



QUE ONDEE SOLA

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FEBRUARY 1976

QUE ONDEE SOLA DEDICA ESTA EDICION A LA MEMORIA DEL PROFESOR, PATRIOTA RAFAEL CINTRON-ORTIZ 1946-1976



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Puerto Rican Socialist Party Second Congress December, 1975 Photo Antonio Colon

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P.S.P. 2nd CONGRESS

On December 7, 1975, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (P.S.P.), Puerto Rico's most active pro-independence party, celebrated its second national congress.

The P.S.P. holds a national congress every four years. This is done in order to: evaluate the successes and failures of the past four years, to re-evaluate the island's present economic and political conditions and set forth new strategies and goals.

Various organizations throughout the world sent their greetings of solidarity to the Congress. Some of these organizations sent the following representatives:

Guy Anatole Moyascho of the Congolese Party of Labor and *Hassan Rahman*, deputy representative to the United Nations for the Palestine Liberation Organization, among others.

The major resolution announced at the Congress was that the P.S.P. would participate in the 1976 elections in Puerto Rico. This represents a major change in the Party's past policy.

The P.S.P.'s decision to participate in the elections would benefit them by disseminating information of socialism. Also, it would help expose the deception of the electoral process which will never bring about political change. All this and also to develop and expand the Party.

Another objective of participation in the elections is to elect a legislator who will condemn imperialism, bring attention to the struggle for independence and socialism, and push for workers-demands. One point that the General Secretary of the P.S.P.,

Juan Mari Bras, strongly emphasized was the fact that the P.S.P. is not abandoning the armed struggle for this is the only way to achieve independence. The utilization of the electoral process is just one of its strategies towards the goal of independence. But it is by no means seen as an end!

The final decision of remaining in the election was left up to the Central Committee. In other words, the Central Committee has the authority to withdraw the Party's name from the election ballot if it seems beneficial to the Party.

The growth of the P.S.P. has greatly increased since the last Congress. This was made evident by the attendance seen. Approximately 9000 enthusiastic supporters chanting; "Independencia, Ya!" — "Socialismo, ahora mismo!", filled the Roberto Clemente Coliseum in Hato Rey.

Each zone of the P.S.P. was welcomed by the speaker. As each one was called out, they would stand up to the applause of the rest of the people. When the section of the U.S. branch was introduced in the Congress, the Branch began shouting "Una Sola Nacion, Un Solo Partido!". Immediately everyone repeated the chant. For about five minutes the very walls of the Coliseum shook with enthusiasm.

Halfway through the program, about two hundred kids, the future of Puerto Rico, paraded around the Coliseum carrying banners. At one point, a group of children went up to the stage and encircled the speakers, to the delight of the crowd.

PHOTO BY ANTONIO COLON

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EN MEMORIA A RAFAEL CINTRON-ORTIZ

Nunca creí conocer una persona como el compañero Rafael Cintron, y creo que realmente nunca lo conocí, no en toda la profundidad de su espíritu.

En Abril del año pasado conocí a un intelectual, a un intelectual serio y comprometido, a un hombre responsable, a un marxista claro, a un profesor que prometía revolucionar ideas.

Conocí a un compañero que me dio los instrumentos de análisis necesarios para combatir las pseudo-ciencias burguesas, al que compartió conmigo días día y noches trabajando, estudiando luchando. Conocí al intelectual que a su paso dejaba claridad donde la pseudo-intelectualidad dejaba sombras conocí al intelectual verdadero. Conocí a Rafael y, a Cuquito, como le decía su madre y también nosotros en muestra de amistad.

Lo que desafortunadamente nunca conocí fue a Rafael el revolucionario, mi visión estrecha no me permitía ver al revolucionario en la figura del, intelectual serio y comprometido. Pero después del viaje del compañero Rafael por mi mente creo ver al "Che" el guerrillero revolucionario, a Victor Jara el artista revolucionario, a Don Pedro el líder revolucionario y a Rafael el intelectual revolucionario.

El amigo del obrero, del estudiante, del intelectual. Recuerdo todavía sus valiosas aportaciones al conocimiento de nuestro colectivo conocimiento que mientras lo lo tengamos y como tu decías lo "evangelicemos" dara testimonio vivo de que tu estas presente. Recuerdo muchas cosas de ti, tu talentos, tu dedicación, recuerdo que juntos pasamos muchos buenos y malos ratos. Nunca fuiste arrogante, pero poseías gran orgullo, orgullo revolucionario, El orgullo con que decías que de todas tus conferencias, nunca habías tocado un centavo y que era todo para la lucha.

Recuerdo las horas que pasamos haciendo chistes,

recuerdo las veces que salimos juntos, a comer, a pasear, a trabajar, recuerdo la visita de tu madre a quien aprecio grandemente y en ella veo el reflejo de la mía que murió siendo yo un niño.

Recuerdo tus estudios, tus conferencias, tus preocupaciones sobre la educación, recuerdo las horas que dedicabas a tu clase de historia de Puerto Rico, recuerdo que me dijiste que nadie todavía había hecho un análisis marxista del aborigen puertorriqueño y que en algunos años tu lo harías.

Recuerdo el día en que en tu apartamento compartimos una lata de sopas porque no teníamos dinero para más.

Todavía te veo arreglando el apartamento, esperando la visita de tu madre, nos tomó mucho trabajo pero quedo a tu gusto.

En este momento te digo que la memoria no es suficiente para conocerte y para honrarte. Hay una sola manera de recordarte, de conocerte, de honrarte, es el estudio serio, el trabajo creador, es la lucha. La noticia de tu muerte me cogió por sorpresa, me clavó un cuchillo que todavía siento en el corazón. Jose y Mirna estaban llorando, el dolor atravesó sus corazones, yo ni siquiera pude llorar, Journet y Luis no lo podían creer. (Ah, se me olvidaba Nereida me dice que las plantas están muy lindas.)

Hay demasiados que decir de ti y posiblemente no sea yo la mejor persona para hacerlo, hay cientos de personas que podrían hacerlo mejor que yo, espero que lo hagan.

Sin embargo me gustaría decirle algo a tus asesinos. Ustedes asesinaron a un guerrillero, a un líder a un cantante, a un intelectual a un pueblo, pero gravenselo en sus estrechas mentes LA HUMANIDAD APLASTARA EL FACISMO.

SUPPORT THE DECEMBER 4th COMMITTEE

During Fred's short life he inspired thousands of people to fight for their rights to decent lives. At age 17, he organized 650 people into the youth division of the Maywood N.A.A.C.P. Recognizing that equal rights could not be attained without radical change in the economic system, he founded the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panthers Party and promoted a program of revolutionary socialism. As chairman his charismatic presence as a speaker and organizer together with success of the Party's free food and health service programs convinced thousands of both black and white people of the righteousness of the struggle.

Fred and Mark were the victims of repression of the government that champions itself as being the liberator of aggression and preservers of "Freedom", because of their beliefs and struggles in the people's liberation. The true colors of the government have been illustrated in the murder of Fred and Mark. Here is a list of activities which this government carried out to repress these brothers.



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C.A.S.A.

General Brotherhood of Workers

C.A.S.A.- General Brotherhood of Workers represents an organizational manifestation of the developing class consciousness of the Mexican people in this country.

We do not distinguish between the Mexican born on this side of the border and those born south of the border. We do not because we recognize that border as an Imperialist means of separating workers of the same nationality who are exploited as cheap labor by the same source of capital regardless of what side of the border we live.

We consider ourselves an integral part of the U.S. working class and as such are ready to shoulder our responsibility in the struggle between labor and capital, between the exploited and exploiters.

C.A.S.A.- General Brotherhood of Workers was founded in 1968 in response to the increased attacks on our communities by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and as a part of the growing mass movement then surging among the Mexican people.



Since 1968 it has been in the forefront of the defense of the undocumented worker and has succeeded through mass mobilizations and constant pressure to put a virtual stop to the mass deportation raids common in the early 1970's. Recently, C.A.S.A. has been instrumental in launching national coalitions against the Rodino Bill and affectively stopping it. Although since 1968 over three million undocumented workers have been forced out of the country by deportation or political and economic pressure, there has been a growing resistance among Mexicans to the threat of deportations which is another form of class oppression. C.A.S.A.- General Brotherhood of Workers as a national organization is a part of that resistance.

We have learned many things in our years of defending the undocumented worker. Among them— 1) that you must be able to count on the support of documented workers to insure the real defense of the undocumented, 2) that undocumented workers are an integral part of the entire working class which must be organized in its entirety if a real transformation is to take place in this society, and 3) that it is not enough to wage struggles for economic issues unless political issues are also faced.

In addition, we are certain of two things.-1) that the Mexican people respond and are an important segment of the anti-imperialist forces in this country, and that 2) in the national unity of the Mexican people lies the key to the national unity of the Mexican people lies the key to their true solidarity with the rest of the U.S. working class. Therefore, in summing up our experiences of the last decade and putting these experiences in the proper historical context of the Mexican workers' involvement in class struggles both here and south of the border we come to the conclusion that we must—organize the unorganized, unite with honest forces committed to building Socialism, forge a unity for the historical task at hand, and be prepared to wage principled struggle for the unity of our people and our class.

Let us begin to build the class solidarity which will enable the U.S. working class to fulfill the historical legacy we have been so fortunate to receive defeat the most oppressive representative of capitalist exploitation in the history of the world. The companeros of Vietnam have shown the example as the vanguard of humanity. Let us follow that example.

Editorial Coquí preta con gran orgullo Lucha e Ideario de un puertorriqueño, (poemas, cartas y pensamientos escritos por Rafael CANCEL Miranda desde la prisión) Primera obra literaria puertorriqueña producida en Chicago.

LUCHA E IDEARIO DE UN PUERTORRIQUENO



*Cartas, pensamientos y poemas escritos
Por Rafael Cancel Miranda
desde la Prisión*

Pronto a la venta en Northeasten, pregunte a los miembros de la F.U.S.P.

F.U.S.P. WINS CHARTER

Monday, February 9, 1976, the Federation of Puerto Rican Socialist University Students (F.U.S.P.) won a temporary charter at Northeastern Illinois University. This victory was achieved after an ideological struggle before the Charter Review Board (C.R.B.) which abstained in recommending to the Student Senate that the F.U.S.P. be given a temporary charter.

Robert Gerowitz, chairperson of the C.R.B., questioned the functions of the F.U.S.P. and the Union for Puerto Rican Students (U.P.R.S.) making allegations that they had the same functions, that is, a duplication of purpose and goals and that it would be at an extra cost to the University's Stu-



dent Fees if a charter were given to the F.U.S.P. He also stated that he would recommend a charter for the F.U.S.P. if they would not ask for funding when the permanent charter came up for review. If not, he would propose that the Charter Review Board recommend to the Senate that the F.U.S.P. not be given a temporary charter.

For this reason, Gerowitz proposed that the C.R.B. recommend to the Senate not to give the F.U.S.P. a temporary charter. Motion was defeated, however, an alternate motion was made by Gerowitz—to recommend that the F.U.S.P. be given a temporary charter, was also defeated; thus the F.U.S.P. went to the Senate without a recommendation from the C.R.B.

BEFORE THE STUDENT SENATE

At the last meeting of the Student Senate the case of the F.U.S.P. was taken up. The same debate about the functions of the F.U.S.P. and the U.P.R.S. arose, with Gerowitz stating his opinion about "duplication of goals and purposes" between the two organizations. The duplication of goals and purposes was alleged due to the following: The U.P.R.S., a local organization, has as political principles; to support the anti-imperialist movements emphasizing the decolonization of Puerto Rico, to

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support the working class struggle of the Latin community in Chicago and throughout the United States. The F.U.S.P. is a nationwide organization in the U.S.A. which has as prime ends; to struggle against cultural aggression, to struggle for the University reform and for the democratic rights of students, to struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico and for the construction of socialism in the U.S.A.

Very well, after an ideological debate between the militant members of the F.U.S.P., among them Ricardo Morales, a vote was taken. The results were: 16 in favor, 7 against, and 2 abstentions. The F.U.S.P. won the first step.



Remember Fred!

From 1967-1968, the F.B.I. begins a counter-intelligence program aimed at preventing the rise of a black Messiah. (See Tribune Feb. 10, 1976) Late 1968, the F.B.I. plant their informant William O'Neal as Fred Hampton's personal bodyguard. On January 1969, the F.B.I. attempts to induce the Blackstone Rangers to shoot Fred and other Panther leaders. On June 1967, the F.B.I. demolishes Chicago B.P.P. offices as part of nationwide raids against Panther offices. On December 4, 1969 4:40 a.m. at 2337 W. Monroe, Fred and Mark were murdered by State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, police, and the F.B.I.

We, the people, workers, students, parents condemn this policy of repression used by this government. We demand that justice be brought to the people.

On January 1976, the mothers of Fred and Mark, as well as survivors of the Dec. 4th raid, are suing the raiders, Hanrahan, and the F.B.I. in a civil rights suit in the Federal Court of Chicago. Evidence of F.B.I. counter-intelligence against the Panthers has been ruled irrelevant by trial judge Sam Perry. The judge and the government are attempting to cover up forever the truth of the conspiracy. Public pressure must be applied to reach the truth once and for all.

The December 4th Committee needs your support. Help the parents of Fred and Mark and the survivors bring those responsible to justice!

DIRKSON FEDERAL BUILDING
219 S. Dearborn
Chicago, Illinois

Court Room 2525

COME TO THE TRIAL:

6 PSP statement on 'compact'

February 1, 1976 --CLARIDAD (USA)

The following are excerpts from the statement delivered by Carlos Gallisá, of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and member of the House of Representatives of Puerto Rico, in the hearing on the proposed "Compact of Permanent Union between Puerto Rico and the United States", held on January

The best evidence of the colonial status of Puerto Rico is the fact that we are here today. This hearing and the jurisdiction of a congressional committee over the political status of Puerto Rico as well as the anticipated legislation for our country is an act of imperial rule over a colony.

The political dominion that you exercise today over our people is founded upon an act of war. In 1898 the American troops invaded our country and ever since the United States Congress has exercised an absolute rule over a Latin American nation composed of three million Puerto Ricans living on the Island and two million other Puerto Ricans which have been forced to migrate to the United States.

Senator Henry Jackson, on a recent visit to our country, defined the relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States as follows: "Puerto Rico is a war prize of the United States."

It is rather ironic that in the same year that you celebrate the Bicentennial of your Independence, this Congress finds itself exercising colonial rule and reaffirming the annexation of other countries.

The celebration of a Bicentennial without colonies is a moral mandate that weighs upon you. Your past and present actions only evidence the unfulfillment of that mandate.

This bill known as "Compact of Permanent Union between Puerto Rico and the United States" is a monumental lie designed to confuse international public opinion in order for the United States to defend itself before the United Nations on the colonial status of Puerto Rico.

This bill comes to the consideration of this Committee under very unusual circumstances. There are no reports expressing the opinion of the Executive Branch, only one day is scheduled for hearings and no hearings have been scheduled in Puerto Rico. You are morally obliged to discuss publicly this proposal in Puerto Rico. Once the Puerto Ricans know what this is all about, they will manifest their repudiation of colonialism. You are acting behind the backs of our people.

The twenty one articles of this proposal are the reaffirmation of colonialism. The first article stating that "the people of Puerto Rico constitute an autonomous body politic organized by their own, free and sovereign will" presumes to dispose of the fundamental problem of the political status of Puerto Rico.

This is an open contradiction with history, North American jurisprudence and economic and political reality. It responds to the illusion of the fanatics of colonialism which consist of verbal gymnastics to cover up colonialism. In order for the people to organize as a body politic by their own free and sovereign will, they must act in a sovereign manner. There can be no sovereign actions while there is foreign intervention.

This is the reason why the United Nations uses the conjunction "and" between self-determination and independence and not the conjunction "or", as the imperialist would have it. This right to self-determination and independence cannot be renounced. A people submitted to foreign intervention has no faculty to consent to a pact, association or status that entails the transfer of their sovereign rights to the intervening country.

Articles 6, 7, 8 and 9 of the proposed compact echoes Muñoz Marín's serenade of the four common pillars of the compact-citizenship, defense, currency and the market. There is nothing common in these four areas. They are the citizenship of the United States, the defense of the United States, the currency and the market of the United States, imposed upon the Puerto Ricans for the benefit of the United States and against the best interests of the Puerto Rican people.

The American citizenship was imposed upon the Puerto Ricans in 1917, suppressing Puerto Rican citizenship. This was all done against the expressed will of the Puerto Ricans and was directed to draft our youth into the armed forces of the United States. Your imperialistic wars have cost the death of thousands of Puerto Ricans who have been forced to fight in the First and Second World Wars, in Korea and Vietnam. Today we have many thousands of our countrymen disabled and mentally disturbed on account of their participation in your imperialistic aggressions upon other countries.

The so called "common defense" represents for us, in addition to what we have described before, the occupation of fifteen percent of our arable land by your military bases. It is under this "common defense" that your government has the power to expropriate any land in Puerto Rico by simply decreeing that it is necessary for the national defense. That great Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda, described this situation in one of his poems: "The yankees supply the weapons and the Puerto Ricans their blood."

When the proposed compact says "the currency of the United States shall be the exclusive currency of Puerto Rico", one of the legs of the Puerto Rican economy is being tied to the United States. Not only would we have to bear the burden of the devaluated dollar, but we would be abandoning the possibility of gaining control of one of the most important mechanisms of economic planning. A country which does not control its monetary system cannot aspire to organize its own economy according to its particular needs. Even under the autonomous government set up by Spain during the last century, Puerto Rico had obtained the right to mint its own currency and organize its monetary system.

"The common market" would keep the other leg of the Puerto Rican economy under the perpetual control of the United States. At first glance, it would seem to be a fair agreement for both countries to export their products to the other without restriction. But this is not so. The exports from Puerto Rico to the United States are in large part products of American companies which by virtue of the so-called common market can install themselves in Puerto Rico without restrictions and with great privileges granted by the colonial administration. Even if this were not so, these exports would be only a drop in the ocean of United States trade. United States exports to Puerto Rico are, to the contrary, so much greater than those produced in Puerto Rico that they completely eclipse the latter.

Today, Puerto Rico, under these so called "common pillars" suffers the worst economic crisis in its history. Our public debt is near five billion dollars and the private debt of all Puerto Ricans is close to six billion dollars. The unemployment rate exceeds in real terms, forty percent. The annual income of fifty two percent of the Puerto Rican families is below three thousand dollars.

While the Puerto Rican families live under these conditions, the American companies control ninety percent of industry and commerce on our island. American capital obtained and repatriated one thousand three hundred seventy million dollars in profits from their investment in Puerto Rico. This is much more than the profits obtained by American capital in the European Common Market. Most of these profits are tax exempted in Puerto Rico. These profits are produced by Puerto Rican workers whose salaries are only one third of the average salary of the American workers in the same industries.

The profits obtained in Puerto Rico by United States capital amounts to one third of the profits obtained by American companies in Latin America. The profit obtained from industrial capital in Puerto Rico is the same as that obtained in Canada even though the capital invested in Canada is four and half times that invested in

Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico is the United States' first market in all Latin America and its fifth largest market in the world.

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The political domination that you are reaffirming today in this pact with the complicity of your lackeys in Puerto Rico, is also the reaffirmation of the economic exploitation of our people. Colonialism only operates for the benefit of the colonial power.

Today you might have the brute force to impose colonial rule and deprive us of our rights. This you have managed to do for the past 78 years, but be aware of the ever surging Puerto Rican forces that at this moment as well as in the past in our struggle for independence have never feared your repressive agencies. Many Puerto Ricans have given their lives and blood in our liberation struggle and many more are ready to defend our country's freedom, no matter the sacrifices that this might entail.

In this same premise, 22 years ago, four Puerto Ricans; Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores and Andrés Figueroa Cordero, let the world know the colonial reality of Puerto Rico and the profound commitment of the Puerto Ricans to their liberation. Today these four Puerto Rican heroes, together with Oscar Collazo, are the oldest political prisoners in this hemisphere after 22 years of imprisonment in yankee penitentiaries. They are the symbols of the resistance of our people and have set the example for those of us that continue the struggle.

Puerto Rico is an island but it is not isolated from the rest of the world. We have the solidarity of the progressive forces of the world in our fight against colonialism. Particularly, we rely on the unconditional support of the progressive forces of this country which we are sure are going to play a major role in our inevitable victory.

Let there be no mistake. The future of Puerto Rico is not being decided here today. The future of Puerto Rico will be decided by the Puerto Rican working masses.



Carlos Gallisa

LETTER TO EDITOR

The following letter to the Editor is late in publishing due to the fact that Que Ondee Sola was not published in January. This letter was sent to the Editor of Print, Que Ondee Sola and Lucha Estudiantil in late December. During the past few months, a lot of controversy has arisen about the allegation of Dr. Samuel Betances' role in the Department of Defense and his role in undermining the U.P.R.S. conference on the colonial experience on April, 1975. (for further detail, see Lucha Estudiantil Dec., 1975.) Que Ondee Sola contacted Dr. Betances on these allegations. We reached Dr. Betances on the matter and his response was "no comment".

EDITORS:

Print, Que Ondee Sola, Lucha Estudiantil

This letter is being written because I am disturbed by the implication of some of the activities of Dr. Samuel Betances, Professor of Sociology here at UNI. There had been rumors floating around the Sociology Department about the numerous trips that Dr. Betances has taken in the last two years; on that basis I decided to check out these rumors by checking out Dr. Betances' travel requests which are public information.

1. It appears that Dr. Betances may very well be an educational and/or race relations consultant for the Department of Defense.

Two trips, February 8-10, 1974 and June 5-8, 1974 were to the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) which is physically located on Patrick Air Force Base in Cocoa Beach, Florida. The stated purpose of the trips were to "help in planning/setting up a Latino study component/curriculum in the Institute." Neither trip was paid for by UNI. This employment is also shown in the book Latino Studies (published by the Defense Race Relations Institute) wherein on page 3-2 it states "...Dr. Betances is publisher of the only Puerto Rican journal published in the United States and is a consultant to DRRI." In addition: an article written by Dr. Betances, called "Puerto Rican Youth" which is included in the DRRI book Latino Studies and is required reading for the DRRI's Program of Instruction (POI). Another two part article by Dr. Betances, called "The Prejudice of Having No Prejudice in Puerto Rico", is optional reading in the Program of Instruction.

To understand the Defense Race Relations Institute, we have to know that it was formed in 1971 after a disastrous series of race riots at U.S. military bases here in the U.S. and overseas. Military racism was confronted by militant groups of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, etc. with demands for changes in the military's traditional institutional racism. One response of the military high command was to order "...a program of education in race relations be established for all members of the Armed Forces" (POI, pg. iii). "The DRRI is a field activity of the Department of Defense and is under the direction of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs."

"DRRI teaches students how to use the small group discussion of seminar method as a means of exposing personnel to differing

racial and ethnic life styles and concerns, opening communication channels among themselves, identifying intergroup problems and sources of stress, and providing an arena where constructive recommendations can be made to appropriate local commanders." (POI, pg. iii) (my underlining)

Middle and lower grade commissioned officers are sent from all four branches of the Armed Forces for a period of 9-11 weeks of DRRI training. Heavy emphasis is placed on group discussion, role-playing, lectures and readings to induce attitude changes which would make the officer-students less hostile and less prejudiced toward Blacks, Latinos, and American Indians. Learning cultural customs and attitudes of non-white cultures is stressed. Bilingual education is stressed as a major solution, both in the military and elsewhere.

The major problem with the DRRI is that the liberal attitude changes, even if they are successful, have little to do with the way the military actually functions. In the pamphlet entitled Improving Race Relations in the Army: Handbook for Leaders (June, 1973) which is used in the DRRI program, the Foreword to it states "...The information contained in this publication does not necessarily express the views of policy of the Department of the Army". The

Department of the Army will not even acknowledge this material as official policy. On page 9 of the same publication, a data table shows a barely visible increase of Black commissioned officers from 3.6% in 1965 to 3.9% in 1972.

We should all face the fact that the military has not, and will not, change its actual institutional racism. The DRRI program is actually a program to train lower command officers to cool out and coopt militant groups of non-white service men who are protesting the racism that they face collectively in the military.

Not only is there racism within the military, but racism is institutionalized in the use to which the military is put. The U.S. Military is called upon to put down rebellions and revolutions of non-white people at home and all around the world. Wasn't 20% of the U.S. military sent to Indochina to wipe out the Indo-chinese "gooks"? Was it not several Black Army units which were sent to put down the Detroit insurrection in 1967? Is it not the U.S. Army that occupies 13% of Puerto Rico's agricultural land, just waiting for the "spics" to revolt against their terrible living conditions?

2. More recently from June 27-July 18, 1975, Dr. Betances went to the U.S. possession of Guam. The stated reason for attending was "teaching a graduate course (at the) University of Guam/and advise on race relations between People of Guam and the Vietnamese." Since the Vietnamese refugees are temporarily staying on U.S. military bases, and are under military control until permanently adopted by a U.S. family, any talks with the Vietnamese refugees would necessarily require Defense Department approval. UNI did not pay for the trip which took Dr. Betances away from his eight week Summer Trimester courses for three weeks.

The Defense Department's interest in Dr. Betances' Guam trip may have revolved around the militant protests of the

Vietnamese refugees who wished to return to their homeland in South Vietnam. Because of intense U.S. propaganda about a bloodbath following the oncoming victory of the Vietnamese revolutionaries, Vietnamese refugees streamed out of the major cities of South Vietnam in great profusion. About half of the refugees were genuine refugees who wanted to return to South Vietnam as soon as the American propaganda turned out to be false. (The other half of the "refugees" are political exiles from the Dan Chu Party--like Marshall Ky and President Thieu--as well as Phoenix operatives, police and intelligence officers, and dope traffickers.) The genuine Guam refugees held a series of escalating protests to speed up their return to Vietnam during May-June, 1975.

Dr. Betances may have talked to the angry Vietnamese to help advise the U.S. military how to cool out their protests which were embarrassing the U.S. Government. (On October 16, 1975 the U.S. shipped back to South Vietnam 1,546 Guam-based refugees).

The protesting Vietnamese no doubt caused considerable unhappiness among the natives of Guam. Soothing the strained relationship between these two groups might also have been part of Dr. Betances' mission.

3. On February 6-8, 1975, Dr. Betances lectured at West Point Military Academy and State University of New York at Albany. It is unclear what Dr. Betances lectured on or why, at West Point. Clearly, some high-ranking military officials must have high regard for Dr. Betances.

4. On September 6-13, 1975, Dr. Betances presented a series of lectures and seminars in Garmisch, Germany. The topic was "Race and Group Conflict in the USA." It is unclear what audience attended and which institution hosted this. There are military facilities in and around Garmisch, Germany and Dr. Betances should be asked whether he spoke at them. I asked him about this and he replied "None of your business."

There are two other trips of Dr. Betances that bear comment:

5. On September 11-13, 1974, Dr. Betances went to San Juan, Puerto Rico to "Conduct interviews with the Governor of Puerto Rico; his predecessor and the leaders of the Socialist and Independence Movements in the Island." What does Dr. Betances say to each different audience, such polar opposites? It has been suggested that Dr. Betances is doing research so he talks to both sides. Perhaps. But did he tell the Socialist and Independence leaders that he consults for the Defense Department and talks to the colonial administrator of Puerto Rico and his predecessor? And does he tell the Department of Defense and the colonial administrators that he believes in the goals of independence and socialism in Puerto Rico, as he told me in a private conversation?

6. On November 8-9, 1974, Dr. Betances met with Mayor Kevin White of Boston, Mass. to "Discuss problems of minority/majority." Northeastern paid \$160.73 for this

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PEOPLE'S VICTORY IN ANGOLA



In Washington, President Ford said "We don't think the Soviet Union or Cuba...should make such a country a colony, and if they do I will certainly ask Congress for assistance so that we can meet the challenge without military personnel."

Mr. Ford contradicts himself:

1) He cannot allow Angola to become a colony, but at the same time, we, the Puerto Rican nation, have been under U.S. colonial rule for over 77 years.

2) He will ask Congress for assistance, while on January 27, 1976, the House of Representatives had already voted 393 to 99 to end all "covert military aid" to Angola. This does not block money used for intelligence operations via Third World (Zaire). The United States' covert aid has totaled over 100 million dollars. The C.I.A. had been sending ten million per month to the puppet groups FNLA and UNITA as reported in the "New York Times".

The U.S. and South Africa are in violation of the United Nations resolution. They have developed a direct military collaboration that includes sharing intelligence installations.

3) He will meet the challenge without military personnel.

The U.S. has been training Black veterans in Fairfax County, Virginia, to back up the reactionary forces in Angola. There are C.I.A. funded mercenaries recruited and trained in the U.S. destination — Angola.

U.S. imperialism, it seems, is attempting to repeat history with its attempts to invade Angola with its agents as it did in Cuba in 1960 at the Bay of Pigs.

But, let's remember, like in Cuba, the people of Angola are determined to defeat those who try to take away their freedom and right to self-determination. Just as did the Cubans.

Zaire provides 50 to 60% of FNLA's troops and weaponry via U.S. supplied military aid. UNITA's aid and leadership are from South Africa (white racist ruling class) and former colonialist Portuguese troops.

President Ford and the class he represents can stop lying to the Puerto Rican nation, stop lying to the oppressed people of the Third World, stop lying to the U.S. working class, for we see through your lies.

The goal of U.S. capitalism is to prevent the destruction of their multi-national corporations — Gulf Oil, and Texaco (which produces more than 150,000 barrels a day in Angola) as well as other U.S. corporations which exploit Angola's diamonds, iron, coffee, cotton, etc... But the U.S. and South African interests in Angola have been upset. Their pro-imperialist puppet forces have been defeated.

The victorious army, Fuerzas Armadas Populares de Liberacion de Angola, military section of MPLA (Movimiento Popular de Liberacion de Angola), has smashed through the last pro-imperialist puppet forces of FNLA (Frente de Liberacion Nacional de Angola) and UNITA (Union Nacional de Independencia Total de Angola.) (See Chicago "Sun Times", Feb. 17-20).

Before the revolution, under Portuguese imperialism, there was a 98% illiteracy, widespread starvation, no medical care, no political rights for Africans. The MPLA has established institutions in the liberated areas; Union Nacional de Trabajadores de Angola (U.N.T.A.), Organizacion de Mujeres de Angola (O.M.A.), and Servicios de Ayuda Medica (S.A.M.). These groups have constructed schools, hospitals, and people's stores.

AGHOSTINO NETO

President of MPLA.....

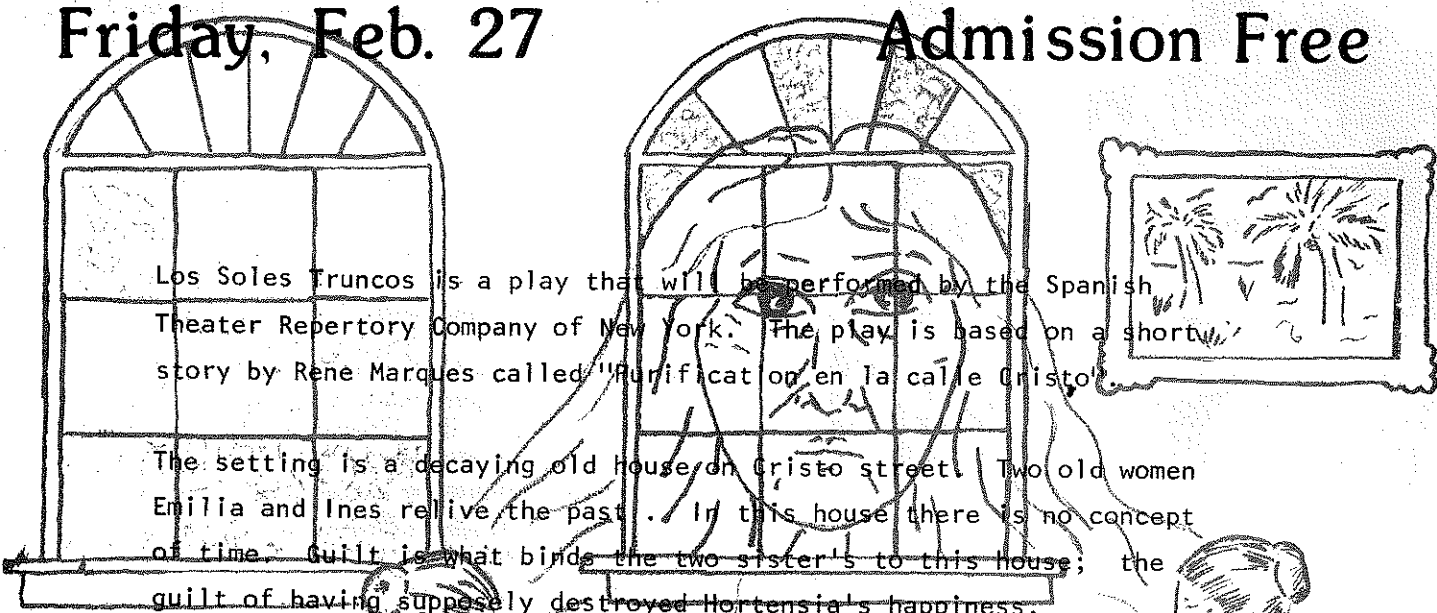
"Against the union of a people around a just line and militant solidarity of the socialist and progressive forces of the world, Yankee imperialism and its satellites have lost the race ahead of time. They will gain temporary successes, they will win a battle, but never the war."

"The only solution to Africa's liberation is national and social revolution which permits basic changes within a political framework of self-determination."

LOS SOLES TRUNCOS

Friday, Feb. 27

Admission Free



Los Soles Truncos is a play that will be performed by the Spanish Theater Repertory Company of New York. The play is based on a short story by Rene Marques called "Purification en la calle Cristo".

The setting is a decaying old house on Cristo street. Two old women Emilia and Ines relive the past. In this house there is no concept of time. Guilt is what binds the two sisters to this house; the guilt of having supposedly destroyed Hortensia's happiness.

Ultimately, the vision of the play is one of great anguish and absurd existence where only FIRE can cleanse the guilt.

The play will be held in the Auditorium of Northeastern Illinois University on Friday, Feb. 27th, 1976. The English version will be at 3:30 p.m. and the Spanish version will be at 8:00 p.m. BRING YOUR FRIENDS AND RELATIVES. ADMISSION IS FREE TO ALL!

Auditorium of

Northeastern Illinois University

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trip. Since the key problem in Boston for the past two years has been bussing and integration, I assume Dr. Betances acted as a race relations consultant to Mayor White. Did Dr. Betances act on behalf of the embattled black schoolchildren and parents of Roxbury? Did he consult with the movement groups that are combatting the racism of Louise Day Hicks and the ROAR group?

To conclude, I think Dr. Betances should publicly explain his travels. How much was he paid? And by whom? Is he for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico? Does he really support the P.S.P.? Does the P.S.P. know about his work with the Defense Department? Does the Defense Department know about his positive views on the P.S.P.? What advice did he give the various groups he has consulted for?

All of these questions need a public airing.

Dr. Daniel J. Stern, Sociology Department

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In spite of the colonial government's attempt to intimidate the people from attending the conference, it was a definite success.

A few days before the Congress, Rafael Hernandez Colon, the colonial "puppet", attempted to discredit the P.S.P. by making false accusations. Leaflets were distributed throughout the island. The National Guard which is located across the street from the Coliseum was alerted. But in spite of this, the Congress was extremely successful.

ALL PHOTOS ON THIS PAGE TAKEN BY ANTONIO COLON.



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FREE THE PUERTO RICAN NATIONALISTS!

THE STRUGGLE FOR PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE

It is ironic that the United States enters its Bicentennial, marking independence from British colonial rule, as a colonial power itself. Since the U.S. military took Puerto Rico by force in 1898, Puerto Rico has remained a U.S. colony, and Puerto Rican patriots have struggled to gain independence for their country.

October 30, 1950 the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, led by Don Pedro Albizu Campos, rose up against U.S. occupation. November 1, 1950, in response to the suppression of this struggle in Puerto Rico, Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola attacked Blair House, temporary residence of President Truman. Torresola was killed in action and Oscar Collazo was captured and sentenced to prison, where he remains to this day.

Between 1950 and 1954 the U.S. government did its best to stamp out the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico and to convince the world that Puerto Rico was not a colony. The U.S. Congress made Puerto Rico a "Commonwealth" in an attempt to disguise its colonial status.

March 1, 1954 Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores, and Andres Figueroa Cordero made a gallant attack on the U.S. Congress to protest U.S. colonial rule and the recent declaration of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

More than twenty years have passed and the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists are still political prisoners. Their cause (the independence of Puerto Rico) was just -- their actions were justified as acts of war against an occupying power.

ANDRES FIGUEROA CORDERO

Andres Figueroa Cordero, jailed since 1954, is dying of cancer but the U.S. government will not release him to spend his remaining months with his family and comrades. Ordinarily terminally ill prisoners are set free if they have only a short time to live. We demand that Andres be released immediately.

FOR A BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES OR POLITICAL PRISONERS - FREE PUERTO RICAN

March 1 Day of Solidarity

PICKET LINE 4:30, INDOOR RALLY 6:30

FEDERAL BUILDING, JACKSON AND DEARBORN

YWCA, 37 S. WABASH

SPONSORS (a partial list) Puerto Rican High School Rafael Cancel Miranda, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, USLA, Federacion Universitaria Socialista Puertorriquena (FUSP), Sojourner Truth Organization, Chicago Women's Defense Committee, Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, Union for Puerto Rican Students, National Lawyers Guild, Working People's Health Center, Wildcat, New American Movement, Workers World Party, International Socialists, Socialist Workers Party, Chicago Women's Liberation Union Women's Prison Project.



STOP THE COMPACT

This January Congressional hearings were begun on the "Compact of Permanent Union" between the U.S. and Puerto Rico. If passed this bill would tighten U.S. colonial rule over the island, without granting Puerto Rico statehood. It is against international law for the United States to so decide the fate of the people of Puerto Rico. According to U.N. rules the proper procedure is --- 1) the conquering nation (United States) must get out, and 2) the conquered nation (Puerto Rico) then decides its own future. The proposed compact is another attempt by the U.S. to disguise the fact that Puerto Rico is a colony.

FREE THE FIVE

To demand the immediate unconditional release of the Five Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners (especially Andres Figueroa Cordero), and to demand independence for Puerto Rico, the Chicago Committee to Free the Five invites you to join the picket line on March 1 at 4:30 pm at the Federal Building (Jackson and Dearborn). A delegation of our supporters will present petitions to the Justice Department and the Bureau of Prisons and report back to us at an indoor rally at the YWCA, 37 S. Wabash at 6:30 pm. Refreshments will be served and a \$1.50 donation will be asked.

For more information please contact--
Chicago Comm. to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists
1520 N. Claremont Ave.
Chicago, Ill. 60647