuba, o cualquier producto hecho con materia prima cubana, y la venta de cualquier producto manufacturado por compañías americanas en Cuba
- * atentó la invasión y derrocamiento del régimen cubano en 1961 en Playa Giron (Bahía de Cochinos) a través de un esfuerzo de la CIA con el apoyo del Presidente John F. Kennedy
- * fomentó la crisis "de proyectiles" de Octubre de 1962, en la cual la marina de los Estados Unidos recibió órdenes de bloquear Cuba y registrar todas las naves que se acercaran a Cuba con material nuclear soviético como un acto de hostilidad internacional que puso al mundo al borde de una guerra nuclear
- * permitió a CIA conducir una campaña de asesinatos, bombardeos y terror en contra del pueblo cubano, incluyendo atentado contra la vida del Primer Ministro Fidel Castro
- * fomentó y entrenó grupos paramilitares de exiliados cubanos y les permitió llevar a cabo campañas de terror en contra del pueblo cubano, incluyendo un ataque de ametralladora contra los botes pesqueros cubanos en aguas internacionales en Abril 6, 1976; y en Octubre 6, 1976 el infame y despreciable acto terrorista de bombardear un avión de una aerolínea cubana que costó la vida de 73 patriotas cubanos.

A pesar de esa guerra sin declarar, la Revolución Cubana no ha sido acobardada. Los ataques solo han servido para fortalecer la determinación del pueblo cubano de defender su revolución y de unirse en solidaridad con otros pueblos que luchan contra las fuerzas imperialistas, desde Puerto Rico hasta Angola. Son los Estados Unidos los que han sido diplomáticamente

aislados por esos ataques y expuestos como un enemigo intransigente del cambio social progresivo en el Caribe.

Por su parte, el pueblo cubano permanece fiel al espíritu del poeta y apóstol de la Revolución Cubana, Jose Martí, quien escribió en 1895: "Con nuestra sangre bloqueamos los caminos que han de ser bloqueados, los caminos de anexiación de nuestra América por el violento y cruel Norte que nos desprecia.....He vivido en el monstruo y conozco sus entrañas, y mía es la honda de David".

Contributions by ISU Professors

Contributions of the Indians of Latin America to the Food of the World

by Jaime Lacasa and Judy Lacasa

The food that a country produces basically can be categorized as native products - plants and animals indigenous to the area - or as products of foreign origin - items once imported by now established in its geography.

The Indians of Latin America domesticated many plants and animals, and also created certain combinations of staples in order to increase both the nutritional value and the palatability of their food. These products as well as these combinations spread rapidly around the globe, were adopted, and very soon, in many regions throughout the world, became "native" staples though of foreign origin.

Latin America is enormous, and its geography has almost every type of climate imaginable. When the Spaniards began their explorations there at the end of the 15th century they found, to their surprise, many foods which Europeans had never seen before. But, blinded by the brightness of the gold they were pursuing, they never were able to see that the real gold of the New World was the beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, cocoa, chili peppers, tomatoes, avocados, manioc (a starchy root that yielded tapioca), quinoa (a succulent grain of the Andean plateau), pumpkins and, above everything, potatoes and maize. These plants had been domesticated and cultivated through the high level of agricultural advancement and achievement in plant breeding of the Latin American Indians.

The origin of some of these plants is known. For instance, lima beans, named after Lima, the capital of Peru, were being grown in the Ancash Department of Peru in about 5600 B.C., and may have been the first plant domesticated by the early Latin American Indians farmers.

Tomatoes came from the valley of Tomatlan on the central western coast of Mexico.

Chili peppers, so popular in Mexico and practically identified with its cuisine, may have come from Peru or Chile.

Potatoes were developed by the Indians of the high Andean valleys of South America. By as early as 3000 B.C. the Incas of Peru already had succeeded in domesticating the potato plant.

Maize (corn) was introduced in Europe with the name the Spaniards heard for it in Cuba. From the native Taino phrase "zea mays," "the food of the Mayans," the Spanish adopted the latter word and thus came their term maiz (maize).

Apparently this plant was first domesticated in the Tehuacán Valley of Central Mexico between 6000 and 5000 B.C. Eventually it became the main staple of the four major civilizations of ancient America (the Aztec of Mexico, the Maya of Central America and the Chibcha and the Inca of South America) and would become one of the most important plants to the human race.

At the time of the discovery of the New World maize, or Indian corn, or simply corn, had already been spread throughout the Americas. The Spaniards encountered it in Cuba, in Mexico and in Peru, the British in Virginia, the Dutch on the banks of the Hudson River and the French in Canada.

In our country the beneficial influence of the Indians' corn culture has been felt from the beginning. The Pilgrims on the Eastern seaboard enjoyed and learned to prepare hominy (a corruption of the Algonquian word "Tackhumin", "ground corn,") and succotash (from the Narragansett word "Msiquatash".) Both are typical corn-culture dishes used by the relatively primitive local Indians who have acquired them from the centers of civilization of Mexico.

Columbus seems to have taken maize to Spain. With the help of the Venetians the Spaniards spread maize around the Mediterranean. Ferdinand Magellan, in his intent to circumnavigate the globe, took maize to the Philippines. And in 1555 maize was very important in some parts of China. The Portuguese introduced it in Africa where it would become "native" very soon and would become so important in modern times as to be called the "grain of the African independence."

To evaluate the importance of the contribution of the Latin American Indians to the food of the world it is enough to see the areas of the globe that now raise the plants that were originally domesticated and cultivated in Latin America. They have become, for various reasons, so "native" to so many places that we often associate certain of these foods with and consider them native to regions other than Latin America. For instance, the variety of potatoes known as Irish Potatoes received its name not because it originated in Ireland but because of the tremendous relief it brought to the Irish famine of the 1840's. It is hard to imagine the North European cooking without white potatoes or the Italian cooking without tomatoes. And what would the curries of India, the "Rijsttafel" of Indonesia and the "Paprika Schnitzel" of central Europe be without chili peppers? "Polenta," the basic dish of Italian farmers, and "Mamaliga," the Rumanian farmers' parallel, are made of corn.

Potatoes and maize are the standby of the poor of the world, and much of the world's meat, milk, butter, cheese, and eggs are produced by animals fed with corn.

While the civilized Indians of Latin America never at any time numbered more than twelve million, the entire world is indebted to these farmers and plant breeders for more than half of today's food supply.

Social Anthropology Field School in Costa Rica by Michael B. Whiteford

This past summer 16 students participated in the ISU Social Anthropology Field School in Costa Rica. From the middle of June to the 8th of August a combination of undergraduate and graduate students representing 10 disciplines, ranging from anthropology majors to students in food and nutrition, live with Tico (the term Costa Ricans use to refer to themselves) families and conducted research using anthropological data gathering techniques.

The field school officially began with 10 days of orientation. During this period students lived together in a pension in San José, worked on their burgeoning interviewing skills, and participated in several field trips to different parts of the country. This latter aspect was particularly important as Costa Rica, a country whose land mass is the size of Maryland and whose population is just under two million, offers a wide range of ecological zones. Because of the compactness of the country and its excellent transportation/communication facilities, the group was able to see a number of different climatic and agricultural regions within several hours' bus ride from the capital. One of the field trips consisted of taking the train from San José to the Atlantic-coast port city of Limón. The trip involved a descent of 1,142 meters from the Meseta Central (the country's Central Plateau) to sea level. The scenery and foliage witnessed on this eight hour trip was truly fantastic. Agriculturally speaking, one goes from a region rich with volcanic soils where some of the world's finest coffee is grown (most Costa Ricans would object to the qualifier), to an extremely hot, tropical zone where bananas and cacao are produced, primarily for purposes of exportation. Culturally one leaves the ladino-Hispanic culture of the Meseta and enters a West Indian Black culture of the eastern seaboard, an ethnic group undergoing rapid assimilation today. Beginning about the turn of the century foreign companies began introducing large numbers of black laborers from the British islands of Trinidad and Jamaica. Because of the general Tico dislike of the hot and humid lowlands, the region was not heavily populated and English-speaking, predominantly protestant blacks very quickly became the area's principal ethnic group. For some 40 years they worked and lived in relative isolation from the social and political constraints of the country of which they were residents, their primary responsibilities and loyalties being directed to their North American employers. But since the early 1950s much of this has changed and the influence of the national government today is clearly in evidence. Nevertheless, particularly among the adult population in their late 30s and older, English is the *lingua franca* and Spanish clearly is the second language.

A trip to the arid northwest part of the country exposed the group not only to a different geographical setting, but also to a sub-cultural group which again is distinct from the "average" Tico--represented by those who live on the Meseta. Residents of the Province of Guanacaste identify themselves first and foremost as Guanacastecos and secondly as Costa Ricans. A region that was "annexed" from Nicaragua 100 years ago, these small ranchers and subsistence agriculturalists of Costa Rica's frontier zone, are regarded by people of the Meseta as "different" and often are

referred to as "borrowed Nicaraguarans", a slightly disparaging reference to the hot, dry region and a mild dig at their neighbors to the north. Today the country's central government, as well as many foreign and national entrepreneurs look at Guanacaste's miles of relatively undeveloped beautiful coast line as fertile ground for development of an international jet-set tourist trade.

During this period of orientation students refined or re-formulated research designs which they planned to carry out over the subsequent six weeks. Eventually a series of topics was arrived at and from the 22nd of June until the 4th of August students actually moved into the "field". Four of them worked in small agricultural communities, located about an hour and a half from San José. One collected data on attitudes toward family size and the other three concerned themselves with a variety of problems related to culture change and the acceptance or rejection of new agricultural/technological innovations. One anthropology undergraduate remained in Guanacaste to study the reasons why people leave the province and under what circumstances do they return. With one exception, the rest of the group worked inside the parameters of the capital city. Three of the students looked at nutritional and socio-economic aspects related to breastfeeding, with two of them doing a comparative analysis between a small town an hour's drive from San José and a low-income, working-class neighborhood in the city itself. Other projects included looking at several aspects of artisan industries, studying the impact of tourism on a particular sector of the central market, trying to understand how fictive kinship operates in an urban setting, looking at factors affecting family size, interviewing midwives, and becoming involved with the newly-formed national film department, whose goals include presenting Costa Rican "realities" to its citizenry.

One of the most important aspects of the summer in Costa Rica was living with families and participating in the country's culture, not as tourists, but in a meaningful and everyday manner. At times this meant doing a lot of coping: for some the occasional water shortages and the periodic failure of electrical services were things they simply were not accustomed to. For others operating in a culture where life, even in the capital city, takes on a more casual air than one is used to in places like Ames, required a little adjusting. But, importantly, people found that it was relatively easy to become flexible and to make these adjustments. Certainly the displeasures and hurdles faced were many times compensated for by the friendly and open Costa Ricans. San Josefinos were patient and courteous in dealing with varying degrees of fluency in their language. Unceasingly they were helpful in providing leads about where to go and whom to talk to when this information was requested of them.

Finally, a general observation about working in Costa Rica is in order. It is hard to imagine taking a group to a finer place. The country itself is beautiful; the rich flora and the picturesque landscapes seem like giant travel brochures. These things, coupled with hospitable and outgoing Ticos resulted in creating some very avid fans of Costa Rica in particular and of Latin America in general.

Los Presos Politicos Puertorriquenos

by Nelson W. Canals

El señor Jorge Javariz, en su columna Trasfondo del domingo 9 de octubre, argumenta la posición de que los presos nacionalistas no son presos políticos. No se si, por coincidencia o por designio, su posición es la misma del Subsecretario de Justicia de Estados Unidos, Mr. Peter Flagerty, tenaz opositor de la excarcelación de los cinco presos nacionalistas, incluyendo a Andrés Figueroa Cordero. Por la importancia e implicaciones del planteamiento nos vemos precisados a contestar.

Nos dice el señor Javariz: "Andrés Figueroa Cordero no es preso político. Tampoco lo son sus compañeros que aun permanecen en prisión. Estos compatriotas cometieron un delito y fueron sentenciados a cumplir una condena, independientemente de sus motivaciones y de su ideología política". Aparentemente el señor Javariz desconoce que uno de los elementos esenciales al juzgar una acción que podría ser criminal es la motivación del autor. Aun cuando se determine que el autor es culpable de una acción criminal la fase sentenciadora toma en consideración la motivación.

No es lo mismo cometer un delito con fines egoistas, con fines de lucro o aun por necesidad personal, que llevar a cabo unas acciones que, aunque condenadas por la ley, van dirigidas por la inspiración de un ideal de cambio social, político y económico.

Tampoco es lo mismo cometer un crimen por celos, por envidia o por odio personal, que llevar a cabo unas acciones sin fines de hacer daño a nadie en particular.

Los presos nacionalistas fueron motivados por fines altruistas y no llevaron como objetivo hacerle daño a nadie en particular. De haberlo premeditado lo hubieran logrado.

Es claro que violaron la ley de Estados Unidos. Ellos lo saben muy bien. Pero desde su perspectiva política, según manifestó el licenciado Ruben Berrios Martinez con relación a su defensa de la isla de Culebra para Puerto Rico: "Violar la ley del Imperio es cumplir la ley de la Patria".

La distinción clásica entre crimen político y crimen común, según varios tratadistas en jurisprudencia, se basa en la motivación del acto cometido. De acuerdo con el licenciado Roberto José Maldonado, en su tesis El delito político en Puerto Rico, los tratadistas coinciden en que:

"El delito político se diferencia de los llamados delitos comunes principalmente en el móvil que los impulsa y el fin que persigue. El delincuente común puede cometer un crimen en que viola el orden social establecido por razones diversas. Puede ser por envidia, necesidad, malicia, compulsión o cualesquiera otras razones más o menos pueriles. Sin embargo, la importancia de ese delito cometido no trasciende mas allá ni tiene, en lo general, ulterior motivo que afectar el orden social sólo en lo concerniente al delincuente y al sujeto pasivo del delito. Ciertamente es

que ofende y disloca el orden establecido pero no aspira a cambiarlo.

"A contrario sensu, el delincuente político al cometer un delito lo hace movido por un ideal, un pensamiento y una motivación que tiende a afectar enormemente en sus mas hondas raíces al orden establecido hasta el punto de eliminar ese orden y establecer otro". Desde esta concepción, tanto George Washington como Bolívar, Martí y otros grandes patriotas fueron delincuentes políticos.

Porque la acción política de mas envergadura es la revolución y en ella, si no se triunfa o se muere, sólo queda el exilio o la prisión. Por tanto, si se cae preso en un acto revolucionario no es por un crimen común sino por el llamado del deber, que de haber triunfado en ese llamado se deja de ser reo y se convierte en héroe. De ahí que los presos nacionalistas, entendiéndolo perfectamente su misión, fueron a darle todo por la Patria y por ella estaban y están dispuestos a sacrificarlo todo, inclusive la vida. Debe recordarse que en su viaje a Washington sólo compraron un boleto de ida.

Seres como ellos representan lo más sublime y excelso de la humanidad. Son personas que estan dispuestas a sacrificarlo todo por un ideal, no importa las consecuencias. Se diferencian de aquellos que lo sacrifican todo por las conveniencias.

Debe ser motivo de orgullo para este Pueblo que tenga hijos de esa calidad humana. Que todavía nos queden héroes es señal de que no hemos sucumbido como Pueblo al embate materialista y de acomodo que niega los valores fundamentales en aras de la conveniencia.

La campaña por la excarcelación de los presos nacionalistas ha dado margen a que personas de diversas ideologías políticas aúnen esfuerzos para lograr el pronto regreso a la Patria de nuestros compatriotas presos. Esto, no hay duda, demuestra que nuestro Pueblo mantiene mas alla de sus divisiones internas un sentido de unidad frente a la intransigencia y sinrazon del Gobierno de Estados Unidos. Como en Culebra, en el caso de Andrés Figueroa Cordero, el pueblo ha vencido. No me queda duda que también venceremos en el caso de los restantes presos políticos.

El autor es presidente del Comité Nacional Pro Libertad de los Presos Nacionalistas.

Puerto Rico at the U.N.: 1976

Overcoming intense diplomatic pressures from the United States Government, the member nations of the United Nations Decolonization Committee agreed to reaffirm "the inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)"

In what the independence movement viewed as an important step forward, the committee decided to update its last report on Puerto Rico made in 1974 and resolved to "resume discussion of this question at its next meeting to consider appropriate measures

as a follow-up of the committee's previous resolutions on the question of Puerto Rico."

The decision took the form of a statement of consensus which was read to the committee by its chairman, U.N. Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania. Although this was not a formal resolution, the fact that the entire committee reaffirmed the right of Puerto Rico to independence constitutes a significant advance. Previous resolutions of the committee on Puerto Rico were adopted only by majorities.

NEWS BLACKOUT

There was virtually no mass media coverage of the three days of debate in the U.N. The New York Times did not cover the debate, but did publish two vicious editorials. One, printed on the eve of the committee's deliberations, was entitled "Hypocrisy at the U.N."; the other, published at the close of the meetings, completely misrepresented the final outcome of the proceedings. Published on September 9, the second editorial stated: "This year the committee simply decided without a vote to postpone the issue until next year." This is just what Ford and Kissinger would have everyone believe. In fact, the Decolonization Committee's consensus statement was a declaration that completely rejected the government's claim that Puerto Rico is an internal affair of the country.

The committee reaffirmed its previous resolutions concerning Puerto Rico, the last of which in 1973 requested the United States "to refrain from taking any measures which might obstruct the full and free exercise of the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence."

The committee also took note of the resolutions approved by the Non-Aligned Countries at their conferences held in Lima, Perú in 1975 and in Colombo, Sri Lanka this past August. The Lima conference recognized the national liberation movement of Puerto Rico as the sole legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican people. The Political Declaration of the Non-Aligned Movement's summit conference in Colombo, held on the eve of the United Nations debate, placed the case of Puerto Rico alongside those of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, Palestine and Djibouti as the most important areas of the world where colonialism still exists.

The U.S. response to this year's resolutions of the Non-Aligned nations was immediate and blunt. "We will ignore any action taken by an international body on this issue."

DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVES

Last year the U.S. managed to obtain a postponement of a decision by the Decolonization Committee. The State Department then launched a year-long diplomatic offensive to undercut the international support for the cause of independence. In his meetings with foreign heads-of-state, U.N. Ambassador William Scranton treated the case of Puerto Rico as top priority. He strongly urged governments not to support the independence movement's efforts at the U.N., threatening to cut off aid if they do, promising improved relations if they don't. In his tour of African nations, Scranton argued that Puerto Rico is an internal affair of the United States. In one particular case a governmental minister interrupted Scranton's arguments to ask: "If the case of Puerto Rico is an 'internal affair' of the United States,

why are you coming to speak to us about it?"

While the U.S. waged its desperate diplomatic campaign, the independence movement also entered into the international arena. The International Conference held in Havana in September of 1975 was the first meeting of its type organized to support the independence of Puerto Rico. The positive resolutions of the Non-Aligned Movement and the decisions of the U.N. Decolonization Committee were the result of a successful diplomatic offensive by the independence movement and the growth of the independence struggle on the island itself. Juan Mari Bras of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party said, "The important thing is that we have won one more diplomatic battle against Yankee imperialism. And this time we have won it in the midst of the great number of pressures and threats from Ford and Kissinger who were not able to force the Decolonization Committee to revoke a single one of their previous resolutions of Puerto Rico." Speaking of the future, Mari Bras stated that the independence forces would like the United Nations to speed up its examination of the colonial case of their country, but were aware that this would "only occur as a direct result of the advance of our struggle, which is being carried out on Puerto Rican soil by our people."

INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT PRESENTS ITS CASE

The broadest representation of the independence movement ever to appear at the United Nations gave a thorough and revealing exposition of U.S. colonial domination of their country.

The Puerto Rican Peace Council, Christians for Socialism and the Puerto Rican Communist Party represented by Eneida Vázquez, Alfredo Santiago de Jesús and Franklin Irizarry respectively, appeared before the committee for the first time. Rubén Berrios, president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, and Juan Mari Bras, secretary-general of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, who in 1973 became the first representatives of the independence movement to appear at the U.N., spoke again this year.

Also testifying were the veteran protagonist of the Puerto Rican cause, Cuban Ambassador to the U.N. Ricardo Alarcón and José H. Pico of the Puerto Rican Bar Association.

The growth of international solidarity, the documentation of the absolute control which the U.S. Congress wields over the daily lives of the Puerto Rican people, and the military threat which Puerto Rico represents to the rest of the world because of U.S. occupation of the island, were some of the dominant themes running through the testimony of the independence movement's representatives.

P.R.S.C. TESTIFIES AT U.N. HEARINGS

Taking advantage of a unique opportunity, a delegation of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC) testified at the recent meetings on the colonial case of Puerto Rico held by the United Nations Decolonization Committee. For the first time in history people of the United States who support independence for Puerto Rico were represented at the U.N. debates.

The delegation from the Solidarity Committee, led by its executive-secretary Rosa Borenstein, included National Board members James Haughton and Arthur Kinoy, and Julie Nichamin, editor of the committee's publication Puerto Rico Libre!

The PRSC organized through its twenty chapters a nation-wide letter writing campaign to the members of the Decolonization Committee urging them to support a resolution in favor of Puerto Rican independence. Several U.N. delegates remarked that they were impressed by the volume of letters they received from all over the country.

PRSC TESTIFIES

Arthur Kinoy, a well known constitutional lawyer, testified for the committee and also read a statement from Jim Haughton who is the director of Fight Back, a Black and Latin construction workers organization.

Kinoy argued that U.S. colonial rule over Puerto Rico is not only abhorrent and in violation of international law, but is in violation in spirit and letter of the U.S. Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. He stated, "Representatives of our Government, while they are busily celebrating our bicentennial, deliberately ignore the fact that the inalienable right of all colonial peoples to self-determination and independence is the fundamental principle of the original Declaration of Independence.

Kinoy told the committee that more and more people of the United States are realizing that their own deep interest in freedom from oppressive economic and social conditions depends upon insisting on the fulfillment of self-determination for the people of Puerto Rico.

Fact Sheet The Case for a Free Puerto Rico

THE FIVE MILLION PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO, both the three million on the island and the nearly two million who have emigrated to the U.S. in the last 30 years, constitute a nation - a family of people with the same language, heritage, culture and traditions.

For centuries Puerto Ricans have been dominated - militarily, politically and economically - by outsiders, first by the Spanish as part of Spain's New World empire and then by the United States, which took over and forced a military government upon Puerto Rico when Spain was forced to withdraw in 1898.

Since that time, the struggle for independence and self-determination by the Puerto Rican people has never died, despite fierce opposition by the U.S. government, claims by U.S. government and business leaders that Puerto Rico is part of the U.S., and repeated and systematic attempts to assimilate Puerto Ricans into the U.S. system.

The relationship between the U.S. and Puerto Rico is a classical colonial one, including the super-exploitation of Puerto Rican labor, the plundering of Puerto Rican natural resources for profits, military invasion and occupation of Puerto Rico by U.S. troops, the U.S. control of Puerto Rico's trade (with Puerto Ricans being a captive market for the colonial master), and U.S. control over the Puerto Rican political system.

Puerto Rico contains more than one-third of all U.S. investments in Latin America. The \$9 billion invested

in Puerto Rico is more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ times the amount invested in Cuba in 1959. U.S. companies can earn far greater profits on their investments in Puerto Rico than in the U.S. In 1973, for example, food sales accounted for 12.5% in Puerto Rico and 1.9% in the U.S.; for non-electrical machinery, it was 32% in Puerto Rico and 4.6% in the U.S.; for electrical machinery 26.1% compared to 7.37% (Wall Street Journal, Dec 10, 1973, p. 11). U.S. corporations control 85% of the industry in Puerto Rico, and between 1968 and 1974 they tripled their rate of profit. In 1974 alone, \$1.3 billion left the island in the form of corporate profits (Planning Board, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico).

As a captive market for U.S. goods, Puerto Rico is the 4th largest consumer of U.S. goods, the 2nd largest in Latin America.

The high concentration of profiteering U.S. corporations preying on Puerto Rico can be traced to the U.S. government policy of granting tax incentives to investors there. Federal taxes are not assessed and local taxes are poorly collected. The labor is cheap in part because the U.S. government doesn't apply its minimum wage law to Puerto Rico.

Thus in 1972, "...the average profit-to-sales ratio for all manufacturing groups in Puerto Rico was a stunning 23.7%...." (Puerto Rico: Profit Island, U.S.A., Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Economic Development Administration report).

The economic rape of the island includes plans for expanding petroleum refining capacity tenfold (30% of the petroleum used in the eastern U.S. is currently refined in Puerto Rico), initiating massive nickel and copper mining operations, and the development of a huge deep seaport.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THIS PROFITEERING IS MISERY FOR PUERTO RICANS. Because they are a captive market (the U.S. Congress has legal control over Puerto Rican trade and the U.S. merchant fleet controls transportation), the Puerto Ricans are subject to monopolistic price-gouging. "Inflation" runs about 18%.

The corporate policy of targeting the island for capital-intensive industrial development and the wide use of agricultural lands for U.S. military bases and industry has resulted in an unemployment rate that fluctuates between 12% and 30%, according to U.S. government figures. This in turn has resulted in an economic crisis for Puerto Ricans and a political/population crisis for U.S. colonialists. Two staggering results have been the forced emigration of more than 40% of the Puerto Rican population to the U.S. mainland in just the last 30 years and the forced sterilization of a full one-third of all Puerto Rican women of childbearing age since 1965.

At the same time wages are stagnating because of the power of giant corporate bosses in Puerto Rico and the colonial government's policy of holding down wages to attract more profit-draining investments.

Moreover, the prevalent kinds of industrialization - in oil and chemicals especially - has, coupled with negligible concern for the people, resulted in extensive ecological destruction. Oil spills, dumping and sand digging has ruined many beaches, and the same pollution has caused widespread disease among the people. For example, petroleum developments in the Ponce area has forced many to flee the south

side of the island and pollution-related disease has struck 19% of the people of Playa Guayanilla with obstructive respiratory illness.

Other facts that bear proof to the effects of colonial domination:

- According to 1970 statistics, 38% of the Puerto Rican people get less than the Department of Health's minimum income necessary for health living.
- Some 40% of the Puerto Ricans live in inadequate or deteriorating housing..
- Puerto Rico has the highest concentration of military installations per square mile and per capita of any country in the world.
- In Puerto Rico itself the wealthiest 20% of the population get 51% of the personal income while the poorest 20% get 5% of the personal income.

AND ALL THE WHILE U.S. CORPORATIONS LIKE UNION CARBIDE AND PITTSBURGH Plate Glass take billions of dollars away from Puerto Rico in the form of profits. Monopolies? Of 14 industry types in Puerto Rico, the top three corporation controlled over 50% of the entire market. In eight of these industries, the degree of monopolization exceeds 75%.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE by Puerto Rico goes far back in history, highlighted by the armed rebellion against Spanish rule led by Ramón Emeterio Betances in 1868; the temporary establishment of self-rule in 1898 before U.S. troops invaded the island (and took it over as "spoils of war", according to the treaty between the U.S. and imperial Spain); repeated rebellion against U.S. domination, especially between 1922 and 1954 under the leadership of the Nationalist Party; and workers and Nationalist struggles carried on today, mainly under the leadership of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

While the U.S. Congress has asserted control over Puerto Rico, including full military jurisdiction, control over the postal system, migration and immigration, currency, trade relations and legal status with the U.S. - it is the Puerto Rican people themselves, both on and off the island who are determined to control their own lives. Already, Puerto Rican workers and nationalists have had to defend themselves, as was the case with FBI raids after the 40-day water-workers' strike, the bombing of the Boilermakers union headquarters, and the armed attack against the offices of Claridad, the leading independence newspaper. In 1974 the National Guard was mobilized against workers and nationalists, pretending the real and present threat of armed invasion by U.S. troops.

The real status of the Puerto Rican people is, finally, widely recognized in the international community. In 1972, for example, the UN Special Committee on Decolonization formally recognized the "inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence", making the status of Puerto Rico as a U.S. colony a matter of international illegality, denounced by world consensus.

Racists Use P.R. Status as Model

by Rafael Anglada (Claridad correspondent)

UNITED NATIONS - The colonial case of Puerto Rico could be compared to the "proclamation of the republic" of Transkei, a reservation for Blacks in the southern

part of Africa. This "independence" has already been denounced as a farce by various representatives of the African people. The parallel was established by Cuba in a statement brought before the Decolonization Committee.

The statement delivered by Alberto Salado Villacín, is part of a series of denunciations made in the debates of several commissions during this period of sessions of the General Assembly.

"This experiment which Transkei represents, is nothing new in the international community.

Over two decades ago the same people that are at this time advising South Africa, made a very similar intervention in Puerto Rico, but under the name 'commonwealth of Puerto Rico', where there exists the same type of government which at this point is being established under the name of 'Republic of Transkei', where the economic interests of the colonial power rule in order to serve their interests. The U.S. delegation maintained silence while Cuba made the accusations.

The revolutionary diplomat also said that "the international community should be on the alert when such manipulations take place, which in turn hinder the decolonization process of elimination and the end of racism and apartheid in Africa, the Caribbean and other parts of the world."

DEMAND FREEDOM OF NATIONALISTS

Meanwhile, in the Commission of Human Rights a draft for a resolution was presented, endorsed by 19 countries. The approval of the draft was taken for granted. The draft demands "the total respect of basic human rights for all those persons detained or in prison as a consequence for their struggle for the free determination and independence and the strict observance of Article Five of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and assurance that no one will be submitted to tortures or other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatments, and also the immediate release of these persons."

Miguel Alfonso, who represents Cuba in this commission, denounced once again colonialism in Puerto Rico. Alfonso demanded the immediate unconditional release of the Puerto Rican nationalist political prisoners, held in U.S. federal prisons. The Commission on Human Rights examines the theme of the universal importance of the rights of peoples to their free determination and the rapid concession of independence to those peoples and colonized countries for the guarantee and observance of human rights."

"For my country," added Alfonso, "the case of Puerto Rico deserves particular mention, being so close to the teachings and practice of Jose Martí, the apostle of our country. Occupied militarily since 1898, the sister island has been converted into a mere appendage of the U.S. economy and the political power exercised and the ultimate judicial decisions are taken in Washington and not in San Juan. Even though seventy-eight years of domination and all sorts of attempts to quash the Puerto Rican national sentiment have been in vain, the colonial situation continues. Five Puerto Rican patriots, Andrés Figueroa, Lolita Lebrón, Irvin Flores, Oscar Collazo and Rafael Cancel Miranda are currently in federal prisons in the United States for actions related to their independence ideals. They are the oldest political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere.

On various occasions their situation has been denounced before diverse international forums, without it changing whatsoever, notwithstanding the reiterated calls made to all the States by the General Assembly to free all those detained by virtue of their struggle for independence and sovereignty."

The delegation of the United States, represented by Mrs. Patterson, intended to refute Cuba's arguments.

The delegation from Benin, an African country, joined the Cuban denunciation "by supporting the struggle of the subjugated peoples of Latin America and in particular the Panamá Canal Zone, Puerto Rico and Chile, peoples denied of their most elemental rights."

American Indian - Spanish American Cultural Center

American Indian and the Spanish American students, along with the Office of Minority Student Programs, are diligently working on securing a site for the Native American - Spanish American Cultural Center.

The Center will provide a place for the students to interact through cultural, educational and social activities. The Center would also provide a place where other minority students and Ames-ISU community people could expand their knowledge of other segments of American Culture through interaction and educational programs.

We hope to have the location secured in the very near future so that we can utilize the summer months for refurbishment.

Staff, students, faculty and community people are invited to display and/or donate American Indian and Spanish art to the Center.

For further information contact: Vivian Agosin, Mark Van Berkum or Ted Johnson (Acting Director of Minority Student Programs) at 294-6338.

**Don't forget
You are LASU
LASU NEEDS
YOU
Call 294-6338**

The Fight for Puerto Rico's Independence

by Juan Torres

I. Under the Spanish Domain

A. The Indian's Rebellion

In 1511 the first Indian rebellion took place in Puerto Rico. An Indian chief called Urayoán sent some Indians to guide a Spanish soldier called Diego de Salcedo. The Indians drowned the Spaniard in the Guorabo river. They proved to themselves that the spaniards were not gods, that they also died. A little bit after an Indian chief called Aymamón took prisoner a young Spaniard.

The Spaniards has a man called Juan González de Ponce de León who knowed the language of the indians. They used him to spy for them. This man heard that a rebellion was going on and advised the general Cristóbal de Sotomayor. Sotomayor trusted him, but committed the error of telling his plan of defense to Guaybaná, the supreme indian chief of the island. Guaybaná offered to Sotomayor some men to help him. Sotomayor accepted them to show that he wasn't afraid. The men started the trip but few hours later they were attacked by a group of indians commanded by Guaybaná. Only Juan Gonzalez survived the attack. He crossed the central mountains and a few days after he arrived to the Toa farm and awared the spaniards about the peril of the rebellion that menaced them.

Once the spaniards were advised, Juan Ponce de León organized the offensive. There were many battles. The spaniard was definitely in the battle of Yagueca, where the chief Guaybaná was killed.

The Spaniard's victory was due to two principals reasons, the weapons of the indians were the cudgel and arrows. By the other side the spaniards had swords, spears, and knives. The spaniards also had fire arms for long distances like the harquebus. They also had horses and dogs, two animals completely unknown to the indians.

The first "war" for Puerto Rico's liberation took place. Guaybaná will be remembered for always in our history as the first man that fought for the liberation of Boriquén and for the liberty of his people.

B. Principle of Political Ideals

In the beginning of the eighteen century the people's tendency of grouping under three tendencies was evident. Even so I can't say that political parties were formed, it was true there were certain people, especially the rich people, who were in agreement with the Spanish government. They were known as conservators, followers of the conservadorism. Other were willing to remain under the Spanish domain under certain conditions, these were known as liberals, followers of the liberalism. And the third group were the separatist that wanted the Independence for the island, followers of the separatism.

From these separated nucleus of tendencies, Puerto Rico's political parties evolved.

C. Ramon Emeterio Betances

He was born in Cabo Rojo in April 8, 1827, and died in France in September 18, 1898. He was a literate, politic, and a doctor in medicine. When he was very young, he was sent to Paris where he studied his career in medicine. In his comeback to the island he dedicated all his efforts and fortune attacking of the colonial government of Spain in Puerto Rico and in the relization of Puerto Rico's independence. As a doctor, he put all his work and fortune to the benefit of richs and poors, that's why the people call him "Padre de los pobres".¹

He was a member of the Secret Abolitionist Society that struggled for the liberation of the Negroe slaves.

In 1868 Betances was exiled to Sto. Domingo and from there he began to organize a revolution. He sent a ship called the Telegraph to Puerto Rico, but it was intercepted by the Spaniards in Saint John. This caused the advancement of the movement and as a result the failure of it. This movement is known as "El Grito de Lares". Betances went to live indefinitely in Paris, where he died in absolute poorness and loneliness on September 18, 1898. When somebody asked him about the new government (American) that occupied the island in 1898, he answered "Lo mismo da ser colonia española que yankee".² (Is the same thing to be a Spanish slave or an American slave.)

D. El Grito De Lares

In 1868, Ramón Emeterio Betances, a separatist leader of Puerto Rico, was exiled to Dominican Republic. From there he planned a revolution to give the freedom to the island from the Spanish government. He asked help to the liberals, but men like Julian Blanco, Baldorioty de Castro, and Celsis Aguilera refused to join the movement because they didn't believe in revolutionaries ideas.

With money collected by the revolutionaries, Betances bought 500 rifles, 6 cannons and a small ship called the Telegraph. Also he had promises of help from some South American Republics.

By the middle of 1868 a government agent surprised Pedro García with lists of names of revolutionaries. In the night of September 19, on a road between Camuy and Quebradillas, the conversation of two revolutionaries was heard by the captain Juan Castañón, commandment of Quebradilla's station and son of the country. The military that had promised his help to the revolutionaries betrayed them and informed the conspirator's plans to the Colonel Manuel de Iturriaga. The colonel proceeded to the registration of the residence of Manuel Macías González, finding documents about the conspiracy.

Knowing that they were discovered, the conspirators decided to advance the date of the revolution. They knew the risk that implicated an open revolution without finishing the preparatives, but they believed that that was the best alternative. The arms were shipped in Dominican Republic, but were retained in

Saint John by Spanish soldiers by requirements of the Spanish government of Puerto Rico.

In September 23, 1868, the revolutionaries met on the farm of Manuel Rojas, in the Sector Pezuela of Lares. There were also Mariana Bracetti, Manuel Rosado, Manuel Cebollero, Eusebio Ibarra, Juan Terrefort and Joaquin Parrilla, who were the leaders of the conspiracy.

The small army was composed of 600 men badly armed, the majority only with knives and machetes. To the shouts of "Viva Puerto Rico libre y Abajo los impuestos."³, the detachment went to the town of Lares, arriving about midnight and taking it without great opposition of the authorities.

Posesionados del pueblo, los rebeldes declararon existente la república de Puerto Rico, con el siguiente gobierno provisional: presidente, Francisco Ramírez Medina; ministro de Gobernación, Manuel Ramírez; ministro de hacienda, Federico Valencia; ministro de Gracia y Justicia, Clemente Millán; ministro de Estado, Celedonio Aril, y secretario de gobierno, Bernabé Pol.⁴

That same day, a manifest was redacted and signed by Bernabé Pol, as general secretary that said:

De acuerdo en que es llegado el momento de tomar las armas para santificar la causa de sus derechos, declaran estar resueltos a morir, antes que continuar bajo el dominio español; y para que no se le de carácter de una asonada o motín de mal género y sea considerado como un movimiento patriótico con tendencias a sacudir el ominoso yugo y crear una patria libre, lo manifiestan para que conste al mundo entero.⁵

The revolutionaries joyful by their easy success decided to celebrate a solemn mass and so they did. The mass was celebrated by the priest, José Vega.

By the time that the revolutionaries were celebrating the victory, the news of the revolution reached Aguadilla. From there, troops were sent the zone of San Sebastián. The next day, the revolutionaries reached the poblacion of El Pepino. There the story was different from Lares. Being warned, the troops refused to give up and attacked the revolutionaries, killing the brigadier Manuel León.

Reinforcements arrived from Moca, the result of which was the defeat of the revolutionaries.

During more than a month were fights of bands of guerrillas in the region, falling little by little the revolutionaries. Manuel Rojas was made prisoner in Río Prieto. The jails of Aguadilla and Arecibo were filled of prisoners, many of them only for being liberals.

The Grito De Lares failed in his purpose, but it served as an inspiration for the people that believed in the justice and the Independence of Puerto Rico. Betances, Mariana Bracety and Manuel Rojas will be always remembered as the martyrs of Lares.

E. Eugenio María De Hostos

He was born in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, in 1839. He went to Spain to study and obtained a bachelor's

degree in Bilbao, and then he went to study law in Central Madrid University. In this city he became friends with the mayor part of the Spanish revolutionaries of 1863, taking an active part in their political works.

In 1837 he helped the Cubans to obtain their rights and liberties from Spain. He was a politic of the same opinion of Betances and Ruiz Belvix, a fighter for the Antilles Confederation. In 1898 he and other puertorrican leaders organized the "Liga de patriotas puertorriqueños" that had as an objective that U.S.A. recognize to the puertorrican people the right of deciding for itself its future by a plebiscitum.

He organized a commission in Washington.

His political ideal was the independence of Puerto Rico and the Antilles Confederation. Once he visualized the situation of Puerto Rico and saw that compatriots were profoundly divided in political bands that didn't have reason of being, he translated to Sto. Domingo very disappointed, where he dedicated himself to teaching. He died in Sto. Domingo in 1903.

II. Under the American Domain

A. Sketch of the Three Tendencies

The puertorrican people have in front of them three possibilities in the camp of their political personality: the Commonwealth, the Federal State and the Independence. The historic development of the colony had been influenced by fights of some facets in the realization of one of these ideals.

Under Spain as under U.S.A., a sector had expressed anxiously in favor of the Independence, others had desired the cultural and political assimilation. The present offered to the puertorricans a third alternative, a sector that prefers a certain grade of autonomy inside the political and economic system of U.S.A.

B. Stages of the North American Colonialism in P.R.

The following description corresponds perfectly to the history of the North American colonialism in Puerto Rico. This history shows at least five stages in which the forms of direct political domain had ruled the island.

1-First Stage: (1900-1917)

In the first stage we found the North American invasion, the military occupation, and the Foraker's law. This first "constitution" was formulated in congress of U.S.A. without the intervention of the puertorrican people.

The General Miles, commandment of the invasory forces practiced at his arrival the ideology of "legitimacy" for justifying the rule of force, insisting that U.S.A. have the mission of bringing Puerto Rico the goodness of the American democracy, but the Foraker's law was completely contradictory to the democracy. It established a government in hands of the officials of the president and the congress and not in the hands of the puertorricans. The direct political domain was complemented with the integration of our economy to U.S.A.'s economy.

The puertorrican money was substituted in unfavor-

able conditions by the dollar. This signified a loss of about 40% of Puerto Rico's national richness. The extension of federal contributions for the capitals introduced in Puerto Rico, left an open camp for the North American corporations. This transformed Puerto Rico's economy in an economy based in the monopoly of the sugar cane, in a sugar cane plantation based over the misery and exploitation of the peasant. The absentism of the latifund was established as the predominant economy institution.

This economic tie with U.S.A. condemned Puerto Rico to suffer the crisis and fluctuations of the capitalist system of U.S.A., depriving Puerto Rico of forming its own economic development.

2-Second Stage: (1917-1929)

In the second stage of the American colonialism in Puerto Rico its found the period between the aprobaton of the Jone's Law (1917) and the beginning of the 20th century. A second constitution was established without the intervention of the puertorricans. Contrary to the Foraker's Law, it results the political aspects of colonial dependence.

The Jones' Law kept unchanged the economy interpretation postulated by the Foraker's Law, but it added the political integration, by the impartition of the American citizenship to the Puertorricans.

3-Third Stage: (1930-1940)

The third stage consisted of the 30's decade. Marked the first great crisis of the capitalism and the colonialism in Puerto Rico. This crisis presented in all his magnitude the nocives effects of Puerto Rico's economic dependence on U.S.A., the dimensions of the capitalism and the repressive character of that system.

For 1930, the unemployment in Puerto Rico reached 60% of the population. As a consequence, the food production suffered a decline of 50% during the first 32 years of the North American domination. This forced the Puertorricans to import foods from U.S.A. at prices 20% higher than that paid in U.S.A. The form of exploitation was clearly established by the relations of a captive commerce.

Los salarios devengados por la reducida porción de obreros que conseguían trabajos fluctuaban en promedio entre 80 y 60 centavos diarios lo cual equivalía en aquella época a menos de 1/2 parte de los salarios promedios que se pagaban en la metropoli.⁶

When the crisis reached its highest point, it was calculated that only 35% of the working force had a job and that about 1,200,000 Puertorricans need immediate economic help.

Para enfrentarse al caos económico, el regimen colonial recurrió a la degradante institución del mantengo masivo suministrado a través de la Administración de ayuda de Emergencia o PRERA.⁷

But the dimensions of the crisis were superior to the quantity of federal funds assigned.

As a consequence of this crisis, the Nationalism

was born. The 30's decade finished in a political empty as a result of the repression of the Nationalism, the death or physical incapacity of other leaders and the fragmentation of the colonial political parties. Luis Munoz Marin remained practically alone in the scenary of the political life of Puerto Rico.

4-Fourth Stage: (1940-1968)

The fourth stage of the North American colonialism in Puerto Rico extended from 1940-1968, the period of absolute political domain of the Partido Popular Democratico (PPD).

Oriented by the slogan "Pan Tierra y Libertad" the PPD filled the political empty to the 30's decade developing since its foundation in 1947 the most powerful conjunction of reformist and independence forces.

The first part of the administrative work of the PPD (1940-1947) showed clearly a reformist tendency. During that period the PPD based its political campaign in the doctrine of the fight of social classes that was started by the socialist party.

Even though the PPD stated that the status was not an issue, it was of public knowledge that its leaders, as its components, believed in the Independence. That's why the electoral victory of the PPD in 1944 was celebrated as the definitive triumph of the Independence and the extermination of the Federal State.

In the second part of its administrative work (1947-1968) the PPD adopted a different orientation in relationship to the politic and economic development. The governor Rexford Tugwell, afraid of losing the power reached in elections, made the PPD an instrument of a new supposed "pacific revolution" of the so call "izquierda democratica" that transformed Puerto Rico in the paradise of the North American industrial inversion.

Pretendió utilizarnos como "vitrina" de la Democracia y puente entre las Américas para satisfacer los intereses de la propaganda internacional.⁸

In 1945 the PPD believe convenient to break with the conjunction of forces of reformist and separatist. Then the PPD leaders tried to desegregate the General Confederation of Workers of Puerto Rico (CGT) of which the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (P.I.P.) was founded.

The change experimented by the PPD during its second period of government converted it gradually in a simple political machinery, without ideals.

As a result of this change in 1959 was born the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPI).

Es preciso reconocer que en ésta cuarta etapa constituyó un factor decisivo para la continuidad de la lucha por nuestra Independencia e hizo una contribución apreciable en lo que respecta a la educación política de nuestro pueblo y a la elevación de los niveles colectivos de nuestra conciencia.⁹

5-Fifth Stage: (1968...)

The fifth stage of the North American colonialism in Puerto Rico began with the electoral victory of the Partido Nuevo Progresista (PNP) in the elections of 1968. Its triumph decreased the political domain imposed by the PPD. Undermined the neutral position of the autonomism as the only alternative to the constitutional problem.

In 1972 the PPD recovered the political domain in Puerto Rico. The PIP won the election of three senators, Rubén Berrios, Carlos Galliza and Angel Luis Torres.

During this period of time a significant change in the independence forces is the determination of the MPI, now the Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP), of go to the elections in 1976.

The political future of Puerto Rico is uncertain, maybe the elections of 1976 will give the clue to resolve the status problem of Puerto Rico, and maybe not, but it's sure that the fight for the Independence will be continued forever until its purpose, the liberation of Puerto Rico, is reached.

C. Don Pedro Albizu Campos

He was born in Ponce, Puerto Rico, on September 12, 1891. He cursed his primary school in Ponce and very young went to study in Vermont University, after that in Harvard and graduated, obtaining his bachelor's degree in 1917. Rapidly he studied law, graduating in 1921. He received honors distinctions. During the World War I he enlisted in U.S.A. army.

When he arrived at the island from the war he enrolled in the Union of Puerto Rico Party, but soon he got away from it, enrolling in 1924 in the Nationalist Party, that was organized in 1922. In the Nationalist Party he worked with faith and dedication in favor of the separation of Puerto Rico from U.S.A. by the means of violence. He was elected president of the Nationalist Party in 1930. He fought with courage in frank opposition to the government censure, which is why his life became hard and difficult. He was committed to court and jails many times.

El Grito de Jayuya was a revolutionary movement done in 1950. It was the last intent for the realization of Puerto Rico's Independence. Albizu directed it. It was the only alternative after the disastrous defeat of the Nationalism in the elections.

His life's difficulties, the oldness, the jail and the defeat of the Grito de Jayuya combined to cause his death in April 21, 1965.

D. Success of the Blair's House

In November 1, 1952, two puertorrican revolutionaries, Griselio Torresola y Oscar Collazo, produced a suicide attack against the Blair's House, provisional residence of the U.S.A. president, Harry S. Truman (1944-1952). In the attack Torresola and a presidential guard died; Leslie Coffelt.

Es innegable que los atacantes no tenían la menor posibilidad de llegar al presidente, pero sabían también que su acción llamaría la atención de América y sobre todo pondría el caso de Puerto Rico sobre el tapete mundial.¹⁰

The other revolutionary, Oscar Collazo was seriously

wounded, but he survived and after he was condemned to death. The sentence was changed after by the President to perpetual confinement.

E. Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño

1. Creation

After the 1944 elections, some members of the PPD got angry by the negative of Munoz Marin of resolve the position of the PPD concerning the island's status, and abandoned the party. A new party was formed, the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP), under the direction of Gilberto Concepción de Gracia. In the sense of the ideal the PIP was a projection of the Federal Union of Puerto Rico and the Liberal Party. Prominent leaders of the PPD joined the PIP, in what looked like general enthusiasm. Men like Vicente Geigel Polanco, Rafael Arjona Siaca and Dr. Francisco M. Suroni expressed publically their unchangeable dedication in favor of the independence of Puerto Rico and their impossibility of continuing in the party that they helped to create, the PPD.

The PIP was founded in 1946 to fight for Puerto Rico's Independence. The PIP always had visualized the republic as a system of government where the justice is for all.

That's why the ideal of Gilberto Concepción de Gracia always was: "Independencia para el pueblo... No para los que representan el privilegio y la opresión."

In the third part of the twentieth century social justice means for the PIP members Socialism and Democracy.

2. Program

The PIP had a program based in the socialism and the democracy. His fundamental purpose is to finish with the injustice, the oppression and the exploitation of one social class by others, in other words, to finish with the capitalism in Puerto Rico.

Todas las clase explotadas a las cuales representa el Partido Independentista, tienen en mayor o menor grado conflictos directos con el colonialismo y el capitalismo. El tipo de república socialista que aspira el Partido Independentista responde a los intereses de todas las clases explotadas de Puerto Rico.¹²

The PIP proposed the socialization of the huge empresses, the monopolies and oligopolies of production, distribution and service, also as the latifunds. The banks, securities companies and financiers will be socialized.

The puertorricans small and middle empresses and farms will remain in private hands.

The socialization of this program includes not only the expropriation by the pay of compensation, but also the establishment in the socialized empresses of a democratic regiment in which the workers will have direct participation in the empresses administration.

The personal properties as houses, automobiles,

clothes, and furniture will remain as private property.

In the agriculture an agrarian reform of a radical character will take place and will include the following basic elements:

1. Se socializarán los latifundios o grandes fincas que están en manos privadas y se expropiará todo interés absentista que no hayade producir la tierra directamente. Las tierras expropiadas pasarán a manos de cooperativas agrícolas.
2. Se protegerá al pequeño y mediano agricultor de la competencia extranjera a través de tarifas o prohibiciones.
3. Se garantizará a los agricultores el pago de un precio mínimo por sus productos.
4. Se eliminará el intermediario mediante el establecimiento de una empresa pública a cargo del mercadeo y la distribución.
5. Se establecerá un instituto agrícola que ayudará al fomento de nuevas técnicas de producción en la agricultura.¹³

In the sector of turism the great hotels will be socialized and will form part of a national chain of hotels. The little and medium hotels will remain in hands of their original owners with a co-administration and division of earning with the workers.

The socialization of banks and financiers will be made possible a canalization of funds and earnings toward the productive inversion.

An automatic adjusted system will be established to compensate any rise in the cost of living.

In the commerce, the PIP proposes the following reforms:

1. Se eliminará el control de nuestro comercio por las grandes empresas comerciales - supermercados, tiendas por departamentos y otros mediante su socialización.
2. Los pequeños y medianos comercios y las cooperativas permanecerán en manos de sus propietarios.
3. El comercio exterior será diversificado y mucho de lo último se logrará a traves de un programa racional de sustitución de importaciones, quiere decir producir en Puerto Rico lo que hoy se trae de afuera.¹⁴

F. Rubén Berríos Martínez

He was born in Aibonito in June 21, 1939. He graduated from the San Ignacio de Loyola High School. He graduated from Georgetown University, Washington with honors in 1961 of a bachelor's degree in commercial administration, and during these years in the university his interest in economical sciences grew, what is reflected in his actual political life. He obtained his bachelor's degree in law in Yale University in 1964. Later he obtained in the same university, his Master's degree in 1965. He transferred to England, entering Oxford University, where he obtained his T.P.L. in International Rights. His thesis for his Master's Degree in law was written about matters related with the international economy and with the common market. This thesis was published in Oxford by one of the most juridic magazines of Europe.

When he returned to Puerto Rico in 1967, he assisted

the PIP assembly, where this party changed the form of one man presidency to a trilogy presidency, one of which was Rubén Berríos. In January, 1970, the PIP decided again for a one-man presidency, being elected Ruben Berríos president at 31 years old. He was a professor of law in the University of Puerto Rico by four years. In February 13, 1971, he was put in jail because he directed a protest against the use of Culebra by U.S.A. marines. He got free in May 3, 1971.

In 1972 elections, he was elected senator by accumulation by the PIP. He was the candidate by the PIP for governor in 1976 elections.

G. A Study About Independence of P.R. For Washington By The Comisionade Resident, Jaime Benítez

The political debate in P.R. acquired a deep note of exasperation during the years of the 30 decades when the economic depression, two destructive hurracaines and the initial confusion and frustrations, like the uncertainty contributed to the desperation and the search of new points of view.

To this date, many political leaders and intellectuals of P.R. support the Independence. They were totally discouraged in the comprehension that recently seemed to isolate P.R. from U.S.A. making impossible a significant communication between the two countries.

The incompetent governors sent to P. R. as a political prize, and the combination of abandon and general loss of memory that resulted in desperation helped nothing to resolve the situation. There were three difficulties that glimpse with respect to the Independence:

ONE - The basic relationships concerning health, education, urban development and justice showed a great improvement in comparison to the past. The electorate, and particularly the working class, showed desconfiance to the Independence.

TWO - The Nationalist movement, beginning with the 30 decade, predicted and practiced the violence as the only form to realize the Independence. The identification of the Independence with the violence and with neighbor dictatorships, made that the electorate got far away of the way of the Independence. Even though the Nationalist Party became associated with the "camisas negras del Ejercito nacionalista de liberacion, con los Camisas negras de Mussolini y con los Camisas pardas de Hitler".

THREE - The conviction that for organize a pacific and evolutionist Independence, there must exist these requisites: the development of a middle class skillful and trained and the reconstruction of the economy.¹⁵

H. An History of Antagonists

A look at Puerto Rico's history shows us an obvious and curious detail. A situation that is characteristic since the fifteenth century. In certain clue periods of Puerto Rico's history we found two figures that even though had started by similarly ways, had opted to follow different and contradictory ideologies. In the beginning of our history, we found Agueybana and his brother Gueybana. The first one welcomed the spaniards cordially and committed

himself to their wishes to maintain peace and harmony. The second one rebelled against the spaniards and fought for his land and freedom.

In the nineteenth century appeared Ramón Emeterio Betances the anti-slavist and separatist. His antagonist, Ramón Baldorioty de Castro, believer of reforms inside the established system. At the end of that century and to the beginning of the twentieth century, two friends opposed each other; Luis Muñoz Rivera y José de Diego. The differences between them carried one to fight for reforms inside the established system and the other to fight for the Independence.

The third decade of this century showed two central figures that started with a common beginning and finished by opposing each other, Pedro Albizu Campos y Luis Muñoz Marín.

1. Colecciones Puertorriqueñas, Biografías P. 65, 1970
2. Colecciones Puertorriqueñas, Biografías P. 67, 1970
3. José Luis Vivas, Historia de Puerto Rico, 1974. P. 206
4. José Luis Vivas, Historia de Puerto Rico, 1974. P. 207
5. Bernabe Pol, Historia de Puerto Rico, 1974, P. 205
6. Rubén Berríos, Programa, 1971, P. 5
7. IBID
8. Rubén Berríos Martínez, Programa, 1971, P. 7
9. IBID
10. José Luis Vivas, Historia de Puerto Rico, 1974, P. 304
11. Gilberto Concepción de Gracia, Hacia el Socialismo, 1974, P. 1
12. Rubén Berríos, Hacia el socialismo puertorriqueño, 1974, P. 20
13. Programa, Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño, 1971, P. 20
14. IBID
15. Jaime Benítez, Informe De Washington, 1976, P. 2

Poesia: Pablo Neruda

Neruda, Pablo, the pseudonym of Neftalí Ricardo Reyes Basualto (1904-1973), Chilean poet, who won the 1971 Nobel Prize in literature. He was born in Parral, Chile, on July 12, 1904. After spending his childhood in Temuco, he attended the University of Chile in Santiago. At the age of 17 he published his first poems, taking the surname of the Czech writer Jan Neruda as his pen name. He soon developed a highly individual style and achieved his first success with *Veinte Poemas de amor y una canción desesperada* (1924). In 1927, Neruda was appointed to the Chilean consular service and subsequently held various diplomatic posts. His *Residencia en la tierra* (2 vols., 1933, 1939) composed in a surrealist vein, earned him wide recognition as one of the greatest poets in the Spanish language. *Tercera residencia*, a third volume, appeared in 1947.

Neruda, a member of the Chilean Communist party for many years, served in the Chilean Senate from 1945 to 1948. One of his most important works, *Canto general* (1940), is a Marxist epic of Chile and the continent. In 1964 he published his autobiography in verse, *Memorial de Isla Negra*. He was ambassador to France in 1971-1972, and died, in Santiago, on

September 23, 1973.

Crepusculario¹

(1923)

Farewell

- 1 - Desde el fondo de ti, y arrodillado,
un niño triste, como yo, nos mira.
For esa vida que arderá en sus venas
tendrían que amarrarse nuestras vidas.
For esas manos, hijas de tus manos,
tendrían que matar las manos mías.
For sus ojos abiertos en la tierra
veré en los tuyos lágrimas un día.
- 2 - Yo no lo quiero, Amada.
Para que nada nos amarre
que no nos una nada.
Ni la palabra que aromó tu boca,
ni lo que no dijeron tus palabras.
Ya no la quiero, es cierto, pero tal vez la quiero.
Es tan corto el amor, y es tan largo el olvido.
Porque en noches como ésta la tuve entre mis brazos,
mi alma no se contenta con haberla perdido.
Aunque éste sea el último dolor que ella me cause,
y éstos sean los últimos versos que yo le escribo.

¹ Libro para leer en el crepúsculo.

Acknowledgments

A special thanks to all the people that helped put together this newsletter. We express great gratitude to Broxann Keigley for her infinite patience, time devotion and excellent work.

LASU Officers



Unión Latinoamericana Universitaria

