

Cuba and Puerto Rico: Two Wings of One Bird

Cuba y Puerto Rico son de un pajarito las dos alas reciben flores o balas sobre un mismo corazon.

Cuba and Puerto Rico are the two wings of one bird they receive flowers or bullets in the same heart .

—Lola Rodriguez de Tio, born, 1843, San Juan—died 1924, Havana

Cuba and Puerto Rico, Key to the Continent

From the first arrival of the Spaniards in the Americas in the sixteenth century, the Caribbean has been the key to the continent. Who controls the Caribbean controls access to and from both Americas.

For Spain, the islands of the Caribbean were important because of their function in maintaining the flow of gold and silver from the mines of Mexico and Peru to Europe. The Spanish colonial system was built upon the labor of the native populations. When they resisted and were murdered, new labor had to be imported in the form of Black slaves. This happened early in Cuba and Puerto Rico. The slave trade in the West Indies began as early as 1501, eight years after the first white man arrived in the islands.

The island of Cuba was an important part of the Spanish commercial system. The fleets bearing silver from Mexico and Peru all had to stop at Havana, as did all incoming shipping, where they were assigned a protective convoy to guard against British, Dutch, and French pirates. Troops were kept at the Havana fortress, and also in heavily garrisoned Puerto Rico, an island 1/12 the size of Cuba.

Great Britain began to move in on Spain's control of the Americas from the seventeenth century on. For the whole of

the 17th and 18th centuries, Spain and Great Britain fought over control of the sea, which meant control of international commerce. Between 1810 and 1825, three decades after Great Britain lost her colonies in America, Spain lost her grip on the whole southern continent. By 1824, all that remained tied to the old Spanish Crown were the two lovely islands of the Greater Antilles, Cuba and Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic, which became independent in 1844.

The Caribbean—U.S. Property?

In the new United States, political leaders watched the Caribbean closely. In 1823, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams clearly articulated the view that the Caribbean had to be closely linked to the United States:

... These islands from their local position are natural appendages to the United States. Cuba, almost in sight of our shores, from a multitude of considerations has become an object of transcendent importance to the political and commercial interests of our union. . .

Thomas Jefferson also coveted Cuba, openly writing to Monroe saying:

... Do we wish to acquire to our own confederacy any one or more of the Spanish provinces? I candidly confess that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of states.

The United States was not concerned about Spain, which was too weak to prevent U.S. Commerce with its possessions, but with England, the world economic power from which it had

Carlos Maria de Céspedes leads independence forces in the fight for Cuba's liberation from Spain.



recently become independent. As long as Cuba and Puerto Rico remained part of Spain, U.S. merchants were happy. Secretary of State Henry Clay made this clear in 1825:

... The United States is satisfied with the present condition of Cuba and Puerto Rico, as belonging to Spain and keeping their doors open, as they presently do, to our commerce: this government does not, therefore, desire any political change in their system of administration.

Only independence, and British commercial penetration, threatened the United States, so that when the Great Liberator, Simon Bolivar, resolved in 1827 to extend his victories over Spain's imperial armies to the Caribbean, the United States government moved to stop him. The U.S. interference, together with the presence of the Spanish armies quartered in the islands, was strong enough to counterbalance the still small national independence movements there—but these movements were to grow.

The Fight for Independence: One Struggle

In the fight against colonial control, Cuba and Puerto Rico are linked inseparably. In both countries, national interest began to develop at the beginning of the 19th century among the smaller landowners and businessmen, just as it developed throughout Latin America. Members of the smaller bourgeoisie in the islands began to press for reforms, or ultimately "autonomy." Against them stood the ruling Spaniards and the wealthy interests tied to the Spanish Crown. These "unconditionalists" maintained the *status quo* against the autonomists, whose proposals brought brutal reprisals and repression.

Another force stood for complete and total independence from Spain. Led by men like Ramón Emeterio Betances in Puerto Rico and José Martí in Cuba, these *independentistas* understood that feudal Spain "cannot give what she does not have"—that independence cannot be legislated but only won through force of arms.

These independence forces combined their strategies in the anti-colonial struggle, fighting and planning side by side. The struggle was difficult, particularly in Puerto Rico, which, being smaller, was much more heavily occupied by the military. An important ally, especially from the large plantations of Cuba, were the slaves. Determined to win their liberty, they became heroic freedom fighters in the war against Spain.

For over 20 years Martí and Betances were ceaselessly active in this cause: travelling, speaking, teaching, warning, writing, exhorting and gathering arms throughout the U.S. the Caribbean, Central and South America. In 1865, activists from this movement, exiled by Spanish authorities, formed the Republican Society of Cuba and Puerto Rico, with headquarters in New York. In 1867, Betances organized the Committees of Information in Puerto Rico, which issued a stirring revolutionary proclamation throughout this island, coordinating the many underground groups in what was to have been a major uprising, with outside cooperation, in September of 1868. The rebellion and the Declaration of the Republic of Puerto Rico in the town of Lares was crushed by the Spanish, but it sparked the fuse 1,000 miles away in the town of Yara, in Cuba, less than a month later.

Patriot landowner Carlos María de Céspedes freed his slaves and led a rebellion against the colonial government which blossomed into a war that raged throughout the countryside for ten years. The Crown feared the agitation that this fomented in Puerto Rico, and offered the abolition of slavery there as a palliative in 1873. The war in Cuba was temporarily halted at the "truce" of Zanjón in 1878, but many Cubans fought on,

under the great freed slave General Antonio Maceo. "When Cuba becomes independent," Maceo said, "I will ask for permission to struggle for the freedom of Puerto Rico, because I should hate to put down my sword while that part of America remains in slavery." But Maceo was exiled; the reforms promised at Zanjón were not instituted; and the "Little War" broke out again the next year.



Spain tried desperately to quiet the Cubans. She granted them representation in Spain in 1878. She extended the Spanish Constitution to apply to Cubans in 1881. She abolished slavery in 1892 and instituted a limited form of local representative government in 1895. But it was too late; too many people had determined that Cuba must be free.

One of the principles laid down by the Cuban Revolutionary Party founded by Martí in 1892 was "to encourage and help Puerto Rico in her struggle," and a Puerto Rican section of the party was created in New York. By 1895, the Cuban revolutionaries made preparations to send an expedition to Puerto Rico under General Juan Ruiz Rivera, one of the many Puerto Ricans who had fought with Maceo in the Ten Years War. Although the expedition did not finally materialize, the Puerto Rican patriots did organize another rebellion at Yauco in 1897.

Spain's response was to increase repression. The new military governor of Cuba, Weyler, became known as "The Butcher" for his policies, which strengthened anti-imperialist sentiment among all Cubans, polarizing the issues for those who clung to hopes of compromise. In 1897, in a last attempt to save the situation, Spain granted autonomy to both Cuba and Puerto Rico. This autonomy lasted six months.

The War of 1898

In 1898, President McKinley sent a battleship to Havana harbor to "protect" U.S. citizens and property. One night in February, in a tightly guarded harbor, the battleship *Maine* mysteriously blew up and several hundred U.S. sailors were killed. The U.S. had its pretext to move openly into Cuba. Arguments built on the dogmas of "manifest destiny" and openly racist pleas that the U.S. "administer government among savages and senile people" inflamed the war fever. In April, 1898, U.S. forces set out for Santiago. The officers viewed the war as an easy road to political careers and glory. As far as they

Continued on p. 3



U.S. troops occupy Puerto Rico, August 1898

were concerned, they were right. The junior officers became the great financiers and statesmen of the next half-century: Roosevelt, Vanderbilt, Morgan.

Not everyone in the U.S. was caught up in the war fever. The biting sarcasm of Mark Twain and the lofty brilliance of William Jennings Bryan against the war were accompanied by a chorus of letters and telegrams from people calling upon President McKinley to recognize the Cuban Republic. Many of the soldiers, too, recognized that the war was not in their interests. Desertion and draft evasion during that war was proportionately higher than in any other U.S. war until Vietnam.

But the Spanish-American War had deep roots in the determination of the U.S. to control the Caribbean. By 1880, the U.S. had expanded to the Pacific coast and rapidly growing industries were looking to Latin America and Asia for new markets. It was actively seeking a canal to connect the two coasts, and provide easy access to the Pacific coast and beyond for eastern manufacturers. Cuba and Puerto Rico were ideal military bases to protect that canal. After three and a half months in Cuba, the U.S. forces defeated a moribund Spain and the troops were sent on to Puerto Rico in July.

The Treaty of Paris in 1898 formally granted Cuba her independence from Spain. In the Platt Amendment of 1901, forced upon the Cuban people, that independence was defined. Cuba was subject to military intervention by the United States any time her internal political situation threatened to disturb U.S. interests.

Puerto Rico was granted to the U.S. outright. The terms of the peace gave the U.S. what it wanted in Cuba; formal annexation would have only led to the maintenance of the Cuban war of independence. Puerto Rico, smaller and without an army seasoned by years of war, was not in a position to stop the U.S. takeover. The two islands entered the 20th century with, formally, two different statuses. Puerto Rico was an outright colony of the United States. Cuba was nominally independent, but subject to military intervention any time the U.S. felt it necessary to protect "life, liberty and property."

"A Favorable Investment Climate"

After 1898, the key to all political and social developments of these two islands lies in their economic relations with the United States. From the U.S. point of view, there has to be a "favorable investment climate" and protection of U.S. business interests.

The First World War so effectively sapped the economic strength of the European financial centers that the U.S., which had entered the War a debtor nation, emerged a creditor nation: it had paid off all the debt incurred throughout the 19th century in the building up of the capital necessary for the establishment of industry, at the same time as Great Britain lost its position at the center of the financial world. More and more of U.S. foreign commerce began to take the form of investments, bonds, and loans (high returns, lower risks) instead of direct trade. And in 1929, on the eve of the Great Depression, 27% of its total foreign investment was in Cuba.

Already before the War of 1898, 70% of Cuba's trade was with the United States, with very little of that money returning to the Cuban treasury. A huge proportion stayed within the confines of the U.S.—which established and virtually ran the sugar industry in Cuba. The following excerpt from the U.N. Economic and Social Commission's Report on Latin America will illustrate the degree of "independence" which Cuba was allowed to enjoy:

YEARS:	1897	1908	1919	1929	1936	1943	1950
Millions of dollars of							
US investments in Cuba:	43.5	184.1	518.1	887.0	666.0	526.0	642.0

Bethlehem Steel moved into Cuba in 1883, United Fruit arrived in 1901, American Tobacco in 1902, banks like First National City and Chase Manhattan came in 1915.

When the Cuban people expropriated U.S. businesses in 1959, the claims added up to some \$2.7 billion. U.S. citizens at that point owned over 1.6 million acres of the island.

In the colony of Puerto Rico, the fertile coastal plains had become the property of giant U.S. sugar corporations within a

new decades of the invasion. Manual laborers existing on low-paid seasonal wages, planted and harvested the cane, which was shipped to the U.S. to be refined and then sold back to the Puerto Rican people.

But Puerto Rico's economy was to develop differently than Cuba's, partly because of its direct colonial relationship. Because, as part of the United States, it was within the U.S. tariff orbit, it had to supply U.S. goods at high prices to its people; therefore wages had to be higher. It could not compete with the Cuban sugar market, which paid lower wages and therefore could make a bigger profit on the selling price. By the close of World War II, the sugar industry mostly shored up by means of sugar subsidies from the U.S. government, was obviously limping.

Crisis in U.S.

Crisis in Caribbean

The single year of 1930 saw a 42% drop in industrial production in the continental U.S. alone. People all over the world were hungry, and were reacting on a huge scale to the evident failure of the world economic system. The earthshaking events of the '30's did not pass lightly over the Antilles. By now, Cuba's economy was almost totally dependent on the U.S. sugar market, and the cruel Machado dictatorship was strangling her efforts to defend herself.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, elected U.S. President in 1932, instituted the New Deal, programs to shore up the U.S. economy and stem the tides of revolution. In order to achieve social stability, the New Deal had to include an impressive range of humanistic reforms and freedoms. Among other legislation, for its own domestic benefit and under the guise of "Good Neighbor," the U.S. government abrogated the Platt Amendment, leaving Cuba on an apparently longer leash. They sent to Puerto Rico the first Yankee Governor with any idea of where the island was: Governor Winship, who brought with him a policy imported from the U.S. "New Deal" era: economic planning. Something had to be done to deal with the badly hurting sugar economy. What eventually emerged was the U.S. plan to rapidly industrialize the island, called "Operation Bootstrap."

U.S. manufacturing plants were offered tax exemptions for periods of 12-25 years, as well as provided with low-rent factory buildings, and cut-rate fuel and transportation prices, paid for by taxes on Puerto Rican people. Today, some 2,000 manufacturing plants are established on the island, while U.S. corporations directly control 85% of the economy.

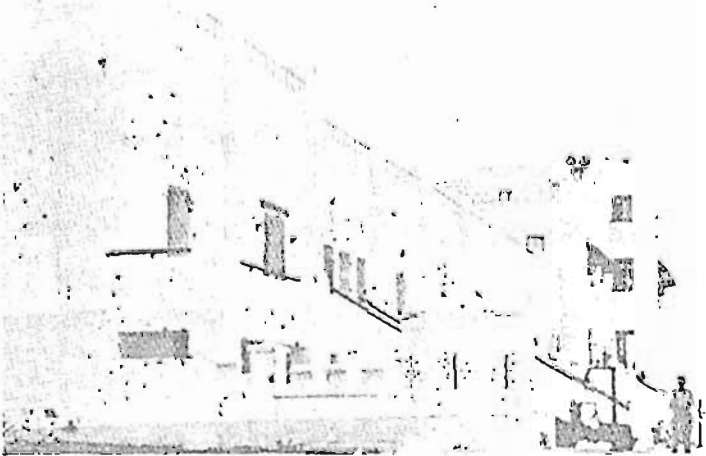
The rapid industrialization plan had severe consequences for the Puerto Rican people. During the '50's and '60's almost a million Puerto Ricans—one-third of the population, were forced to migrate to the United States to look for work. The new industries, while providing jobs, could not provide adequate employment for the largely unskilled agricultural population. Those who did get jobs in Puerto Rico were forced to work at wages 1/2 of what was being paid in the United States, while prices remained 25% higher than prices in New York City.

While the post-war industrialization process was underway in Puerto Rico, with all the corruption, speculation, and cultural displacement that such unnatural growth entails, Cuba was also entering a new phase of exploitation.

Cuba became a playground; Havana was fun city—especially for the U.S. underworld—and while hundreds of thousands of U.S. dollars changed hands at the roulette tables, hundreds of thousands of Cubans were outside, sick and starving; the only jobs to be had were as accessories to colonial vacation debauchery. Ignorant, brutal Fulgencio Batista held a tight rein on Cuban life from the Presidential palace. In 1953, the centenary of the birth of Marti, a group of patriots, including

the young lawyer Fidel Castro, launched a daring assault on the Moncada barracks in Santiago. The massacre that followed signalled the beginning of the Cuban Revolutionary War that was to culminate in triumph on New Year's Day six years later.

The Moncada barracks is now called 26th of July School City—a school complex which 3000 students attend



In Puerto Rico, the continuing movement for independence was taking a variety of forms, with its most militant expression in the Nationalist Party led by the great patriot Pedro Albizu Campos, whose party was the target of severe repression throughout the '30's and '40's.

Independence sentiment ran so high that virtually every Puerto Rican political leader had to take a stand in favor of independence. Munoz Marin and his Popular Party had taken that stand until 1945, when his position shifted in favor of economic strength first, independence later—a position which fit neatly into the plans for Operation Bootstrap.

But the growing patriotic movement led by the Nationalist Party and by the Puerto Rican Independence Party, which formed after the Popular Party turned against independence and dismissed all *independentistas* from its ranks, forced the United States to develop a new strategy.

In 1950, the U.S. government, with Law 600, decided to change the name of Puerto Rico's status and commissioned the Puerto Rican legislature to write up a Constitution, which the U.S. Congress would then approve. This development, the Congressional Record shows, would mean no change from the Jones Act which had previously governed Puerto Rico as a possession; it would protect the favorable economic relationship by taking the political pressure off.

On October 30 of that year, a group of Nationalists, responding to police repression and murders, and hearing that President Truman had ordered the arrest or assassination of their leadership, led an insurrection. They declared the Republic of Puerto Rico in the town of Jayuya. The National Guard, supported by the U.S. air force, and using U.S. tanks and bazookas, crushed the rebellion in a bloody five days.

Thousands of people not even involved in the uprising were jailed. In 1952, with Munoz Marin as the Governor, Puerto Rico became a "Free Associated State"—the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. A plebiscite which mentioned no alternative such as independence, was held to "ratify" the Constitution of the new status. Armed with this proof of democratic proceedings, the U.S. presented the United Nations with the proposal that Puerto Rico be removed from the U.N. list of "non-self-governing territories," which is subject to yearly scrutiny by international commissions.

Now there was nothing to stand in the way of complete economic, cultural and environmental absorption—nothing, that is, except the people themselves.

One Wing Free...

"We are a people which in 1959 for the first time began to feel that we might have allies in that wide outside world, when the corrupt and dictatorial regime that had lorded it over the sister Republic of Cuba for years was toppled and a Revolutionary Government representing the people took over, a government imbued with the highest Caribbean ideology. . .

"...in the United Nations, in the non-aligned conferences, in the non-governmental meetings, a Cuban voice was raised in support of the Puerto Rican struggle. . ."—*Juan Mari Brás, Secretary General, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Report to the U.N. Special Committee, August 23, 1973.*

From the time that the Revolutionary Government of Cuba took power, it has honored in word and deed the common history of struggle of the Cuban and Puerto Rican people. In every public forum, repeatedly before the United Nations, Cuba has consistently and relentlessly raised the question of the colonial status of Puerto Rico, denounced U.S. domination and oppression of the Puerto Rican people, and called for international support for the national liberation movement of Puerto Rico.

Why has Cuba taken this stand? First, because the Cuban people identify in the deepest possible way with the struggle against U.S. imperialism. It was only through bitter and determined fighting that Cuba liberated herself from U.S. control, and Cuba has been carrying on a continual battle since then, against armed invasions, criminal pirate attacks, a continental-wide (and attempted world-wide) economic blockade, and diplomatic isolation.

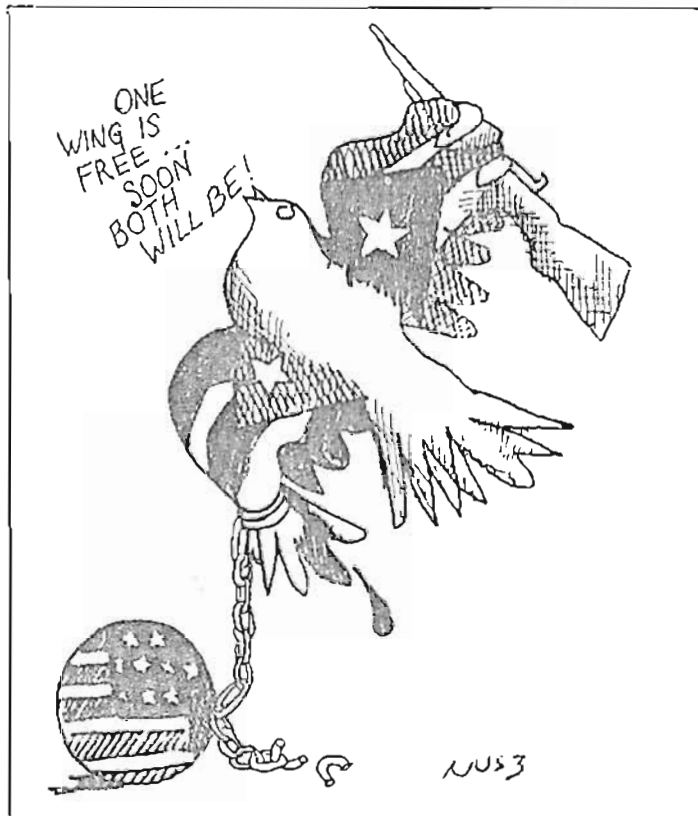
All of these attacks have been defeated, and the blockade itself is crumbling before the eyes of the U.S. imperialists, but the Cuban people do not forget the brutality used against them. In addition, the Cubans recognized the U.S. practice of treating the Caribbean as a stepping-stone for the domination of the rest of Latin America. They have taken up, as the first outpost of liberated territory in the Americas, the defense of the interests of all of the peoples of Latin America.

Cuba is embraced by peoples around the world for her expression of internationalism, from peasants who received blood and medical aid after an earthquake in Peru, to Vietnamese sailors in Haiphong Harbor, where Cubans remained in their boats and helped work during the Christmas bombings in 1972, to Chilean patriots who receive the fullest backing of the Cuban government in their resistance against the fascist dictatorship of Pinochet.

In the same spirit, the Cuban people understand the need to expose and attack the U.S. colonial control of Puerto Rico, and the need to build material support for the rapidly growing Puerto Rican independence movement today.

Resolution of the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization, (August, 1973) "Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence. . . Requests the Government of the U.S.A. to refrain from taking any measures which might obstruct the full and free exercise by the people of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, as well as of their economic, social and other rights, and in particular to prevent any violation of these rights. . ."

This U.N. resolution, directly contradicting the U.S.-sponsored resolution of 1953 which held that Puerto Rico was not a



struggles of people around the world. Although the United States was able to dominate the U.N. and other international organizations through most of the fifties, the anti-colonial struggles and national liberation movements have clearly emerged as leading anti-imperialist forces in the world in the last 10-15 years. 1975 alone has seen the victory of liberation forces in Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos in Southeast Asia, and Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique in Africa.

But the growing support for the independence of Puerto Rico is a reflection primarily of the growing strength of the national liberation struggle itself. As the people of newly-liberated Cuba began the arduous process of reconstructing and reorganizing virtually every aspect of their nation's economy to fulfill their own needs rather than the profit-needs of U.S. corporations, the national liberation movement in Puerto Rico, heartened by Cuba's victories, carried on the fight for independence.

Their movement could not be stamped out by the repression of the '50's. Instead, it opened up new avenues to incorporate an ever-widening base into its ranks. Today, it represents a massive movement, as factory workers, farmers, students, lawyers, teachers, artists, environmentalists, unite in a struggle for the survival of the Puerto Rican nation.

The successes of the national liberation movement are reflected in the growing fears of U.S. investors (often the most sensitive tuning fork to changes in the balance of forces on the island). A periodical entitled the *Washington Letter on Puerto Rico* reports that it is more difficult to attract foreign capital to Puerto Rico because investors are concerned about the growth of the independence struggle on the island, the organizing of Puerto Ricans in the United States, the growth of support for that movement in various sectors of the North American people,

and acts of sabotage against U.S. commercial, industrial and financial targets.

"Through its propaganda, U.S. imperialism tries to make it appear that it possesses no colonies, that Puerto Rico is an "associated free state." But there can be no association between an exploited and oppressed people and its oppressor.

"Colonialism must disappear forever from our planet. Colonialism must not continue in Latin America.

"We call on all progressive, democratic and anti-imperialist forces to give their full support to the Puerto Rican people.

"We issue this convocation, on behalf of organizations of 28 countries and 12 international organizations, to the International Conference in Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico from September 5-7 in Havana, Cuba."

—Appeal for Puerto Rico, Preparatory Meeting for the International Conference in Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, March 30-31 1975

As Cuba celebrates the 22nd anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks, the Cuban people build a new socialist society without losing sight of the Cuba that existed before the revolution.

In his "History Will Absolve Me" speech following the assault on the Moncada in 1953, Fidel Castro listed some of the ills of Cuban society. 700,000 people were unemployed. 500,000 farm laborers worked only four months a year, in the sugar harvest. Illiteracy was 23.6%. Rents were high — two and a half million people in urban areas paid rents that took between 1/5 and 1/3 of their income. In the suburban and rural areas, almost three million people lacked electricity: 400,000 people in cities and countryside lacked even the minimum sanitary requirements.

Soon after the revolution, the Cubans began to deal with the housing problem, first attacking the high cost of housing, and then turning to the actual shortage of housing. By 1968, rent could be no more than 1/10 of a person's income, and even that was to be gradually eliminated.

Unemployment was solved automatically as the Cubans moved to provide for human needs, and people filled jobs created in the process of making up the years of accumulated deficits in housing, schools, roads, hospitals, basic industries and services. The vital problem was to find people to do the jobs, to integrate men and women into the workforce as rapidly as possible.

After a year-long literacy campaign in 1961, the illiteracy rate dropped to 3.9%. In health care, the mortality rate dropped from 52 deaths to 27.4 deaths in 1000 births, the lowest rate in all of the developing countries. 40,000 new housing units were constructed last year in Cuba, beginning to catch up with the increase in population and the accumulated needs of decades of irrational planning.

In dramatic contrast is the process which has taken place in Puerto Rico in the last 20 years of U.S. colonialism. Although the industrialization of the island has been pointed to by the U.S. Government and the colonial government of Puerto Rico as a modern marvel of progress, what has it meant to the Puerto Rican people?

The average family income is below \$5,000 per year, while inflation pushes prices higher than in the United States.

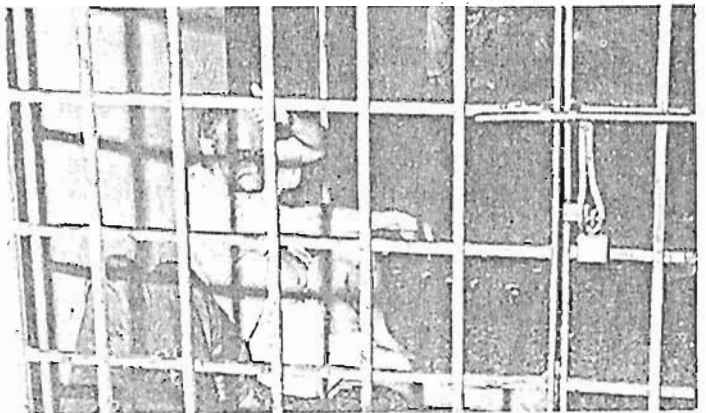
The unemployment figure, never below 10%, has risen today to over 30%, despite what the colonial government refers to as the "safety valve"—the massive migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States to look for work.

Agriculture has been virtually destroyed. 90% of the food consumed in Puerto Rico is imported from the United States and sold at U.S.-owned supermarket chains on the island.

Schools and universities attempt to carry on a cultural offensive against the Puerto Rican language, history and traditions. English is a required subject. Puerto Ricans are taught to believe their country is too small and lacking in resources to survive without the "help" of the United States.

Hospitals reflect the uneven distribution of wealth. The private hospitals, which cater to less than 30% of the population, have budgets three times the size of the budget for overcrowded and inadequate public hospitals. A free sterilization program, which the colonial government puts forward as one answer to the high unemployment rate, sterilizes 6,000 Puerto Rican women per year. 35% of the female childbearing population is already sterilized. Each operation requires two hospital bed days. Thus hospitals are available for sterilizations, while sick people wait months for a bed.

No beds are available to patients in mental hospital, San Juan



Today, more and more Puerto Ricans understand that their needs are in direct conflict with U.S. plans for the island. U.S. interests are moving into a new phase of Operation Bootstrap — the transformation of Puerto Rico into an oil-processing, refining, and storage center servicing U.S. industries on the mainland, but not subject to the environmental restrictions, high wages, or taxes of the continental U.S. Already, \$1 billion is invested in highly-polluting refineries and petrochemical plants, with disastrous environmental consequences for the island.

These industries require a lot of space, but little labor. The majority of the Puerto Rican people are no longer necessary to the island's future as far as the United States is concerned. Thus, hand in hand with sterilization programs, migration to the United States is encouraged. One colonial planner has referred to the possibility of one million Puerto Ricans migrating to the United States by 1980.

At the same time Puerto Rico is essential as a military base (13% of the best arable land is occupied by U.S. military bases, including nuclear installations) to protect the massive U.S. investment there, and to guard the Panama Canal and U.S. investment and expansion in the whole of Latin America.

In the face of these conditions, the Puerto Rican people continue to build a resistance movement. The workers of Puerto Rico, now the vast majority of the population, will not accept colonial terms for the trade union movement. Mass movements have formed to fight the "petrolization" of the island. Students will not accept a colonized education. The Puerto Rican people will not accept an occupied country.

As we celebrate July 26 this year, we can see comparisons between the struggle of the Cuban people to free themselves from the grip of North American imperialism and the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their national liberation. And we can look toward the joining of forces in early September at the first International Conference in Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico in Havana, Cuba to broaden concrete support for the Puerto Rican people's just struggle.