TOWARD PEOPLE'S WAR:
FOR INDEPENDENCE AND
SOCIALISM IN PUERTO RICO:
IN DEFENSE OF
ARMED STRUGGLE

Documents and Communiques from the
Revolutionary Public Independence Movement
and the Armed Clandestine Movement
TOWARD PEOPLE’S WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM IN PUERTO RICO: IN DEFENSE OF ARMED STRUGGLE

Documents and Communiqués from the Revolutionary Public Independence Movement and the Armed Clandestine Movement
This book is produced and distributed in solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican nation for Independence and Socialism, under the leadership and with the guidance of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional by the following organizations which form an interim committee building a national, revolutionary anti-imperialist organization in solidarity with the Puerto Rican Independence Movement:

Committee in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence
May 19th Communist Organization
October 30th Committee
Prairie Fire Organizing Committee
Sojourner Truth Organization

These groups form an interim committee building a national, revolutionary anti-imperialist organization in solidarity with the Puerto Rican Independence Movement.

January 1979
This book is dedicated to all Puerto Rican prisoners of war, because it is they who are the revolutionary inspiration for us all.

Lolita Lebron
Rafael Cancel Miranda
Irvin Flores
Oscar Collazo
Pablo Marcano
Nydia Esther Cuevas
and
William Guillermo Morales
—Don Pedro Albizu Campos, President, Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, from 1930 until his death in 1965.
...Don Juan Antonio Corretjer. Secretary-General, La Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña (LSP).
Independence is not made with applause. It is made with deeds. We have the support of the world in our favor, which sees in the enslavement of a people, of a man, a lesson so deep that it concerns the entire world. Puerto Rico is a slave because the U.S. detains our sovereignty, and because there are Puerto Ricans who permit it. But already there are Puerto Ricans who don’t permit it, and neither the fleet nor the cannons of any empire are strong enough to detain a people in their determination to be free.

Don Pedro Albizu Campos

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PREFACE

The national liberation struggle of Puerto Rico is entering its highest stage of development to date. The struggle of the Puerto Rican people for independence and socialism now has within it and guiding its revolutionary development a single cohesive ideology and practice that will enable the Puerto Rican masses to seize power from US imperialism and begin the construction of a new society.

The US government has continually tried to suppress, contain and destroy the 110 years of struggle of Puerto Rico against colonial domination. It has failed in these efforts over and over again. It will fail now. Yet the stakes at each point have gotten higher and higher as Puerto Rico and all that it represents—from the land, to its strategic location, to the natural resources, to the people themselves—has become increasingly important to US imperialism's international strategy.

The Puerto Rican Independence movement is confronting the most vicious enemy of the peoples of the world: US imperialism. It has chosen a path that has been taken by oppressed people all over the world to their liberation. That path is people's war for national liberation and socialism. What is developing in Puerto Rico is the forging of a clandestine vanguard, from which a proletarian party and people's army is emerging. The building of the vanguard and the launching of armed struggle go hand-in-hand. As in Iran, Zimbabwe, Vietnam and other liberation struggles, the revolutionary ideology of scientific socialism is guiding these developments.

These qualitative advances represent the synthesis of the Puerto Rican conspiratorial, and now clandestine, mentality with the past experience of the struggles for independence, equalling an unparalleled revolutionary practice. The conclusion that armed struggle is the only strategy that can organize for people's war has been a hard-fought conclusion, and within the public sector of the independence movement is an ongoing debate. The independence movement has petitioned, voted, and demonstrated for its demands and true aspirations; this has been met with deaf ears, and then with bullets.

It is out of this understanding that the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, under the leadership of Don Pedro Albizu Campos, directed its attack against the President and then the Congress of the United States, taking the struggle for independence to the seat of US power and into this country. The continuing sacrifice and valor of the Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners of war has given revolutionary impetus to the developing armed movement today.

The anti-imperialist struggles of the 1960's produced a generation of revolutionaries all over the world. The anti-Vietnam war movement, the anti-draft movement and the student movement of the 1960's in Puerto Rico and here in the US came together and produced through struggle, the cadre that are now filling the ranks in clandestinity for independence.
What emerges sharply from these pages is the key role of the FALN within the overall development of the clandestine movement for Puerto Rican independence. The actions of the FALN in the mid-1970's in this country served to differentiate the revolutionary independence movement from the reformists. The vanguard role helped spark the growth of armed struggle on the island itself. Their actions and their arguments helped set in motion the strategy building towards people's war.

The FALN within the US indicates what is coming for the US in the liberation struggle in Puerto Rico. We in the US solidarity movement have always known about the revolutionary alternative posed by the FALN. Yet we have allowed the imperialist state to attempt to isolate and then to destroy the FALN, and sectors of the solidarity movement have actively collaborated with those attempts by labeling the FALN as "terrorists". The US solidarity movement allowed the Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners of war to sit for ten years in US prisons and mental institutions without one visit. We cannot let this happen again.

For those of us who are white and therefore members of the nation that directly colonizes Puerto Rico, our responsibility is to build solidarity in this country. The process defined by the history and present reality in Puerto Rico is national liberation. A revolutionary anti-imperialist solidarity movement must be built that is clear in the strategy for liberation. It must support the armed front and the strategy for people's war. It must support the public organizations who are actively organizing a climate for protracted people's war. It must support and work to free those captured prisoners of war incarcerated in US prisons—Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Oscar Collazo, Irvin Flores, Nydia Cuevas, Pablo Marcano and William Guillerme Morales.

The politics and actions put forward in the following pages need no introduction. The writings from the revolutionary public independence movement and the writings from clandestinity come out of the continuity of the independence movement itself. This volume represents one step in a national effort to build a solidarity movement to defeat the historic and current opportunism of the existing white solidarity movement which has rejected the tasks of solidarity and consequently has in effect allied itself with US imperialism.

We are struggling, through revolutionary practice, to build a national solidarity organization among white people, that will support the armed struggle and the development of people's war, the defeat of US imperialism—for an independent and socialist Puerto Rico.

PART ONE

Documents from the Revolutionary Public Independence Movement
FROM BETANCES TO LENIN

Don Juan Antonio Corretjer
Secretary-General,
La Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña
Speech at Lares, Puerto Rico,
September 23, 1977

Recently, on various occasions, and specifically at the opening of the
Central Committee's Session on the first of May, when we remember the 150th
anniversary of Betances and dedicate our session to his memory, I indicated a
very important trait of Betances' leadership, so unnoticed by the independence
movement. That trait is that Betances never organized for legality.

I refuted then, in advance of all response, that the repressive situation
imposed by the regime against speech and action, was never a true obstacle;
Betances systematically and purposefully would abstain from organizing legally
or stimulating illegal organization. If at sometime he cloaks himself in semi-legality,
it is to organize illegality: abolitionism, the boycott, La Torre del Viejo, etc.

I remember it today because a new undertaking of the Puerto Rican Socialist
League is to study Lenin's useful book, WHAT IS TO BE DONE? For that reason,
I want to indicate to the comrade instructors how indispensable it is to point
out to the students something apparent—better yet, evident—that happens
out of the book: something simple that happens out of Lenin's instructive book. It is read and read, and in truth is not studied be
cause (with what ease it can be proven) after many years of Marxist study
circles in Puerto Rico, there is no evidence that indicates recognition of some
thing that is so indispensable to know about the Marxist-Leninist party that
Lenin designs and gives life to. While this party afterwards is always entitled the
Lenin designs and gives life to. While this party afterwards is always entitled the
Marxist-Leninist party of the workers, a party of a new type, it is not taken into
account nor noticed that that party, Marxist-Leninist, that party of the new
clandestine party as its triumph has proven. To that can be added the overwhelming
proof of its ineffectiveness as a legal party.

In Puerto Rico, there has been a continuously developing repressive situa-
tion since the end of World War II. Independienteismo in general, and Marxism-
Leninism in particular, not only face a colonial government that by necessity is
irresponsible to the Puerto Rican people, but is exclusively responsible to
Washington due to the single fact of its being colonial. Moreover, they face a
colonial government which is, in its entirety, a facade of the CIA. For it is at the
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of the CIA.

Along the same line, when studying WHAT IS TO BE DONE? it is indispe-
sible to point out to the studios, that the party of the new type, the Marxist-
Leninist party, does not have a "ghost of a chance" to develop in legality,
having been created for illegality. This is more true in Puerto Rico. Inasmuch as
the repressive character of the state, the colonial state, is controlled from top
to bottom by the CIA.

The Marxist-Leninist party of the Puerto Rican workers will be born and will
grow in clandestinity. And it will emerge from clandestinity for the seizing of
revolutionary power. NOT BEFORE.
The SPIRIT OF LALES

Don Juan Antonio Corretje Secretary-General
La Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña
Speech at Lares, Puerto Rico,
September 23, 1978

Compañeros y compañeras, the first thoughts and words that I have been expressing in San Francisco, California and throughout North American cities and towns, in the territory occupied by the United States Army and stolen from México and towns, in the territory occupied by the La Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña, the Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña (Puerto Rican Socialist League) dedicates this occasion to the memory of those who died in the struggle against the United States Army and Colony, and to the memory of those who continue to struggle.

We also call attention to the important skirmish between a platoon of commandos of Los Macehoreos and the Efectivo Popular Boricua (Puerto Rican Popular Army) in the vicinity of Naguabo, a skirmish in which the police suffered a fatality. In spite of the combination of an occupational police patrol and a group commanded by the chief of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation in Humacao, the guerrillas of Los Macehoreos, after a violent shoot-out, withdrew without suffering a casualty, and without being captured in the ensuing pursuit—a pursuit which continued throughout the following day, when the combined forces of the state police and the military police from Roosevelt Roads base, with dogs marauding and scrutinizing the area, were unable to capture or get in reach of, or even find fingerprints of the victorious guerrillas of Los Macehoreos. And to these military actions there has to be added the seizure of the Consulate of Chile (applause) in which Nydia Cuervas and Pablo Marcano deliberately and with the knowledge and consent of what awaited them, knowing that in order to carry out the action they had to sacrifice their freedom and risk their lives—risked their lives and sacrificed their freedom to make known to the world our protest of the penurious and impudent clamor to celebrate the victory of the independence of the United States while trampling on the independence of Puerto Rico; (applause) calling international attention to the real kidnapping, the imprisonment by the federal kidnappers of the government of the United States of the compañeras in Washington was discussing at length the release of Lolita Lebén; and that the inapt Federal Justice Department was insisting that Lolita accept conditions on her freedom, conditions which the heroine has never accepted and will never accept, the conditions of imperialism on her freedom. (applause)

All of these clandestine actions of the Puerto Rican underground—exactly in the course of one year—these are the real homage, the real tribute to the real spirit of the Puerto Rican revolution—the real homage which today Puerto Rico brings to the heroes of the revolution of Lanes. (applause)

We have seen that the most profound and revealing phenomenon of these
links together, into the leap that will carry the revolution to its definitive triumph, to the revolutionary seizure of power. (applause) Glory to the compañeros of the Comando Revolucionario Obrero. (applause) Glory to the compañeros of the Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular. (applause) Glory to the compañeros of the Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo. (applause) Glory to the compañeros of the Macheteros of the Ejecutivariancional pop. (applause) Because from there they will come, unifying, in the revolutionary unification of our people, the final victory of the independence of Puerto Rico. (applause and Viva!)

The perfection in the method and execution, and the constant improvement of our process and our actions, is an ideal desired by all of us. Along the road of struggle, of public and political struggle and the still more difficult struggle, perhaps we have made errors; and we will commit more in measure with the actions which the clandestine armed struggle for independence and socialism develops in Puerto Rico. When we consider the forms which the struggle has had to take, compared with the greatest military, political and economic power in the modern capitalist world, when we think that in Puerto Rico one has to act in clandestinity in a country subjected to daily x-ray examination by imperialism; when we remember that in Puerto Rico not only does the FBI function, but also the CIA—which, viscerally akin to the realization of a political-military and a conspiratorial process in the territory of the U.S. itself, the very laws that founded it—operates with full knowledge that the legal conception of its country about Puerto Rico is illegal—because the CIA, from the point of view of its own constitution, supposedly doesn’t operate in the territory of the U.S. But the CIA knows better than the Congress of the U.S., because it believes and knows that Puerto Rico is territory subjugated by force, an invaded nation rebelling against U.S. imperialist impunity. (applause)

I had the privilege fifteen years ago to denounce an agent, and to make known where he had taken up lodging in a Chase Manhattan Bank building in Río Piedras—an agent that had come to Puerto Rico from Buenos Aires to organize, and who in Buenos Aires had acted as the head of the Mormon Church but in reality was the head of the CIA in Argentina of the revolutionary, historical process. So we have here the CIA and the FBI, a fact everyone knows and confirms daily; and there is also the Secret Service of the White House, the secret service that guards the President of the United States. And there is the final ultimate end, up to the final objective of the Federal Treasury Service of the U.S. and there are the intelligence services of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force. And there are all these investigative and repressive agencies, organized under the mantle of federal statute, colonial statute.

And in addition to all this vigilance, which is the equivalent of living in a country subjected to x-rays, a company organizes and contracts a private firm such as Security Associates—considered the name! (laugh) goes through the whole battery of the commercial offices of Puerto Rico, that has access to buildings of twenty stories, observing all the office workers and interviewing their bosses. And when they find a person in a commercial office who they judge to be approachable, they get close to him and bribe him; they pay him the same salary that he earns in the commercial company, and he remains employed
which is still today null and void, it has legitimized the Treaty of Paris and the imperialist war of the U.S. against Puerto Rico.

With distinct mistrust of their concept of independence and of international legality, we have kept ourselves away from the United Nations and its Declaration of Independence and the Decolonization Committee until this year. We went there to tell the international community about the clandestine activity in Puerto Rico, so that later on they could not say that no one had told them. The compañeros that have worked there for so many years have done well: the resolution presented by Cuba and Iraq was passed by the Decolonization Committee last week. This is the first act of international legality that has responded to the criteria of justice and to the criteria of law in the face of the northamerican invasion of Puerto Rico; and this fact has to be greeted with all the respect, with all the respect that it deserves. But before the resolution passed and the organizations passed, we have maintained that with or without the United Nations, the armed struggle for the independence for Puerto Rico will continue. (applause)

The arrogance and conceit of the U.S. government is so great that the most minimal dissidence against it is received as though it were an affront. And instead of giving thanks to the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations for having given them an opportunity to be decent persons, they have received it as an affront, and have ordered the world silence of all their information agencies on the decision of the Decolonization Committee. When the resolution passed, I was in San Francisco, and I can assure you that after traveling through practically all the northamerican west and southwest, that the only newspaper that published anything in reference to the resolution at the United Nations was the Chicago Tribune, which printed 11 lines in a column quoting Romero Barceló. In N.Y. compañeros have told us that only the Spanish press has spoken of the resolution, and that the anglosaxon press in New York (what shame for them, and they are capable of calling themselves newspapers, calling themselves journalists!) has not said a word, and has not even been an editorial opinion; even the Washington Post, who claim to be such decent people, are full of the same of their silence. (applause)

Friends, these are the people with whom we have to fight, and if you want them to realize the anguish, the passion of the Puerto Rican people, and the necessity for them to be free and sovereign, then you'll have to give them a blow to the shoulder and knock them right down to Puerto Rico. Because from the deliberate and premeditated untruthfulness of their ruling class, from their insensitivity, what can one expect if not the brutality of a people stupified and immobilized by misinformation and ignorance, by prejudice such as in the northamerican southwest, which we just traverse, through—the irredentist heart of Aztlan? There they practically don't need police, although they have them and they have many; they practically don't need them because they have groups of Minute Men ready on all the haciendas and ranches; all the anglosaxon ranches are armed to the teeth with machine guns, magnesium rifles and handgrenades in order to plague the chicanos people and their struggle for
FROM MONTEBELLO TO VIEQUES

Don Juan Antonio Corretjer
Secretary-General,
La Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña
(from El Nuevo Día, Feb. 9, 1978)

In their desperate struggle against the independence of Puerto Rico, Madrid (Spain), utilized, and Washington (D.C.) is still using an old, old trick which has brought both ostentatious dividends. The maneuver was and is the following: to set the clever against the heroic, and once the first defeated the latter, it was used to brand (present) as inefficient one of the most efficient collective victories—heroism. Pointing out the role of some of these characters in history, we make mention of Muñoz Rivera against Betances, and Muñoz Marín versus Albizu Campos.

Albizu Campos, then united to the Nationalist Party, clearly visualized the imperialist projection, and responded in the Lares tradition establishing a mystical heroism upon a great strategic mandate: “The country is courage and sacrifice” (La Patria es valor y sacrificio). As in the famous affirmation of José Martí—“For me the country is an altar, not a pedestal” (Para mi la patria es ara no pedestal)—which the Cuban apostle put forth at possible opportunities in the ranks of his already-in-progress revolution—both men experience a deep secret anguish ever-present in their projections and obligation to become men of action. There’s one difference: Martí never had military formation whereas Albizu Campos did. From that, the contrast of determination in Albizu’s affirmation, and the sensitive objectivism foreseen by the great Cuban organizer, behind both lie two different realities of antilean identity.

But in the imperialist trick play, Martí is defeated by yanki military intervention in the way of independence or Cuba. . . . and Puerto Rico is militarily occupied by yanki imperialists, which brings us to the conclusion that (even more so than Betances) the worst defeated was Muñoz Rivera, whose autonomous playing card castle topples over, as does his cabinet.

We move on to the 20th century. Once again Muñoz Rivera, more than the de Diego, was the worst defeated. His self-governing projects take him to his grave, destroyed by the imposition of American citizenship, and compulsory military service brought about by World War I.

His son (Muñoz Marín) goes through the same experience. The future pushes itself on the present with afoot to the Fenholt-Murray Project, and the termination of power of the only political party which Washington allowed to be structured in order to consolidate the conversion of Puerto Rico into a military-industrial colony by way of the Fomento Program. The consequences of World War II followed.

From here on I will try to relate the most important changes equivalent to the continuation of Albizu Campos’ tasks in the revolutionary process of Puerto Rico. Twenty four years after his revolutionary activity and twelve years after
his death (consciously vivid in Independentist sentiment), there arises a real need to find a contemporary substitute to Alibis's strategy. This change was needed to address the inadequacies of the Independentist movement and the perceived failures of the previous strategies. This shift was also influenced by the desire to maintain the momentum of the movement and to adapt to the changing political landscape.

In summary, the death of Alibis marks a significant moment in the history of the Independentist movement. It was a time of change and adaptation, as the movement sought to find a new direction to continue its fight for independence.

ACT OF WAR OF THE
FALN IN NEW YORK
La Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña

The notes we publish here (in continuation of the article, "People's War in Puerto Rico") were written with a clear understanding of all that was published by the Independentist press in the U.S. and by the pro-independence press in Puerto Rico, with respect to the explosion that occurred in the exclusive Franches Tavern and Anglers Club, situated at 101 Broad Street, corner of Water, in the financial district of New York, Friday, January 24, 1975. We wish to say: it is true that there exists a revolutionary Puerto Rican organization operating in New York, whose name is FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation), and that was the organization involved in the explosion referred to above, resulting in four dead and more than fifty wounded.

Based on this understanding, we say:

(1) The scene of the explosion was the center of a major financial center, whose greed for expansion motivated the bombing, without warning, of the capital of Puerto Rico at dawn on May 12, 1969: the invasion of Puerto Rico by the U.S. army on July 25 of the same year; and the military occupation of our territory from that day forth. The mental torture of our people and the plunder of our riches have made protection for these armed forces of the U.S. out of the question. The bombing without warning of the capital of Puerto Rico followed the same principle of surprise attack as the FALN attack on Franches Tavern. As the imperialists recalled in the voice of one of their representatives, "War is hell" (said by Gen. Sherman in Richmond, Va., Time Magazine, page 46, January 27, 1975) This is good testimony.

(2) No worker has ever sat in Franches Tavern or in the Anglers Restaurant. The four dead were executives of the great financial empires that exploit equally their people and the working class people of Puerto Rico. One of them, Mr. Harold H. Sherburne, of Vine Orchard, C.I. was a banker, investor, associate in charge of the New York office of the firm Bacon, Whipple & Co., member of the New York stock exchange. Mr. Sherburne was a typical representative of the clients of frequent Franches Taverns, which are located in the same building. (The New York Times, Saturday, January 25, 1975, page 10, col. 1, sec. C, information continued from the first page, col. 5.) Another of the dead was Alexander Berger, one of the executives of the international division of the firm Rohm and Haas, who planned to expand the petro-chemical complex that thickens the health of our people, together with PPG, Union Carbide, etc. (See El Mundo, January 27, 1975, page 1, and Claridad, same date, page 1.)

(3) The action of the FALN deals a deathblow to the plan for statehood.

(4) Everything positive in the patriotic career of Alibis Campos can be reduced to one formulation: identify the enemy of your people. To a people
abandoned to disorientation since 1998, Albiço pointed out the enemy: U.S. imperialism. The act of war of the FALN, following this path at a different time, showed the Puerto Rican people and the working class of Puerto Rico the heart of imperialism as the class enemy.

(5) It forms a shield to protect the independentistas.

(6) It will make the independentista leaders more responsible in what they say in tribunals and newspapers. The empty threat, without real content, is a negative part of our revolutionary tradition that continues as the rhetoric of a perpetual rebelliousness. What just happened could happen in the future: grief has stopped the empty, rhetorical speeches as the unexpected happens.

(7) The action inspires greater respect for Puerto Ricans living in the U.S. In no way does it hurt them. The hatred the yankees have for Puerto Ricans could not be greater, nor the discrimination. They hate us from before we arrive in Puerto Rico as we are hated by this people. The need imperialism has for Puerto Rico and their inability to assimilate us causes and encourages this hatred.

Juan Antonio Correjea
Secretary General
Socialist League of Puerto Rico

Antonio Rivera Figueiroa
Southern Regional Committee

Carlos Justinião
Northern Regional Committee

Manuel Padilla
Central Regional Committee

GRITO DE LARES:
DEFINITION OF THE NATION

Julio Rosado
East Coast Coordinator,
Movimiento de Liberación Nacional
Speech in New York City,
September 23, 1978

The emergence of nations is an agonizing revolutionary process, which is necessary for the development of political and economic evolution, and erups, suddenly, upon the face of history. This national emergence is, in turn, the result of a long process of racial and ethnic fusions, psychological and cultural molding, and transformations in the political and economic relations of humanity.

The nation, as the culminating point of this entire historical process, is thus defined as an organized entity within a specific geographic region, in which a people develop a homogeneous culture, a common psychology, a uniform economy, which sets these people apart from other people in national terms. All this is characteristic of Puerto Rico, throughout the length of a century of formation, beginning at around the middle of the 18th Century, and extending to that point in time when the entire process erupts into a national consciousness, forged on the anvil of steel, fire, and blood, which was Laredo on that 3rd of September of 1868.

The roots of Laredo are to be found in the slave quarters of captured Africans, in the huts of Spanish paupers, in the survivors of the Taíno people; and are traceable through the resulting mulatto and mestizo people, made possible by the presence of three races within the geographic boundaries of Puerto Rico.

The African gave us the genius for conspiracy which manifested itself in the Puerto Rican secret societies, very common to the Congolese in Puerto Rico. From the Taíno we received an unconquerable rebelliousness. From the poor Spaniard, the genius of organizational method necessary to oppose the organization of colonialism.

But none of these elements by themselves explain the phenomenon that was Laredo. It required the massive alienation of Spanish political and commercial life—the result of capitalist deformation in Spain, whose middle class miss the contest of political power in the 18th Century. In 18th Century Spain there is no industrial revolution, and as a result, the aristocracy is able to keep its feudal economy. This brings Spain into economic dependency, and brings the brutal exploitation of its colonies to satisfy the voracious consumerism of its aristocracy. It happens, that the exploitation of gold and silver makes of Puerto Rico a strategic military foundation for the Spanish empire's navy, and therefore requires a military-type control. The Puerto Rican native at the time is reduced to a mere supplier of hard labor for the well-being of the political-military aristocracy, both at home and in Spain.

In 1776, revolution breaks out in the British colonies of North America. A new form of government comes into being—the Constitutional Republic, based
on a new political ideology—bourgeois liberalism. Then, the French Revolution, with its class conflict, bourgeois liberalism is brought to the center of the stage. The bourgeoisie is on the rise. The French Revolution is a turning point in the history of the world. It is the beginning of a new era in human history. The bourgeoisie is the class that is destined to rule the world.

Haiti, with its fundamental anti-slavist and anti-colonialist character, creates a consciousness, for the first time, that a third world country can organize masses to defeat one of the most powerful nations of its time.

In 1822, the entire continent of Latin America erupts in revolution against Spain, and after a long period of struggle, Haiti becomes free. And beyond and above having become the refuge for French slave fighters fleeing to Haiti, the home of the creole guerillas escaping the continent-wide revolution in Latin America, the revolution against Spain, Puerto Rico does not escape the consciousness that these revolutions against Spain, Puerto Rico are not in the best European universities, and were thus exposed to the newest currents of thought. They return to Puerto Rico to the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, a reform movement which from the very first clashes against Spanish interests in Puerto Rico. This society becomes the first organized opposition to the Spanish crown.

There are anti-slavery campaigns in the United States, in England, and at La Hacienda, the mulatto who goes on to become the great genius of the separatist conspiracy, and Father of the Nation. With the murder of Rui Belvis, comes the realization that slavery in Puerto Rico manifests itself more broadly than in the enslavement of Africans—as it did in the endless indentured servitude of poor whites, which tied them to the land in such a manner that when the land was sold, they were sold with it; and as it manifested itself in the work-books, which prevented peasants and haciendas from another without the approval of free Africans who came from travel to Puerto Rico, theHacienda master, or some Spaniard in a position of authority. Betances soon realizes that these books could not, together with slavery, be abolished without overthrowing Spanish colonialism in Puerto Rico. And like Betances, there were others—many others, masses: slaves, freedmen, mulattos, whites, mestizos—who found it impossible to have need to expel Spain from Puerto Rico—and this was the definition of the nationality.

The exploitation of the people, almost in their entirety, colonialist arrogance, economic and political irrelevance, take Puerto Ricans to the founding of the army of liberation. Here and now are born, not just Capa Prieto, Centeno Bravo, Lancerio de la Cruz, but the Matancón Lodge conspiracy, and the social and cultural groups which served as a cover for the Puerto Rican national conspiracy.

And even more: In Lares, on the road to Lares, there is already present the ideology of class struggle. In Lares we not only have the sewing of the traditional flag, but the flag with the red star, the white and black flag representing the unity of whites and blacks, and the red flag of communist revolution, without a doubt inspired by the flag first raised in Paris in 1848, in France, where for the first time in the history of humanity there emerged a consciousness of class and social justice, under the leadership of a still-nascent communism.

Lares, then, is roots not only of the Puerto Rican nation; but of Puerto Rican ideological and class struggle. One day, history will reveal to us the names of those men and women who gave Lares its political content. One day, beyond the present malady of colonialism and racism which envelops us, we shall know the names of those Africans who led slaves and freed alike from the coast into the mountains so as to make Lares possible. One day, we shall know who inspired that red flag of Lares . . .

And there was much preparation for Lares. Enough to say that there was a conspiracy, and there were arms. That plans were found out and there were arrests. That centers of conspiracy were broken and arms captured. But even so, Lears came about on September 23, 1868. Manuel Rosado, the wood-cutter, of whom our grandparents speak, an ancestor of this Rosado family I represent, was an illustrator man who cut wood for charcoal to feed a large family. He traded selling charcoal throughout the entire mountain range. He goes to Lears, Jayuya, Ciales, Villalba, Yauco and Adjuntas. He uses his work as a cover to coordinate an entire network of peasant-soldiers, and to carry messages between the leaders of the revolution, Mathias Bruckman, Manuel Rojas, and other Hacienda owners.

But, even thus, we know little about Lears. There was a meeting of the provisional government on the night of September 22 in a Hacienda near Lears. Much is discussed. At dawn, Lears is attacked—a town strategically situated and which controls passage on the road between the northern and southern parts of Puerto Rico. The Spanish garrison is determined, the republic is declared. The abolition of slavery is proclaimed, as is indentured servitude and the work-books. There is a mass outcry of: Vive Puerto Rico Libre!
struggle forced the Spaniards to end slavery, and that happened in 1873. And the work-books were abolished—but the armed struggle continued.

Thirty three years later, in 1906, the Spanish courts sentenced to death 29 men for armed struggle. In other words, the armed struggle continues.

We are told by those who were the generation of 1890, today old and filled with memories, that the Seditious Parties ranged along the entire Central Mountain Chain of Puerto Rico. They even controlled the country side around the towns of Las Marías, Ciales, Adjuntas and others. But the armed struggle continues.

But when the Yanquí invasion by the Yanquis, see it to this day, we have no memory of the Yanquis, is in Adjuntas, the Yanquis have the name of the leader of that attack, Don Ynní Franco. But the armed struggle continues.

When the Yanquis landed in Guanica on July 25, 1898, Puerto Rico finds itself in a two-front struggle. Facing them veníqup troops, at their backs, the Yanquis take power. The Liberation Movement becomes inarticulate in the face of this new Yanqui strategy. The only armed movement that is a part of the armed struggle is the armed forces of Aguilas Blancas. And because of them there is continuity to the armed forces of Puerto Rico.

African American, the guerrillas are silenced. But armed struggle is not a question of passions. Sometimes it is necessary to cease military operations in order to consolidate, redirect, organize, and give to the armed struggle a new character. A new generation, with new perspectives, is organization and realization of the armed struggle. A new generation, with new perspectives, is organized and politicized.

And in Puerto Rico this is finally achieved. The Armed Struggle movement, with the emergence of the Nationalist Party Arturo Lopez, future teacher and leader of the Puerto Rican National Liberation Movement, and ideological guide to an entirely new generation—the generation of the 60's.

With Don Pedro Albizu Campos, the reorientation and realization of the Puerto Rican nationalism is completed. The armed struggle continues. In 1960, to Ricans are massacred in Ponce. The armed struggle continues. They change the name of the colony. And the armed struggle continues. They change the name of the colony. They change the name of the colony. They change the name of the colony.

...and again attacking... and the armed struggle continues. And after all this experience—these 116 years of continuous armed struggle—what have we learned?

It is essential to recognize that military actions are the result of preparation, in the area of organized politics. It is the result of a strategy formulated beforehand, and it is a tactical expression—that means to reach a political objective. And because this is the reality of things, anyone who would attempt to launch a small group, an armed elite, against the empire, will surely crash against the stone wall of failure.

But it is also true, that armed struggle begins with the launching of small units, whose tactical objective within a strategic revolutionary plan for independence is to harass the enemy, strengthen the military cadres, grow in practice and experience, in order, finally—when the independence movement deems it correct to go beyond the sporadic actions—to have gained the tried and experienced commanders, the capable cadres who will direct new units, and the political leadership proved and tried in armed struggle—which is not the same as a political leadership tried and proved in rhetoric.

Sure there will be losses. Certainly there will be tragedies. Of course some, or many, will die, and others will be made prisoners. But there will also be victories. There will be growth. And there will be the Armed Forces of National Liberation.

And within this process there will be periods of silence. And the people will ask: Where are they? What are they doing? Have they broken up? And suddenly there will be an armed response to these questions, in its own due time, in accord not with the wishes of the enemy, but in accord with the needs of the people. Today the attack is here. Tomorrow, there, in Puerto Rico. One day in both at the same time. But certainly, where the enemy expects it least.

For those of us here today, the most important thing is to have developed a combativeness, as compañero Juan Antonio Corretjer described: "A combativeness consciousness. An awareness. A mode of thought which takes us beyond the limits of the police and the FBI, and beyond the forces of repression. And even beyond the eyes of those who vacillated, trained, and mobilized in the defense of this nation, and in the armed struggle, and make war with their mouths, and still find twenty reasons as to why they should not make the leap from rebels to revolutionaries."

Today, we want to be at the level of Presidents. Today we want to continue what began that dawn of September 23, 1868. And to achieve this, we must defeat political opportunism, reformism and political deviation, and redirect ourselves along the road of sacrifice, work, and organization. History teaches us that there is no other road. The martyrs of this new struggle: Antonia Martinez, Juan Rafael Caballero, Armando Durlo Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivé, and those who have died anonymously, urge us to continue the struggle.

Those who have become prisoners of war: Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Oscar Collazo and Irvin Flores, William Morales, Pablo Marcano and Nydia Esther Cuevas, and still others who must remain anonymous, demand of us that we continue the struggle.
Those presently protected by the clandestine network of the masses: Carlos Alberto Torres, Haydee Beltran, Oscar Lopez and Luz Maria Lopez, and all their compañeros and compañeras who must remain anonymous in clandestinity, command us to organize the struggle on many fronts, and call us to the road of national liberation. The road to Lares.

And the armed struggle will continue.

Viva Puerto Rico Libre
Long Live Revolutionary Unity
As in Lares, in New York
Independencia o Muerte

Firebombed ROTC building,
University of Puerto Rico,
Rio Piedras Campus, 1971.
Removal of ROTC was a consistent demand of militant, anti-imperialist students who fought armed battles with cadets and police.

—Massive anti-Vietnam War demonstration, marching from San Juan to El Condado in the early 1970's.
The tens of thousands of U.S. military personnel stationed in Puerto Rico occupy the national territory, terrorize the population, and use the island as a staging ground for assault upon other Latin American nations and Africa. As shown here, U.S. military vehicles guard power station during Water Workers strike, 1974.

La Milla de Oro banking center in Hato Rey, San Juan. Foreground, El Barrio Martin Pella.


—Nilda Estela Cuervas and Pablo Morán-Carranza, independentistas, seized and held for 22 hours July 3-4, 1978, demanding freedom for the 4 Chilean consulate in San Juan. Held Prisoner of War since their capture.

Gulf and Western Building in New York City, bombed by FALN on February 18, 1977. One of the 4 sites attacked in N.Y.C. and Chicago to demand the immediate release of the 5 Nationalists, a halt to the FBI's harassment of the Puerto Rican people, and warning against Ford's "Statehood" plan.

Frunces Tavern and Anglers Club, targets of FALN bombing, January 24, 1975. Bombing was in retaliation for the CIA/Cuban exile attack on January 11 pro-independence rally in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, in which 2 independentistas were killed and many were wounded.

Police attack 1977 Puerto Rico Day Parade and celebration in Chicago's Humboldt Park, murdering two young Puerto Rican men—Julio Osorio and Rafael Cruz. The attack touched off days of massive protests and demonstrations; the park has been renamed Cose-Osorio in their honor.

After years of militant struggle against U.S. military occupation, and declaration of the waters and the island itself, this is what remains of what was once the 200-boat fishing fleet of Vieques.
Andrés Figueroa Cordero, one of 4 Nationalist Prisoners of War captured during 1954 attack on Congress, Washington, D.C. His unconditional release was won in October, 1972.

Demonstration at Washington, D.C., July 22, 1978, demanding freedom for the 4 Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners of War, freedom for all political prisoners and prisoners of war and independence for Puerto Rico. This mobilization also marked the nationalization of a lawsuit filed in DC demanding the immediate release of Andrés Figueroa Cordero. The Nationalists do not accept the jurisdiction of U.S. courts over themselves or their actions, but had participated in this lawsuit because of Figueroa Cordero's essentially deteriorating health. Upon his release they withdrew the lawsuit to avoid it in the U.S., because the U.S. courts cannot deal with Prisoners of War.

Carlos Soto Arrivé and Arnaldo Darío Rosado, independenceists, set up and assassinated in ambush by FBI-trained and directed colonial forces, Cerro Maravilla, Puerto Rico, July 25, 1978.

Chronology of Armed Struggle in Puerto Rico and the U.S. 1967 - 1978


Oct. 4, 1967 4 unexploded bombs are found by police in U.S.-owned buildings in San Juan.

Feb. 22, 1968 The Comité de Liberación Nacional (CAL) sets off 3 bombs in Puerto Rico, including one at the Strategic Air Command's Ramo Air Force Base. CAL issues a communiqué announcing its aims and objectives: to obtain the national liberation of Puerto Rico through armed action; to gain the monopolistic control of industry and commerce in Puerto Rico; and to end the monopolistic control of the economy. CAL also states its intention to destroy all U.S.-owned companies in Puerto Rico and to end U.S. military bases. CAL claims responsibility for these bombings.

Mar. 6, 1968 U.S.-owned department store in San Juan is firebombed.

Mar. 23, 1968 Sears department store in Puerto Rico is bombarded.

Sept. 29, 1968 On the occasion of the Centennial of El Grito de Laredo, CAS issues a communiqué stating: "We will not lose sight of the real enemy: the Yankee imperialism. Therefore, we undertake the commitment, which each young Puerto Rican joins in in order to prevent the U.S. armed forces from leaving when they leave."

Feb. 15, 1969 The Movimiento Independista Revolucionario Armado (MIRA) sets off 3 bombs in different sections of San Juan: one outside the Police Traffic Station in the borough of Hato Rey (destroying 2 police cars); one outside the Government Development Bank in San Juan; and one in front of the Howard Johnson's Hotel Restaurant in the Condado area.


April 10, 1969 CAS sets off bomb in the Condado area, the center of U.S.-owned tourist and consumer industry in Puerto Rico, at the Blackstone's Fifth Avenue store, and 2 bombs in Maspids—the communications authority in Puerto Rico, the other at the Commission of Parks and Public Recreation.

April 11, 1969 2 bombs explode in San Juan at the Hotel Condado Beach and the Hotel Dorado Beach.

April 12, 1969 Major explosion set off at the Hotel San Jerónimo Hilton in the Condado, and at Luns's restaurant in Santurce, Puerto Rico.

April 26, 1969 4 bombs explode in Puerto Rico, including one at J.C. Penney's department store.

April 29, 1969 Police find unexploded bombs at the Caribe Hilton Hotel, in San Juan.

Sept. 7, 1969 Major bombings of department stores in Puerto Rico: Woolworth's and Lerner's in San Juan (Woolworth's contains $1.4 million in damages; Puente de Ponce supermarket, Woolworth's, and Franklin's stores in Ponce. CAL claims responsibility for these bombings.

Sept. 26, 1969 At the University of Puerto Rico at Rio Piedras, following the sentencing of a student for refusing to serve in the U.S. armed forces, student organizers form the Estudiantil Universitario Popular Indigenista (EUP). La Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña (LSP), and the Estudiantil Universitario Indigenista (EUI). Students as part of the Puerto Rican student protest against the U.S. occupation of Puerto Rico against the right of the autonomous government movement to have a referendum on the autonomy of Puerto Rico.

Oct. 2, 1969 Juan Antonio Cordero, Secretary General of the Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña, is arrested and charged with multiple violations of the export act. This is an attempt by the U.S. repressive agencies to destroy the LSP and its widespread support for the movement.

Dec. 11, 1969 2 armed men from MIRA take over radio station WUNO in San Juan, and broadcast tape announcing initiative of "revolution of Yankee against the yankees.

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Dec. 21, 1969 3 early-morning bombs explode in New York City—at the Banco Crediti, Woolworth's and the office of the Puerto Rico Free Associated State, all within 40 minutes of one another.

During the spring of 1970, the U.S. escalates its imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia by invading Cambodia. As part of the worldwide response to U.S. imperialism by progressive forces, the student movement in Puerto Rico further escalates its anti-war activities, bringing the struggle for Puerto Rican national liberation and Independence to higher levels.

March 4, 1970 Militant confrontation at the ROTC building of the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, between students organized by the LSU, FUPI, SUI, and Student Government associations, and armed ROTC cadets and University Police. Students set fire to ROTC equipment storage center. Police riot squad battles students in the streets; police open fire, murdering student Antonio Martinez Lagares and injuring ten others.

March 5, 1970 CAL executes two U.S. Marines in San Juan in retaliation for murder of Antonio Martinez.

April 23, 1970 At the same time that La Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña was leading striking workers of the General Electric Plant at the nearby village of Palmer, 2 bombs set by MIRA explode in a U.S. Navy relay power station at El Yunque, near San Juan, partially destroying the Navy's communication system. Police dismantle 51 bombs, noting that if they had exploded, the blast would have crippled most of Puerto Rico's communications system.

May, 1970 Bomb explodes at Burger King in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, across the street from the University of Puerto Rico, site of continued militant student protests.

July 17, 1970 An assassination attempt is made on the lives of the Secretary General of the LSU, Juan Antonio Contreras and his wife, Consuelo Lee, LSU Central Committee member. Contreras publicly denounces the General Electric management as being responsible for the attempt.

Nov. 4, 1970 5 bombs explode in the Condado area of San Juan, all within one hour. First National City Bank, International Boutique, and Grand Union are among the stores bombed.

Nov. 19, 1970 CAL issues a communiqué threatening to engulf the Condado area with another wave of bombings as part of its "war against the Yankee invader. We said that it would be a war zone and warned Puerto Ricans not to go there."

Nov. 23, 1970 Bomb explodes at the Dominican Republic's consulate in San Juan, hours after Dominican Republic President Balaguer concludes a visit to Puerto Rico. CAL claims responsibility for the attack against this right-wing government.

Feb., 1971 CAL bombs the Hotel San Juan, in San Juan, and the Hotel Americana, in Isla Verde.

Late Feb., 1971 Bombs planted in Selective Service offices in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.

March 11, 1971 Thousands of students at the University of Puerto Rico, at Rio Piedras, attempt to drive out the ROTC, in part of a continued attack. Riot squad summoned. Students light armed battle with police, killing the riot squad's head, Cal Abraham, as well as a riot policeman and an ROTC cadet. This demonstration represents a major leap in the development of armed struggle: it is the first time in the history of the student movement that students are armed and equipped. The police are forced to withdraw. Later, students set fires at 3 U.S.-owned stores in Rio Piedras. The Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña condemned the victory. As at the previous demonstrations, LAP Cadets arrested the mass student uprising.

April 19, 1971 Explosions heavily damage seven U.S.-owned stores in San Juan. CAL claims responsibility.

Sept. 12, 1971 CAL sets off bomb during U.S. Governors Conference at El San Juan Hotel. Most demonstrations by 20,000 independent-minded marchers take place in San Juan, passing the conference site.

Sept. 26, 1971 Firebomb destroys the ROTC building at the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras.

Feb., 1972 CAL sabotages five helicopters that were used to transport slave labor during newspaper El Mundo workers strike.

May 20, 1972 Major explosion by three bombs rock site of Nice U.S.A. Paigeant, damaging 10 rooms in the Cerromar Beach Hotel in Donato, Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico's Governor Femandez was in the audience. The day before, 250 pro-independence picketers protested the pageant as an example of "Yankee intrusion."

Aug. 19, 1972 In New York City, six fires caused by incendiary devices occur in four major midtown stores in the U.N. area. On the same day, 2,000 people demonstrate for Puerto Rican Independence outside the meeting of the U.N. Decolonization Committee, while it is discussing the case of Puerto Rico.

Dec. 23, 1972 3 incendiary bombings of N.Y.C. department stores occur over the weekend.

Feb. 16, 1973 Incendiary devices found at Alexander's department store in New York City.
Massive sabotage of power lines and substation leaves 45 of 78 towns in Puerto Rico without power and for various periods during strike by electrical workers union, the Unión de Trabajadores de la Industria Eléctrica y del Riego (UTIER) of the Water Resources Authority (AIEF). The Governor of Puerto Rico calls out the National Guard, and mass protest demonstrations are held.

Oct. 26, 1974

In the spirit of the five Nationalist Prisoners of War, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN) reopens the second front of struggle by bringing the armed struggle for Puerto Rican national liberation to within the borders of the U.S., at a higher level.

Three days before the 24th anniversary of the Java war, rebellion, and the day before the Madison Square Garden pro-independence rally of 20,000 people, the FALN sets off five major bomb blasts in New York City.

Two of the bombs are set off in Rockefeller Center, at the Chemical Bank in the Exxon Building and at the Banco de Ponce, the third at the Marine Midland Bank on Wall Street; the fourth at Lever House on Park Ave.; and the fifth at the Union Carbide Building.

In its Communiqué #1, the FALN also takes responsibility for two series of earlier bombings; in the spring of 1974, the firebombings of three department stores in New York City on three consecutive days; and on September 28, 1974, the bombing of the Newark, New Jersey, Police Headquarters at City Hall.

In their communiqué, the FALN gives support to the pro-independence rallies at Madison Square Garden and raises the demands of independence and freedom for the Five Nationalist Prisoners of War. In addition, the FALN states, "We have opened two fronts, one in Puerto Rico, the other in the United States, both nourished by the Puerto Rican people and allies within North America."

Nov., 1974

Massive sabotage of water plants and their electric supply during strike by workers at the Aqueduct and Sewer Authority in Puerto Rico. In some areas, running water was cut off for hours, some interruptions last days, because of the extensive damage. The National Guard is mobilized as a result.

Dec. 1, 1974

During this period of National Guard mobilization, 10 major bomb blasts in Puerto Rico severely damage ITT in San Juan, Burger King and several U.S. Army Reserve vehicles in Ponce. Also damaged in San Juan are Union Carbide, Grand Union and CIT Finance Co. Water pipes into major refineries on the south coast of Puerto Rico are also blown up.

Dec. 11, 1974

The Comando Tomás Lopez de Victoria of the FALN claims responsibility for the dynamite attack on a New York City policeman, in East Harlem. The FALN Communiqué #2 says the attack is reprisal for the recent savage police murder of Puerto Rican activist/pep musician, Martin "Tito" Perea. "The murder of Tito is just one of the many attacks directed against the Puerto Rican and Black communities by the racist New York City police department.. In retaliation against Tito's death, we also are avenging the deaths of Clifford Clover, Claude Reese and the countless other innocent Puerto Ricans and Blacks who have been brutally assaulted and murdered by racist cops."

Dec. 31, 1974

4 powerful bomb blasts go off in Puerto Rico, including one at a branch of the Rockefeller-owned Chase Manhattan Bank, at the time of the visits of Rockefeller and Kissinger to Puerto Rico.

Jan. 25, 1975

The Comando Griselda Torres de la of the FALN bombs the Anglers Club, an exclusive millionaires' club, and the French Tavern, a restaurant for the ruling class, on Wall Street in New York City. FALN-Communi-

miqué #3 states that the action is in retaliation for the CIA-ordered bombing in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, on January 11, in which two young independence fighters were killed.

Communiqué #3 states: "In our Communiqué Number 2 we warned the North American Government that to terminate and kill our people would mean retaliation by us. This was not mere warning. You have unleashed a storm from which you comfortable Yankee cannot escape."

Spring and Summer, 1975

Several bombings of cement plants in Ponce, Puerto Rico, ranging from molotov cocktails to explosives that destroy buildings, during strike by cement workers.

April 2, 1975

FALN bombs the N.Y. Life Insurance Co., the Metropolitan Life Insur-
ance Co., Bankers Trust and American Bank and Trust Co. The com-

miqué states that the actions are "the continuation of an offensive aimed at gaining the independence of Puerto Rico, and the release of five political prisoners, Lollita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Irene Flores, and Oscar Collazo." Special concern is expressed for the immediate release of Figueroa Cordero, who is ailing of cancer, with the warning that his "death in prison will result in grave consequences for the Yankee-Capitalist class."

April 30, 1975

The liberation of the South of Vietnam is completed, signaling the decisive defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and the victory of the Viet-

namese people for their national liberation and salvation.

April-June, 1975

Sabotage campaign attacks phone installations in Puerto Rico during strike by workers at the Puerto Rico Telephone Co. (subsidiary of ITT), causing major damage. On June 19, four bomb damage trucks belong-

ing to Puerto Rico Telephone Company subcontractor.

May-June, 1975

Bombs explode at offices of airlines, banks, newspapers, government agencies and corporations in Puerto Rico.

June 14, 1975

In Chicago, the FALN bombs two banks—the Mid-Continent Bank and the United of America Bank. FALN issues a communiqué in which states that the Federal Building and Immigration offices are also targets, and that the actions are "in solidarity with the protest contingents" of the Puerto Rico Day Parade.
Oct. 27, 1977 The FALN commemorates the 25th Anniversary of the October 30, 1950 Revolution in Puerto Rico, and the first anniversary of their own existence as an organization, by "launching a simultaneously-coordinated attack against Yankee government and monopoly capitalist institutions in New York, Washington D.C., Chicago, and Puerto Rico." Among the bombings in this coordinated attack are the U.S. Mission to the U.N., the Chase Manhattan Bank, and the First National City Bank in New York; the Sears Tower and the Continental Bank in Chicago; and the State Department in Washington D.C.

June 7, 1976 The FALN sets off four major bomb explosions in downtown Chicago: the First National Bank of Chicago, the Bank Leumi, the John Hancock Center, and Police Headquarters.

June 25, 1976 The FALN bombs the Pan Am Building, a police station in the South Bronx, the Chase Manhattan Bank and Citibank, all in New York City, in protest of an economic "summit meeting" in Puerto Rico.

July 12, 1976 The Commando Unit Andres Figueroa Cordero of the FALN firesbombs four major department stores—Marx's, Ohrbach's, I. & Taylor's and B. Altman's, in New York City—all near Madison Square Garden, site of the Democratic National Convention. A total of 12 explosive devices are found. In the communiqué, the FALN again demands freedom for the five Nationalist Prisoners of War and warns again that the death of Andres Figueroa Cordero in prison "will result in the severest retaliation against Yankee imperialists and their administrators."

Sept. 12, 1976 The FALN bombs the Chicago office of the Labor Department of Puerto Rico, and the Holiday Inn in Chicago.

Sept. 21, 1976 The FALN bombs the New York Hilton on the same day Puerto Rican Governor Hernandez Colón is welcomed at a banquet there. The communiqué states that the action is also in "remembrance of two assassins who perished on September 28."

Dec. 1, 1976 Letter bombs addressed to Carter, the Justice Dept., the CIA and FBI explode in New York City mailboxes. Radio station receivers are also damaged, devices were mailed by the Comando Armado Revolucionario Pro Independencia.

Jan. 3, 1977 The "lucita Lebón Puerto Rican Liberation Command takes responsibility for bombs placed at the RTCI building at the University of Puerto Rico.

Jan. 21, 1977 As Jimmy Carter is inaugurated as President of the U.S., and on the heels of Fidel's victory to make Puerto Rico the 51st state, four letter bombs are discovered in mailbox around New York City addressed to Ford, Carter, the Governor of Puerto Rico and the FBI.

Feb. 17, 1977 The FALN again demands independence for Puerto Rico and the unconditional, immediate release of the five Nationalist Prisoners of War, and bombs the Merchandise Mart and the U.S. Gypsum Building in Chicago, two industrial/corporate centers in that city.

Feb. 18, 1977 The FALN bombs the Gulf & Western Building and the Chrysler Building in New York City.

March 12, 1977 Three incendiary devices are found inside letters in the Church Street Post Office in New York City. The Comando Armado Revolucionario Pro Independencia claims responsibility.

March 20, 1977 FALN in New York City bombs the FBI office and the American Bank Note Co. which prints stock certificates and currency for Latin American countries.

April 9, 1977 As further escalation of the FALN warning to the U.S. government to release the five Nationalist Prisoners, and more particularly the release of Andres Figueroa Cordero—"or his death in jail will bring a serious blow upon the heads of the imperialists"—the FALN firesbombs Macy's, Gimbel's and Bloomingdale's in New York City. In its communiqué, the FALN also demands the halt of the use of grand juries in attempts to smash the Independence Movement.

June 4, 1977 On the same day that Chicago police attack the Puerto Rican community at Humboldt Park, murdering two supporters of Independence and injuring 100 others, the FALN bombs the Cook County Building in Chicago just before the Puerto Rico Day Parade.

Aug. 3, 1977 The FALN bombs Mobil Oil Company and Defense Department offices in New York City. Phone calls, threatening several other buildings, cause major disruptions and evacuations of 100,000 people, tying up traffic and costing an estimated $5 million in lost business, plus millions in stock market and wage losses.

Aug. 4, 1977 On August 9, unexploded bomb is discovered in office of American Metals Climax (AMAX), a corporation mentioned in earlier phone warnings and involved in exploiting Puerto Rican natural resources.


Sept. 22, 1977 The Comandos Obrescos (Labor Commandos) execute CIA agent Allan A. Randall in St. Augustine, Puerto Rico. Randall was responsible for the planning and implementation of anti-worker's conspiracies.

In their communiqué, the Comandos Obrescos state Randall's crimes in the class war and describe his execution as growing "...not from the fringes of the workers' movement. It was incubated and developed out of the heat of that struggle..."

October 6, 1977: Andres Figueroa Cordero, one of the five Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners of War, freed after 22 years in U.S. prisons.

Oct. 29, 1977
In San Juan, the Comandos Obreos threaten death to selected police officials in reprisal for the murder of Teamster union organizer Juan Rafael Caballero on October 24, part of a massive wave of attacks against the Puerto Rican labor movement.

Dec. 27, 1977-
March 19, 1978
UINTER workers go on strike against the Water Resources Authority (AQUI) in Puerto Rico. Over 200 acts of sabotage, 65 with explosives, cause several power blackouts, and losses of over $4 million in damages. The National Guard is mobilized.

Jan. 31, 1978
The FALN claims responsibility for two armed actions in New York City—the bombings of the Consolidated Edison office and the Police Academy—in support of the UINTER strike and in reprisal for Caballero's murder.

Feb. 1, 1978
The Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular (FARP), another clandestine organization in Puerto Rico, seizes a police station in Montebello, Manatí, Puerto Rico, destroying the station's receiver and radios, expropriating weapons, and uniforms.

Feb. 8, 1978
The Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo (CRP), clandestine organization in Puerto Rico, bomb an office of the Chase Manhattan Bank in San Juan, calling it the "principal culprit" in the UINTER strike, and claiming responsibility for bombings several months earlier against Mobil and Exxon, in defense of Puerto Rico's natural resources.

Feb. 17, 1978
Five bombs explode in U.S. owned banks and stores in Puerto Rico: the Chase Manhattan Bank in Santurce, and in Rio Piedras, the Clifbank in Rio Piedras, Woodworth's and Barker's stores in San Juan.

February-March, 1978
On the island of Vieques, Puerto Rico, fishermen organize and carry out armed confrontations with the U.S. Navy, which expels and destroys the island's resources and fishing waters. With their fishing fleet of small boats, the Vieques fishermen also block NATO exercise operations.

early April, 1978
The CRP bombs the Coast Guard Station in Puerto Rico, specifically, the "club of the officials of the Yankee Coast Guard," in solidarity with the struggle of the people of Vieques, and demand that the "Navy immediately cease the harassment and occupation of Vieques."

April 10, 1978
The CRP bombs the Navy Recruitment Office in Bayamón, Puerto Rico, and Navy vehicle in Carolina, Puerto Rico, in protest of the "presence of the Yankee navy in Vieques."

May, 1978
The FARP expropriates secret documents from the Buchanan military base in Puerto Rico.

June 4, 1978
The FALN bombs several Chicago suburban stores to protest the visit to this country of colonial governor Barcéd.

July 3-4, 1978
Nilda Cueva and Pablo Marciano seize the Chilean consulate in San Juan to demand independence for Puerto Rico, freedom for the four Nationalist Prisoners of War, and cancellation of the colonial "In- dependence Day" celebrations. The independentists later stated the "resonance of this action served as a manifestation to the world of our demand for freedom for our political prisoners—the longest held prisoners in the hemisphere, and in protest of the embarrassing act of the celebration of United States independence day... The international focus of our action reiterated the fact that here exists a people in struggle for its independence who will not stop or yield to the violent and dehumanizing attacks of imperialism."

July 31, 1978
The Comandos Revolucionarios Del Pueblo (CRP) bomb the FBI compound in San Juan, destroying several FBI vehicles, in retaliation for the murder of revolutionaries Armando Darío Rosado and Carlos Soito Amó in an FBI/police ambush in Cero Maravilla, Puerto Rico, on July 25, and the "raiding of the office of Don Pedro de Nuyua Cueva and Pablo Marciano," and arguing that "Only People's War will save the People."

Sept. 4, 1978
The CRP takes over the United Press International office in Puerto Rico, demanding the release of Nuyua Cueva and Pablo Marciano.

Sept. 13, 1978
The U.N. Decolonization Committee passes the resolution reaffirming the right of Puerto Rico to independence and self-determination.

By the later half of 1978, as clandestine organizations and activities rapidly grow, actions directed toward expropriations of resources, arms, funds, uniforms, occur more and more frequently in Puerto Rico.

Aug. 4, 1978
A police patrol is attacked and disarmed by Los Macheteros/Ejército Popular Boricua in Naguabo, Puerto Rico. When one of the police officers refuses the order to surrender, and fires against Los Macheteros, he is killed in the combat which ensues.

In their communiqué, the Ejército Popular Boricua/Los Macheteros, states that "contrary to the action of the Police, already excessively demonstrated in Cero Maravilla, with the Teacher in Manatí, with the artisan in Barriendo, with the veteran in Dorado, with the Lineman in Caguas, with Antonio Martínez, and many more cases in our districts and neighborhoods, we respect life and the dignity of being human."

Los Macheteros warn that in the future, when ordered to surrender by revolutionaries, the police must listen, and their lives will then be respected.

Oct. 1, 1978
Units of Los Macheteros/Ejército Popular Boricua and of the Organización de Voluntarios por la Revolución Puertorriqueña, in conjunction with one another, appropriate large quantities of explosives and other materials from a Public Works Department Warehouse in the Puerto Rican colonial government, located in Manatí, Puerto Rico.

Oct. 13, 1978
The Movimiento Acción Revolucionario, another newly-formed clandestine organization, bombs the First Federal Bank in Santurce, Puerto Rico.
PART TWO

Documents and Communiques from the Armed Clandestine
Independence Movement
The Armed Liberation Commandos have been in the process of formation during the past few years, but we started operations in September 1967 by simultaneously burning down Bargain Town, Carolina, and three other stores owned by Yankees in the Santa Rosa, Bayamón, shopping center. Our actions are aimed at undermining the colonial stability and peace of the imperialist invaders; we are in the first stage of operations, and in this phase we intend to cause 100 million dollars' worth of damages to U.S. concerns. Our idea is to inflict such heavy losses on these enterprises that the insurance companies will have to pay out more money in indemnity than they have received in payments, thus upsetting the economy.

Question: Have you achieved any practical results?
Answer: Let me explain. When the losses amounted to 14 million dollars the first crisis of the insurance companies was precipitated; they started to cancel policies taken out on fire losses by U.S. enterprises. Furthermore, the attitude of the insurance companies forced the colonial legislature to enact a special law whereby the government of Puerto Rico subsidizes insurance companies. It was necessary to set up a special fund for policies on liabilities that are financially burdensome to the companies. By escalating this action, as we propose to do, the time will come when the governments will be unable to continue to subsidize these companies. So far, it has only tried to patch up the situation.

Question: What is the basis of your actions against U.S. interests?
Answer: In our actions we have kept in mind the experiences of the revolutionary struggles in other countries—for instance, the Algerian experience—which is our special—and not exceptional—characteristic; we apply in Puerto Rico whatever we can from the struggles all over the world. Puerto Rico is a U.S. military and economic bullwark in the Carib-
The government offers big rewards and twenty-four-hour-a-day police protection to all those who will testify as witnesses against these scoundrels. They also want to hit the MPI because it is the organization that gets the most people out in the streets in the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico and especially because the MPI has refused to condemn the actions of CAL.

Question: Have you been able to ascertain the effects of your actions on investors?

Answer: We know that our actions are beginning to be felt, as we have seen their effects in various sectors that support big investment. Time magazine, U.S. News & World Report, and the Wall Street Journal have expressed their concern. In addition to this, we know that the head of the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Office in the United States, Danilo Ondina, resigned his post after failing to attract a number of companies that had already made tentative contacts with the government to set up business in Puerto Rico.

Question: The divergences in the socialist camp have had a negative effect on the revolutionary forces of the world. Was there any such effect in Puerto Rico?

Answer: These divergences have not affected us, because we are quite clear on the specific objectives of our struggle here. Such futile discussion is limited to debating circles in our country. One of the healthy effects of the creation of CAL has been the unmasking of pseudorevolutionary idle talk. Now, anyone who is not engaged in a task in the mass organization is not a member of CAL is simply running off at the mouth. We are aware that there is room for other kinds of work, let no one think that we attack those who participate in demonstrations, picketing, and denunciations or who struggle against the draft imposed on our youth by the U.S. imperialists. We know that it is all part of the struggle.

Question: I don’t want to hold you here any longer, but I would like to ask you one last question. What moved you to create CAL?

Answer: On September 23, 1963, on the occasion of the commemoration of the Cry of Lare, all the patriotic forces signed the so-called Declaration of Lares; in it they pledged themselves to do their best to attain our independence before the Centennial—which is this year. Perhaps that was the biggest stimulus that led us to organize the Armed Liberation Commandos last year, since we considered it our duty to try to make good the Larens pledge, so that the year of the Centennial would find us already engaged in armed struggle for independence under CAL’s slogan: Independence or Death!

CAL: "our combat is anonymous and armed" from Tricontinental, Havana, September, 1972

Liberty must be paid for at its just price and it is written with the heroism and sacrifice of the purest and most noble of our nationality.

Pedro Albizu Campos

In Puerto Rico, U.S. enterprises receive a 40% profit on their investment while in the United States they receive only 12%.

Despite the fact that production per man hour is the same in the Puerto Rican colony as in the Yankee metropolis, the island worker receives a third the monthly salary of a New York worker and the cost of living is 15% higher.

By exploiting the Puerto Rican work force, the investors from the north—who control 85% of the island’s imports, and 95% of its exports—have acquired 80% of industrial production, 50% of livestock production, 40% of retail trade, 100% of communications and of air and sea transportation.

The value of the island’s monopolistic properties reaches more than $6 billion, which represents more than half the total U.S. investments on the Latin American continent.

In September of 1967, various U.S.-owned stores located in the commercial center of Santa Rose de Bayamón were destroyed by fire.

Four million dollars in material losses was the cost of the fire in which the Armed Liberation Commandos (CAL) reinitiated armed struggle "in order to wipe out the rich foreign exploiters who live by our sweat, through an attack on the fundamental and determining base of their colonial power: the economic factor."

Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States for two fundamental reasons:

1. Because it can be used by North American imperialism as a base of political penetration and military aggression against the countries of the Third World.

2. Because of the high economic benefits that the U.S. monopolies take out due to the colonial capitalist system that rules on the island.

The head of CAL, Alfonso Beal, declared in an interview that "we are the fighting arm of the Puerto Rican independence struggle and our actions are designed to undermine the stability and colonial peace of the imperialist invaders."

Other sabotages were carried out by the guerrilla organization which, in its first phase, set out to cause North American enterprises losses of $100,000,000.

A financial crisis took place among the insurance companies which began to refuse fire protection policies for Yankee firms until the colonial government promulgated a law establishing official subsidies for the insurance companies.
In its first clandestine bulletin, CAL stated that "direct action is the principal task and abundantly strengthens our efforts; our actions are already commented on by the public to whom we orient ourselves scientifically in the difficult art of clandestine war in order to place imperialism's interests in our country in check until they leave."

The first zone of guerrilla operations was in Condado, located in the city of San Juan, where U.S. barracks and Cuban expatriates control gambling, prostitution and drug traffic.

One of the explosions that shook this area took place in September 1971, when the governors of the United States were meeting on the island.

On that occasion, CAL noted that the action was in protest against the presence of foreign functionaries, and affirmed that "there is nothing that can deter our pledge to drive the Yankees out of Puerto Rico."

We feel proud because we have been able to do something for the independence of our homeland. The organization of a small guerrilla army seemed like an impossibility several years ago but today it is a reality.

We now have this army and our actions are ever stronger against the enemy: the North American empire. Our discipline is of iron. Our fighters are well trained, they carry out their actions correctly and no one is able to seize them.

We have explosives, ammunition and arms to expand the war far beyond what the enemy imagines.

We believe that the creation of a liberation army is indispensable to the conquest of independence and we will not cease improving and expanding it constantly.

Alfonso Beal, leader of CAL

Two shops belonging to the New York Department Store chain were also destroyed by bombs in response to the rightist terrorists who had made several attempts on the lives of Puerto Rican independence fighters and in solidarity with those on strike against that commercial entity.

In a communiqué issued the day after the sabotage of the electronic switchboard in El Comandante hippodrome, the armed commandos stated that "the struggles that our proletariat is waging for better working conditions are an example for all of us because many of us are members of the working class" and they also reaffirmed their commitments "to cooperate in every way possible with the workers' struggles.

It was to this end that they blew up the refrigeration system of the General Electric branch in Palmer in support of the work stoppage that was being boycotted by a tailor group.

During the strike of 2000 workers at Puerto Rico Telephone, subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT), CAL carried out actions that caused a million dollars' worth of material damages against the imperialist monopoly, and paralyzed internal and external communications on the island including those at the air base of the U.S. Strategic Command, in Ramey.

After that, the demands of the workers of El Mundo were supported by the urban guerrillas with the destruction of three helicopters belonging to the Helicopter Rental Service which were to be used to transport strike breakers to the building where the reactionary daily is housed.

"Our combat is anonymous and armed [the Armed Liberation Commandos state] but we seek the power of the working class, independence and socialism."

Inspired by the Grito de Lares of 1868 and the Jayuya Revolution of 1930, the Puerto Rican guerrillas attack the cornerstones of colonial power in a war of destruction which "we do not desire but which the enemy imposes on us," as Che said, and which is moving toward the conquest of the independence of the homeland of Betances, Hostos and Albizu Campos.

This is nationaliy intervened and we must give life to the defensive war to which we have a right.

Pedro Albizu Campos

In Puerto Rico:
- The annual personal income of three fourths of the population is 500 dollars.
- 700,000 persons live in deteriorated houses in the outskirts of the principal cities.
- For a population of more than 2,750,000 there are only 300 doctors and 136 hospitals; 52% of the doctors live in San Juan.
- Unemployment affects 30% of the working population.
- In five years the deficit in the balance of payments rose 57%.
- In one year (1969-70), the deficit in the commercial balance rose 43.9%.
- The foreign debt, public and private, grew 30 times in 20 years. It is currently $6,861,000,000.
- The net income earned by the agricultural sector dropped from 31% to 4% in 30 years; 13% of the best cultivable lands are occupied by the Pentagon's military bases.
- More than $1,500,000 in merchandise comes from the United States at a price that exceeds that of the world market by 20%; 90% of the food products consumed are U.S.-made.
Finally, the FALN supports the demonstration at Madison Square Garden on October 27 in support of the independence of Puerto Rico. We view this as a significant step in the formation of an anti-imperialist front in the United States, which will support and fight for the national liberation of Puerto Rico, and educate the American people to the murderous and genocidal policies of the Yanki capitalists throughout the world.

LONG LIVE FREE PUERTO RICO

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF ALL PEOPLE
IN STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

FALN CENTRAL COMMAND
Commando Tomás Lópes de Victoria of the FAaN, assumes responsibility for the dynamite attack on members of the New York City police force, on Wed., December 11, 1974, in El Barrio.

This is the response of the Puerto Rican people to the brutal murder of Martin "Tito" Pérez by the sadistic animals of the 25th precinct on Sunday, December 1, 1974.

The murder of Tito is just one of the many attacks directed against the Puerto Rican and Black communities by the racist New York City police department.

In retaliating against Tito’s death we also are avenging the deaths of Clifford Glover, Claude Reese and the countless other innocent Puerto Ricans and Blacks who have been brutally assaulted and murdered by racist cops.

By this action the FAaN wishes to make it known that racist attacks against Puerto Rican, Black and other Third World communities, as well as attacks against Puerto Rican liberation fighters and militants by the vicious animals who occupy our communities, will be met by the armed resistance of the people.

Even though we support the demonstration which took place in City Hall on Monday, December 9, we fully realize that the people will not gain justice by demonstrating and shouting. The only justice that can be handed out to the murderers of our people is revolutionary justice through the implementation of revolutionary violence.

Yanky capitalism has developed through the utilization of racist policies. The genocide of the Indians, enslavement of millions of African, inhumane bombing of Indianoche people and the massive sterilization of thousands of Puerto Rican women are just a few examples of the racist policies.

Racism expressed in our communities through miseducation, terrible health treatment, low salaries, relegation of our people to the most menial jobs and exploitation by white businessmen and landlords, is a symptom of capitalism and can only be eliminated by the destruction of the Yanksystem of government.

For each repressive act taken upon our people and fighters for Puerto Rican independence the FAaN will respond with revolutionary violence.

TITO, CLIFFORD, CLAUDE—YOUR MURDERS HAVE BEEN AVENGED FREE PUERTO RICO NOW FREE ALL PUERTO RICANS POLITICAL PRISONERS COMMANDO TOMAS LOPEZ DE VICTORIA

We, FAaN, the Armed Forces of the Puerto Rican Nation, take full responsibility for the especially-decorated bomb that exploded today at Fraunces Tavern with reactionary corporate executives inside.

We did this in retaliation for the CIA-ordered bomb that murdered Angel Luis Chavonner and Eddie Ramos, two innocent young workers who supported Puerto Rican independence, and the conscienceless maiming of ten innocent persons and one beautiful Puerto Rican child six years old in a Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, dining place on Saturday, the eleventh of January of 1975.

The Yank government is trying to terrorize and kill our people to intimidate us from seeking our rightful independence from colonialism. They do this in the same way as they did in Viet Nam, Guatemala, Chile, Argentina, Mexico, the Congo, and in many other places including the United States itself. But this CIA/Cuban method will fail.

In our Communication Number 2 we warned the North American Government that to terrorize and kill our people would mean retaliation by us. This was not an empty warning.

The bombs exploding in Puerto Rico and the United States in support of striking workers, in demand of the release of our political prisoners and our independence, and to protest the Rockefeller-Kissinger visits, have avoided any injury to innocent people. The attacks on our people have been elevated vicious criminal brutality and murder of hungry hard-working people. You have unleashed a storm from which you comfortable Yanks cannot escape.

Release Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, and Irving Flores.

FREE PUERTO RICO RIGHT NOW COMANDO CRISTIANO TORRESOALA
The FAUT takes responsibility for the bombings of Yanki corporations in New York on April 2, 1975. These corporations are at the heart of Yanki imperialism. They are important decision makers in the planning of domestic and foreign policy and benefit from the exploitation and oppression of Puerto Rico and other third-world nations as well as the north american working class. While the working class throughout the capitalist world suffers from recession and sinks deeper into poverty, the profits of these conglomerates continue to grow.

These actions are the continuation of an offensive aimed at gaining the independence of Puerto Rico and the release of five political prisoners, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Irvin Flores, and Oscar Collazo.

We are especially concerned with the release right now of Figueroa Cordero who is dying of cancer. His death in prison will result in grave consequences for the Yanki Capitalist class.

The bombing of the Anglers Club, an exclusive millionaires' club that boasts of members like the Rockefeller, was a retaliatory attack against that sector of the North American ruling class which is directly responsible for the actions of the CIA and for the wave of repression which is being mercerously implemented in Puerto Rico.

Our attack on January 24, 1975, was not in any way directed against working-class people or innocent North Americans. The targets of our attack were the bankers, stock brokers, and important corporate executives of monopolies and multi-national corporations. These are not friends of the working people, but the enemies of humanity everywhere.

The bomb attack in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, was the most vicious of the 160 acts of CIA terror in the last two years against the Puerto Rican people. The enemy has to resort to fascist terror because the contradictions in colonial Puerto Rico are being unmasked so rapidly that the only way they believe they can control the people is by instilling fear by the use of force.

To the FAUT the issue is very clear: at no time can we allow an attack by the enemy upon our people to go unanswered. Fascist terror is met with revolutionary violence.

FREE PUERTO RICO NOW!
Release the five Puerto Rican political prisoners in Yanki jails!

COMANDO CENTRAL FAUT

On Saturday, June 14, 1975, thousands of Puerto Ricans will be marching in the Puerto Rican Day Parade on State Street. They will be protesting against poor education, bad housing, racism, police brutality, unemployment — in essence against the exploitation that they are subjected to on an everyday basis.

In solidarity with the protest contingent, we have undertaken the following bombings of Yanki imperialist institutions: the United of America Bank, First National Bank, and the United States Federal Building which houses various agencies of repression, ex. CIA, FBI, LEAA. Also the Department of Immigration which at this time is trying to blame the failing economic system on ourchican brothers and sisters. This agency is responsible for the massive deportation and repressive actions against our chicanos and mexican workers.

These actions also demonstrate to the United States Government that the mobile guerilla units of the FAUT can hit anywhere in the United States.

Once again, we demand the immediate release of five NATIONALIST PRISONERS being held in Yanki jails, and the unconditional independence of PUERTO RICO.

We also want to express our solidarity with the victorious people of VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, and LAOS. Their victory is our victory!

COMANDO CENTRAL FAUT
Today, armed units of the FAFLN commemorated the 25th Anniversary of the October 30, 1950 revolution in Puerto Rico against Yankee domination, and marked the first anniversary of our existence as an organization, by launching a simultaneously-coordinated attack against Yankee government and monopoly capitalist institutions in New York, Washington D.C., Chicago, and Puerto Rico.

We demand the immediate independence of Puerto Rico and the unconditional release of the five Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners: Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueredo Cordero, and Irvin Flores, as well as other Puerto Rican Political Prisoners in Yankee colonial and non-colonial prisons.

We extend our friendship and solidarity to the United States working class, our allies in the struggle against Yankee fascism, who like Puerto Rican workers are being pushed out of work and forced to the unemployment lines while Yankee corporations, and especially the banks, are reaping billions in profits. While the rich and their puppets in government eat and drink well off the sweat of workers, more people are being pushed into the unemployment lines.

We also wish to draw attention to the just cause of the Panamanian people who wish to recover their canal zone. We express our unconditional support for them in the realization that the removal of the Yankee colonialists from the area is just as important as our national independence. Should the Panamanian people be forced to resort to arms, the FAFLN will give them whatever support is necessary.

The FAFLN welcomes the support given the Puerto Rican National Liberation struggle at the solidarity conference in Cuba and the meeting of Non-Aligned Nations in Peru in September.

We especially acknowledge the moral support given to our organization in a speech made by Prime Minister Fidel Castro in August, in which he said that the Cuban government would do all it could to support the FAFLN. Although we have acquired everything we need at this time from our own efforts, as the struggle intensifies and the need increase, we may have to claim concrete expression of such support, not only from the revolutionary government of Cuba, but from all the supporters of Puerto Rican independence.

These developments—combined with the recent victory of the Puerto Rican cause at the United Nations, where the Yankee gorillas were forced to expose their claws to the world by resorting to fascist arm twisting of their own allies in order to prevent a committee discussion of the case of Puerto Rico—reaffirm our position.

Only a protracted, organized armed struggle can force the Yankee invaders out of Puerto Rico.

At a time when our cause is rooted in the international community, the imperialists are undergoing a political and economic crisis in the U.S. and elsewhere, and our historical legacy of struggle is given living proof by the existence of the FAFLN and the political prisoners. Any organization entering parliamentarist politics within the colony is only surrendering to colonialist tactics.

The role of Vanguard and progressive organizations now in Puerto Rico is to organize the armed struggle, telescope the contradictions and establish the People's Army of National Liberation.

We wish to extend our solidarity with all the organizations waging armed struggle within the U.S. against Yankee imperialism abroad and capitalist exploitation of the North American working class. We support the definition of a single working class to which everyone living in the United States and working within it belongs, despite cultural and ethnic differences which actually enrich our country.

Finally, we send our warmest and most affectionate greetings to the freedom fighters of our Latin American homeland, from Argentina's Tierra del Fuego in the south, to Mexico and the north where the struggle continues to end fascist oligarchies and their Yankee masters, and who are creating the many Viet Nams necessary for the total destruction of imperialism and the victory of democracy, justice and equality.

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO NOW!
FREE THE PUERTO RICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS!
Today, July 12, the armed commando unit Andrés Figueroa Cordero of the FALN, detonated 32 incendiary bombs in the Herald Square area near Madison Square Garden in Manhattan. This is in protest of 22 colonial leeches attending a national convention of one of the ruling parties in the U.S.

These parasites have made it their lifetime mission to perpetuate the economic and political enslavement of the PUERTO RICAN people. The cost of this enslavement is the loss of millions of dollars to the PUERTO RICAN worker in the form of capitalist exploitation, which goes to subsidize the profit of U.S. corporations. Whenever the PUERTO RICAN people protest this exploitation and demand independence, they are answered with bullets and death.

We demand our unconditional independence now and the immediate release of our five political prisoners: LOLITA LEBRON, ANDRES FIGUEROA CORDERO, IRVIN FLORES, RAFAEL CANCEL MIRANDA, and OSCAR COLLAZO. We again call your attention to the very poor health of ANDRES FIGUEROA CORDERO who is dying of cancer and who has been operated on three times. His death in prison will result in the severest retaliation against the Yanki imperialists and their administrators.

WE OPPOSE COLONIAL ELECTIONS!
FREE PUERTO RICO!
FALN

COMMANDO UNIT ANDRES FIGUEROA CORDERO
FALN

Today a bomb was placed in the capitalist enterprise, New York Hilton Hotel. We the FALN take responsibility for the action as a protest against colonial governor Rafael Hernández Colón’s assurances to U.S. capitalist corporations to invest in Puerto Rico and to assist in his re-election. This only demonstrates to the working class who the actual oppressors of the working class and the Puerto Rican people are.

Hernández Colón is today welcomed at a banquet by the same corporations that have kept our people oppressed through low wages, inflationary standards of living, the genocide of men, women and children, attempts to destroy our culture and language through forced assimilation. That all these jackals should be in one room discussing the colonial elections of this coming November only reinforces our resolve to struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico until our colonized nation finally reaches its triumph.

As Hernández Colón reassures capitalist corporations that their investment in Puerto Rico will face no political complications, we, the FALN, assure the yanqui imperialists that neither their lives, nor their property, nor their investments will be safe until we obtain the freedom of our country. The honorable nationalist leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, whose 85th birthday was on Sept. 12, fought for the independence of Puerto Rico to the end of his life. He opposed colonial elections, for he knew that they served only to reinforce yanqui control of our people. We also oppose the colonial electoral process, for we believe that its purpose is to stop our struggle and to focus the independence movement on working within their system. A system which can never be used to obtain freedom from colonial bondage.

In bombing the New York Hilton, we strike against one of the corporations most responsible for yanqui colonialism in our country. Our action today is also in remembrance of Pedro Albizu Campos’ birthday and September 23, the 30th anniversary of our first revolution against Spanish colonialism. We also wish to communicate our profound sorrow on the death of CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG whose teaching has inspired the entire FALN every step of the way.

FALN
CENTRAL COMMAND

FALN
The FALN assumes full responsibility for the armed actions taken today. Our actions are part of the offensive undertaken by us to further the cause of Independence for Puerto Rico and the unconditional freedom of the five Nationalist political prisoners: Oscar Collazo, Irvin Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Lolita Lebrón and Andrés Figueroa Cordero.

Furthermore, we want to demonstrate through our actions that the Yanki Imperialists' attempt at assimilating and annihilating the Puerto Rican Nation, as in the case of Gerald Ford's proposal to make Puerto Rico a state of the Union, is not going to be taken sitting down by the liberation forces. Any attempt to suppress the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement by the Imperialist forces, the FBI, and the Carter Administration shall be met by revolutionary violence.

Also, since the Carter Administration is committed to the cause of political prisoners and the right of dissenters in Russia and other countries in Eastern Europe, we ask him to clean his house first by granting the unconditional freedom to the five Puerto Rican Nationalists, who are the longest-incarcerated political prisoners in the Western Hemisphere. We also ask the Carter Administration to condemn political repression and assassination in Latin America and Africa.

FREE PUERTO RICO NOW!
FREE THE FIVE NATIONALIST POLITICAL PRISONERS!
STOP THE FBI'S HARASSMENT OF THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE!
STOP THE ILLEGAL USE OF THE GRAND JURY!

NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.
February 17, 1977

Today's actions mark our determined efforts to free our homeland from the control of Yanki Imperialists, and the attempted exploitation of our natural resources. At no time will we let any corporations or the colonial government of Puerto Rico attempt to mine our natural resources. This also includes any off-shore drilling for petroleum. These natural resources belong to the Puerto Rican people and nobody else.

Since last year the Yanki government has been using Grand Jury process to stop the growth of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. These efforts by the government will prove futile, because historically it is time for our government to progress no matter what the consequences are to anybody. We have learned that the Yanki government has taken our warning about the release of the FIVE NATIONALISTS as an empty threat. These are not empty threats and our actions proved that. If any one of the FIVE NATIONALISTS dies in jail, there are going to be serious repercussions. Until this moment the Yanki government knows that we do not issue empty threats. Andrés Figueroa Cordero has to be released immediately or his death in jail will bring a serious blow upon the heads of the imperialists.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
FREE PUERTO RICO NOW!

FALN CENTRAL COMMAND
April 9, 1977
Our actions today are part of our campaign to dramatize and to intensify our just struggle for the Independence of Puerto Rico and the unconditional freedom of the five Puerto Rican Nationalists: Lollita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Oscar Collazo, Irvin Flores, and Andrés Figueroa Cordero. We have chosen these multinational corporations as our targets because they best characterize and represent Yanki imperialism. These corporations are using underhanded and barbaric tactics to explore and exploit our natural resources, especially land and off-shore petroleum and minerals such as copper and nickel.

These corporations, which are part of Yanki Imperialism, are the cause of the problems of the Puerto Rican people on the island and in the United States; since they are the ones that strangle us with their colonial yoke.

This time it is just a warning. But if these corporations continue to carry out their plans to exploit our natural resources, we will guarantee that for each dollar that is extracted from Puerto Rico, we will cost them $2000 in losses and damages.

Since the colonial case of Puerto Rico is to be discussed at the United Nations, we seize this opportunity to demonstrate to the world that the Puerto Rican Independence Movement is willing to sacrifice everything in order to achieve the Independence of Puerto Rico.

We also grasp this moment to warn official not to oppress, incarcerating, expelling and killing Puerto Ricans and other oppressed minorities. We cite a recent case involving the New York City blackout, where over 4000 people were hauled into jails. We also point to Chicago where three people were assassinated and hundreds of others arrested during the Puerto Rican Day Parade celebrations. If the professional politicians and the police continue their actions, we will strike them as hard as they have never been struck before.

We are against grand jury abuses.

FREELIVE THE FIVE PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST PRISONERS!
INDEPENDENCE OF PUERTO RICO NOW!
END GRAND JURY ABUSE!
VICTORY TO THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE!

FALN CENTRAL COMMAND

The revolutionary execution of Allan H. Randall was the result of an investigative process and of an analysis which took into account the real functions of this individual was carrying forth in Puerto Rico and the high spirits of the workers.

The final decision, however, rest not only in all other factors, but in a political criterion in tune with the clamor of the most advanced sectors of the working class. Among them there exists widespread support for the revolutionary action of this enemy of the working class. However, the great majority of the labor leaders did not publicly condemn that act.

Randall was not an ordinary corporation lawyer. His specific duties went beyond those of that profession. As we pointed out in the first Communist, he planned and implemented anti-worker conspiracies developed at the highest levels of the intelligence service of the United States, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Exactly four days after the execution he was to preside over a convention of federal lawyers which, among other functions, was to serve as a mantle to cover up a repressive skills seminar in which high-level officials of the CIA would participate. Among these were Anthony A. Lapham, legal adviser to that agency of international espionage and terrorism. Because of the enormous importance assigned to it, said activity was held without the cover-up.

If any evidence was needed to confirm the level of Randall’s involvement inside that repression apparatus of the U.S. government, it has been that government which has released it. Since when did federal police agencies such as the FBI and the Secret Service intervene in the investigation of a simple lawyer? Is it because the individual was a federal agent and his revolutionary execution is transformed into a federal crime?

Furthermore, what is the Secret Service doing in this investigation? The law defines with precision the function of the Secret Service: to protect the treasury of the United States; to defend the life of the president and vice-president; and to watch over specified aspects of the national security of the country. Since Randall is not part of the treasury, nor president nor vice-president, it is obvious that he was in Puerto Rico discharging functions relating to the national security of the U.S.

And this is, in reality, a confirmation of the facts that came out of the investigation carried out by our organization, which we took into consideration in our local, condemnation, and execution of Allan Randall.

Randall took part in repressive, anti-working class actions in historic moments when the labor and political struggles waged by our class had attained great vigor. The strike movements, the continuous triumphs of the unions over
the employers, the increasing and successful use of revolutionary violence on the part of our working people shown during the first half of the decade, breaking the tomb-like silence of the previous years—all these characterize the Puerto Rican working class movement. The resurgence of the class struggle in its ascendant stage represented a grave danger to the interests of imperialism. It was, besides, an objective base for the strengthening of the revolutionary organizations of our class. It was establishing the base for important revolutionary changes in the not-too-distant future.

Moreover, it is evident that there had already been set in motion imperialist plans to take over our natural resources, such as the mines and oil. These objectives—of extracting the riches of our people—require conditions of social and political instability to establish the necessary stability that the working class was disrupting with its struggles.

Thus it was that imperialism set in motion conspiratorial plans against our people which included the extermination or minimizing the influence among the workers of certain organized forces and the processes advanced by them. All these plans, it is clear, included other types of methods of a political and economic character.

Private repressive agencies, such as the notorious Security Associates, specializing in the struggle against the workers movement, are sprouting up. They are polishing up and perfecting the use of legal tactics which, in cooperation with the Yankee Labor Relations Board (the quasi-judicial agency which administers the Taft-Hartley Law) and the federal courts, deal crushing blows to the working class movement. They are perfecting the tactics of utilizing reactionary unions as spearheads to break up progressive and combative organizations of workers, within the framework of the repressive actions directed by Security Associates and the colonial police. One example of this among many which we could cite is the situation during the strike of the cement workers in Ponce some time back.

During the entire process, Allan H. Randall was one of the principal planners. He personally laboring in the design of the general plan approved by the North American intelligence services. He personally participated in the implementation. We have evidence of various occasions in which he decided, over the will of the employers, the attitude to be taken at the negotiating table toward the workers on strike. He decided when Security Associates would intervene; when the reactionary union would be thrown against the progressive union, when the Labor Relations Board and the North American courts would be brought in; what type of judicial measures would be taken, many of them carrying serious penalties against the strike leaders and their organizations.

He was tried, condemned and executed not for being a company lawyer. That was simply one of his many tasks—one which, as has been said before, he carried out with an efficiency difficult to surpass—but because that was a cloak that he used to cover his more global activities.

To this end, we cite the first two paragraphs of our communiqué number 1, dated September 22, 1977:

"Allan H. Randall has been accused and found guilty of conspiring against the best interests of the working class and Puerto Rican workers movement. He was condemned to death and executed today by a workers’ commando group."

"For years, Randall has participated actively in the elaboration and implementation of the plans of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other repressive instruments of the United States. These plans have had as their central aim the destruction of the power and influence of the workers’ struggle."

Randall was, then, a soldier who, although uncomfortable, was detected on the enemy’s war front. He fell in combat, in the combat of our class struggle, in which important sectors of the masses take part consciously.

In this sense we wish to define our political position with respect to the use of revolutionary violence in general and with respect to assassinations or political executions in particular as a tactic.

For us, violence is not an end in itself. It is one means in a complete political process which includes a multitude of means and forms. Revolutionary violence and its principal expression, revolutionary armed struggle, is part of the process of class struggle which will reach its highest point in the establishment of the seizure of power as the short-term objective. This is not the short-term objective— as is the case in the present historic moment—revolutionary violence is one method, among others, in the specific conditions of Puerto Rico today, it is not the principal form. Armed activity, then, is inserted in the entire complexity of forms which characterize the classes’ struggle at present.

The violence of the working class cannot be of a defensive character, one that seeks to justify itself according to the rules and morality of the bourgeoisie. Since the bourgeoisie has its own internal contradictions, and since there are sectors within the class that see themselves forced to use violence against other sectors, they have to justify the use of violence within the framework of the established laws and morals. This accounts for slogans such as "the greater the repression, the greater the militancy. "We use violence when it is used against us," "we will respond with violence in forms constrained by present legalities," etc.

Why do oppressed sectors of the bourgeoisie have to make use of such forms of defensive slogans with respect to the use of violence? The reason is the historic right of the bourgeoisie to use the violence because it ceased being revolutionary. When one sector of the class—for example, the petty bourgeoisie—has to make use of violence, it is because it is a legal and ethical parameter established by the bourgeoisie class. The political justification given by the petty bourgeoisie for the use of violence against the big bourgeoisie is situated within these terms.

The working class has contradictions which are antagonistic and irreconcilable with the bourgeoisie. Its social and political program supposes a radical transformation of capitalist structures. To gain its objectives, it cannot act in conformity with the rules of the game established by the bourgeoisie, although it has to make use of them in forms which correspond to the interests of
the proletarian struggle. But it makes use of them as part of its global strategy, and not as part of a political attitude based on reaction to enemy initiatives. It seeks simultaneously to itself assume the initiative in the revolutionary process.

Thus the proletariat cannot wait until "all the conditions mature" before using revolutionary violence. It is necessary that conditions mature with the development of the class struggle—including the armed struggle—as part of the conscious effort of the working class and in tune with the objective conditions of society. And part of the maturing of the conditions is to act, with the means and forms of struggle most effective in each historic moment, against all the factors, situations and conditions which act as obstacles to the development of the struggle.

The execution of Randall, for example, was an action carried out by a detachment which is armed, efficient and bold, and which grows not from the fringes of the workers' movement. It was incubated and developed out of the heart of that struggle and its action—the execution of the Yankee agent—is one of the many manifestations of that struggle. It constitutes an action not physically carried out by the broad masses, but in correspondence with their demands and in accord with the needs of their struggle. As we have explained, it was an attack on one of the coordinating heads of the conspiracy which impedes the development of the class struggle. We don't wish to say that this conspiracy has now ended. What we do say is that it has been dealt a severe blow and that, besides, new conditions are being felt for a re-energizing of the workers' struggle.

The execution of Randall was not a "political assassination" or a criminal act, as has been charged. Assassinations or executions, as a revolutionary tactic, have been sanctioned and utilized by leaders of the revolutionary process such as Lenin in the Russian Revolution, Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Fidel in the Cuban Revolution, the anti-fascist guerrilla movements in Europe during the World War II, etc. It fulfills functions that go far beyond the physical elimination of an enemy personality.

It is clear that Randall, as planner and conqueror against our workers' movement, will be replaced. But there has been established a certain precedent and atmosphere of respect which will have to be taken into account by those who pretend to replace him.

It is for this reason that when a police agent infiltrates a revolutionary organization and carries out operations which are important to the enemy from within that organization, and when he is discovered and nothing happens to him, not only the enemy but the people themselves lose respect for the organization for its passivity in the face of the transgressions of the enemy.

The detection of those in the comando group who executed Randall will be impossible. The operation was carried out with professional efficiency, without leaving any scent at all.

We warn all concerned that we maintain ourselves on alert, and that crimes against the workers' movement will not go unpunished.

Long Live Free and Socialist Puerto Rico!
Long Live the Working Class!

COMANDOS OBREROS

Puerto Rico

April, 1978

We, the Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo (CRP) take responsibility for the action taken against the club of the officials of the yankee coast guard. This action is in response to the intransigence and arrogance of the navy, and the yankee government in the face of the legitimate claims of the people of Viqueques.

The people of Puerto Rico demand that the navy immediately cease the bombardment and the occupation of Viqueques. The Navy are not only an obstacle for the free development of Viqueques, but also a constant danger to its security. The continuous bombardment of the island and the storage of nuclear arms on Viqueques soil is clearly a danger unacceptable to Puerto Ricans. Only the immediate and total end to the the shooting practices in Viqueques, and the exit of the yankee navy, will be acceptable to our people.

We denounce as well the opportunist attitude of the colonial government; Romero Barceló, who, in the necessity to curb the mobilization of the people against the navy, intends to lead the people of Viqueques into a locking in to a sterile, legal "struggle" in the imperialist courts.

The development of the struggle against the navy in the last months proves once more that legal methods of struggle cannot resolve the fundamental problems of our Fatherland. While the struggle has given birth to a level of mobilization of people and a blockade of the maneuvers (that is, on the level of confrontation), it has detained the navy. In moving into the camp of the imperialist courts, the people of Viqueques have suffered defeat after defeat. First an order of provisional insurrection was denied and now the hearing about permanent prohibition is postponed.

Viqueques teaches us a lesson: We do not confide in legalism, presented as imperialist courts or as colonial elections. Only the mobilization of the people and their organization for the revolutionary armed struggle can throw the yankees out of our Fatherland. Only people's war will save the people.

DE PUY EN GUERRA
COMANDOS REVOLUCIONARIOS
DEL PUEBLO (CRP)
This general situation in Puerto Rico causes a large sector of our population great confusion. We cannot forget that Puerto Rico, having an industrial as well as a colonial character of North American imperialism, now suffers one of its worst crises. Within this crisis the dominant North American economic circles are searching for different alternatives for a solution to this crisis, not for the benefit of the people of Puerto Rico, but for their own economic interests.

There are sectors in the North American economic society which see statehood as their salvation, but there are other sectors of the dominant class that see the continuation of colonialism as the solution to the crisis. It is necessary to clarify that in reality, a serious and careful analysis of the situation that our people and nation are experiencing does not indicate that the so-called annexationist conspiracy exists in Puerto Rico and the United States, and that we find ourselves destined towards statehood. The most that can be said of the crisis occurring in Puerto Rico is that distinct dominant sectors of the imperialist economy are searching for different alternatives to resolve this crisis in their favor.

The final solution of the different alternatives may well be statehood, the continuation of colonialism as we know it or with some reforms, or a banana republic which will respond to the interests of the yanki imperialists.

Given this, we understand that it is not the formation of fronts of a reformist character that will enable us to obtain a final solution to this crisis, much less to our national liberation. Reformist fronts against statehood and other fronts which are not anti-imperialist and revolutionary will only help serve to politically strengthen the autonomist groups, so as to continue and strengthen colonialism in Puerto Rico.

This situation demonstrates the correct conception of struggle which tells us that reformist and legal struggles will not drive the yanki Navy from Vieques, and much less the yanki imperialists from Puerto Rico. Only a revolutionary organization of the people and the capacity that it generates for struggle through different means, fundamentally via armed revolution, will lead us to our victory.

What the yanki Navy is doing in Vieques is an extension of the continuous aggression which is carried out daily against our people, at all levels on which they find themselves; they are not acts of peace. They are acts of war carried out by the imperialists against our nation—a colonized nation.

This reality, along with the enormous economic fortune which Puerto Rico represents for the yankis is another concrete example which points out that the imperialists are not going to surrender Puerto Rico peacefully. To defeat the imperialists, it is necessary to respond to their reactionary violence with revolutionary violence and destroy their dominant economic and political structure.

This will be accomplished through the People's revolutionary organization led by the working class which will effectively engage in a prolonged struggle. A struggle which will strengthen our forces and experiences and will weaken the enemy. This is the key to victory.
We understand that the final solution to our crisis will come when our people take the reins of power and construct a future of their own. It is our duty to organize, arm and prepare ourselves for the political-military struggle against the yanki imperialists.

We understand that the fundamental strategy which will lead us to victory is the people’s revolutionary war. We fraternally salute all revolutionary and clandestine organizations which arise in these historic moments. We await the day when we can unite forces for the creation of a powerful People’s Revolutionary Army.

The salvation of our nation lies in the people’s war. De pie y en guerra

Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo (CRP)

PUERTO RICO

PUBLIC DECLARATION FROM WITHIN PRISON

Nydia Ester Cuervas
and Pablo Marcano García

The takeover of the Chilean Consulate on July 4, 1978, has created strong controversies within our colonial political milieu. From the eager-for-annexation, traditionally hysterical right sector, to our fragmented left, all have been shaken by this exceptional happening in the course of our development as a People. “Terrorists, enemies of democracy, young desperate idealists, isolated from the masses,” are but a few of the names we have been called. Nothing has been left out.

Now comes the time and opportunity to focus with clarity on the concepts and reasons that led us toward our liberated action. The resonance of this action served as a manifestation to the world of our demand for freedom for our political prisoners—the longest-held prisoners in the hemisphere—and in protest of the embarrassing act of the celebration of United States’ independence day in our country, which is controlled and dominated by United States’ economic and military forces. In that sense, our primary aims were achieved to completion.

The international focus of our action reiterated the fact that here exists a People in struggle for its independence who will not stoop or yield to the violent and dehumanizing attacks of imperialism.

Our takeover of the Chilean Consulate stems from the same principles and values that gave the North Americans the right to create their Free Land.

We knew that suspension of the Fourth of July activities was impossible because of the submissive character of the present incumbent at La Fortaleza. A sense incapable of feeling shame or concern when confronted with the rendering of our natural resources, our traits and cultural values and dignity as a People, seems to be insensitive before such an humiliating celebration. It is not that the Fourth of July would seem humiliating to us in itself, rather the particular impudence of its celebration by those who through their actions negate the principles of independence.

We acknowledge, on the other hand, the great significance of such a memorable historic event. In it, the desires of liberty and equality were realized (although only partially, since the liberty of the Negro slave was not included) as basic elements of the modern state. By choosing the Chilean Consulate, we unmask the political farcical humanrights policy of President Carter. To sustain political, economic, and military relations with Chile and its government, is to sustain its entire policy of assassinations, tortures, and violent acts upon the most elemental human rights of this sister nation, which, losing its best men and women, continues its struggle as an example for the rest of our Greater Nation: Latin America. The policy behind Hiroshima, Nagasaki, the napalm
PUERTO RICO

July 25, 1978

After the electoral debacle of 1976, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and the more advanced sectors of the Worker’s Movement began an open debate over methods of struggle.

This is due to the fact that Parliamentarism has demonstrated over and over again its inefficiency as an instrument of change or centralization. Our practice has demonstrated that a regime of violence, based on the oppression and exploitation of our people by the native bourgeoisie, can only be destroyed by revolutionary violence on the part of organized people.

There exists a consensus by Puerto Rican Revolutionaries on the necessity of building a vanguard that will direct the people toward liberation and the construction of a just society. There exists no consensus, however, on what form that vanguard should take.

It has become fashionable to speak about the construction of a Workers Party, a Party that would convert itself into a political vanguard of the people struggling for social and economic re-ivindication and finally, in the struggle for power.

Nevertheless, we understand that the objective conditions in Puerto Rico, and especially the repressive agencies’ attitudes, will not allow the creation of a political vanguard, legally infiltration, provocation and the fabrication of cases have been and are the favorite instruments of reaction to render useless revolutionary groups. On the other hand, we consider that the most correct strategy for the seizure of power is through popular revolutionary warfare. It will be the combination of the two methods of political struggle, the pacific and the military methods, that will permit us to develop the actions that the political movement demands to mobilize the people, arms in hand, toward the final victory and the taking of power.

In this sense, we propose that the revolutionary vanguard in Puerto Rico should be a political-military and clandestine vanguard, a People’s Revolutionary Army. This People’s Revolutionary Army should elevate the people’s level of struggle and set the base for the unity and the organization of a National Liberation Front. This National Liberation Front should mobilize the greatest possible mass of people around its revolutionary principles and strategically converge each moment with the political-military actions of the Revolutionary Army.

But this Revolutionary Army, this political-military vanguard, cannot be created by decree.

It can only be organized through the union of all clandestine groups and constnants, and the creation of New Armed Groups. For this reason, we...
understand that those revolutionaries who are not organized at this point, should organize themselves as fast as possible into Revolutionary Commandos, fortify and prepare themselves for the struggle. Those comrades who wish to cooperate with the Armed Movement can organize Support Committees for the Revolutionary Armed Struggle. These Committees can create propaganda about the armed struggle with paintings on the walls about the revolutionary struggle, and by clandestine reproduction and distribution of communiqués and bulletins by the different combative Puerto Rican organizations. They should also organize all kinds of activities that contribute to the elevation of political consciousness of the people. (Study groups, for example) These Committees should have a clandestine structure, as it is important for all revolutionaries to adequately protect themselves against repression. On the other hand, when organizing revolutionary commando groups, one should be even more careful.

The first assignment is the political organization of a nucleus of comrades who have complete confidence in one another. The nucleus should be small (no more than four people) and any additional recruitment that is done should be strictly selective and directed towards the creation of a new nucleus and not the expansion of the original group. In this manner, new nuclei are created, so that all comrades do not know each other. Naturally, this is done for everyone’s security.

These groups should obtain and learn to use arms, while learning to utilize explosive for operations, such as Revolutionary Sabotage.

Nevertheless, all would be in vain if the political-military actions of these combative groups were not based on some firm political criteria. We suggest, as a minimum, the following: In the first place, one’s politics commands one’s gun. It is fundamental that all operations be discussed politically to determine their correctness. After the operation, one must explain it to the people. A revolutionary action which ignores the political explanation of the reasons for the action, is an action that fails in terms of its political objectives.

In the second place, all armed revolutionary action should be an expression of the needs and aspirations of the people. We understand the Carlos Mari- ghella statement: The urban guerrilla’s rebellion and his persistence in inter- ceeding with society’s problems constitute the best manner in which to build support around the cause we defend.

In each strike, in each student protest, in each mobilization of the people against the tyranny of imperialism and its colonial projects, the armed branch of the people’s justice should always be present: the Revolutionary Commando. We should also halt actions that may wound or kill innocent bystanders or that would destroy the employment of our workers. We should learn to utilize revolutionary violence firmly, but cautiously, and always direct it according.

It is very easy to destroy a store like Sears or Woolworth’s, but this would mean a loss of work for our people, and would constitute, at the actual moment, a loss o’ popular support for the revolutionary cause. In this sense, we emphasize the necessity of understanding what sabotage is, and how to utilize it.

A military action is executed in accordance with the political objectives it wishes to further. It is not enough to plant 1,000 explosives, it is necessary to plant them at the right time, in the right place. We also understand that revolutionary sabotage is no longer enough. It is necessary to develop other types of action that will permit us to arm ourselves, fortify ourselves, and each time acquire more experience in combat, while disarming, weakening, and harassing the enemy. This will be the key to our growth, the development of a true People’s War. Lastly, as armed clandestine revolutionary groups, we should practice revolution humililty. There is no place for arrogance and sectarianism when the clandestine path of armed struggle is chosen.

In the struggle against imperialism, against the tyranny that oppresses our nation and our people, we should remember that we are comrades-in-arms. We should respect each other and work for revolutionary unity that will lead to Victory:

“All our actions are a war-cry against imperialism and a call for unity of the people against the great enemy of humanity: The United States of America. Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome so long as our war-cry has reached a receptive ear, and another hand picks up our guns.”

—Ernesto Che Guevara

THE SALVATION OF OUR NATION LIES IN PEOPLE’S WAR

DE PIE EN GUERRA

COMANDOS REVOLUCIONARIOS DEL PUEBLO (CRP)
No one in Puerto Rico has any doubt that what happened on July 25 in Cerro Maravilla was vile and brutal murder in the best style of the Vizcaíno. No one has any doubt that the victim was the man who was behind the paid assassins who cowardly shot the heroes Arnaldo Dario Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivé. Only the most insensitive and reactionary sectors in the country have done honor to these anti-revolutionary and anti-national interests by attempting to justify such atrocity.

It is necessary that we understand what interests lie behind these assassinations. It is fundamental that we avoid the use and solicitation of these young patriotic lives by the same interests that ordered their death.

Since before July 4th the colonial police and the FBI were laying the groundwork for public opinion with a hysterical campaign against the clandestine and revolutionary organizations that exist in Puerto Rico. They were preparing the way that would permit them to harass and repress revolutionary independence.

Furthermore, on July 4th Puerto Ricans, even without the white imperialism designs. The bold couple, Nydia Estée Cuevas and Pablo Marcano put imperialism on ridicule and publicized our struggle for emancipation. Internationally, humiliated, and in a desperate attempt to stop the increase in combatant organizations, imperialism and its colonial lackeys planned the vile assassination at Monse Maravilla. The FBI and the colonial police planned a crime in order to instill fear in all those who intend to fight against exploitation and colonialism.

The 24th of July they began to execute their premeditated plan. That day they arrested a number of members of the organization with "terrorist" acts and increased the surveillance of the centers of other independentista organizations.

On July 25th the snitch and murderer Alejandro González Malavé brought two young and honest patriots to their deaths. That same day, and thanks to that same executioner, the hunter for eight other independentistas of various affiliations, and including some with no affiliations, is initiated.

The press sings of victory. They compare the murdered confrères and the prisoners to common criminals. They intimidate the principal witness and beat prisoners. All the imperialist chorus unites in one voice, congratulating the murderers and asking for more blood. A 25th of July worthy of Yankee imperialism is celebrated.

What is behind this repression? Our fatherland is going through, since years ago, one of its most deep and severe crises. The various economic sectors of Yankee imperialism are looking for a solution to this crisis that will allow them to continue the criminal exploitation of our people and our working class. They know that on the international level it is more difficult to maintain the image, until now sustained, of their imperialist relation over our fatherland. They know that on the national level there are more and more of us who choose the road of organization and clandestine struggle which leads to the creation of a powerful Revolutionary People's Army that assumes the political-military tasks of the struggle for national independence and socialism. They know that each day the discontent of the people increases, and that the minimal conditions are beginning to be outlined for a National Liberation Front, formed by a great number of organizations and by the most combative sectors of the people, that will execute the political tasks, and that will, on another level coinciding with the political-military drive of the revolutionary guerrilla war, put in check the power of the imperialists in our country.

Imperialism wants to resolve the crisis in its favor and against the people, and is ready to do it by any means we remember the Massacres of Río Piedras and Ponce, the imprisonments and murders of the decades of the 30's and the 50's, the assassinations of Antonia Martínez, Santiago Mari, Rafael Caballero (and others) in the way they have done it in other countries (Chile, Santa Domingo, Argentina).

In this sense we should understand the role of the police, the FBI and the other repressive organs in our country. They are not here to protect the working people but to protect the interests and properties of the bosses, against the people. You have only to ask theعم Workers, the Teamsters and the workers of other unions when they have gone on strike. These paid assassins are ready to do anything to protect their bosses.

We also have to realize ourselves against the official politicians, such as Sánchez Vilela, Marcos Rigo and Hernández Colón, who hypocritically mask themselves as workers in order to obtain electoral benefits and later on punish the people with the same brutality as the other colonial puppets.

Our people must prepare themselves to fight against these enemies: to organize, to defend our political prisoners, and to expose and punish criminals like González Malavé.

Only the revolutionary violence of an organized people can achieve the objectives we have outlined. The electoral road only serves to create the illusion of legality and divert the attention of the revolutionaries from their true objective: to destroy by force of arms imperialist domination and its regime of exploitation in our Fatherland.

We understand that the fundamental strategy in the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico is revolutionary popular war. A struggle that depends as much on the level of agitation and mobilization of great masses of people, as on the level of armed combat against imperialism and its lackeys.

In order to develop a true people's war two fundamental elements are necessary: the unity of the people around revolutionary objectives; and an
armed force capable of executing the political-military tasks that the historical moment demands. We have to organize a National Liberation Front and a Revolutionary People's Army.

This is the real and proper alternative of our people, to organize ourselves, independent from the parties and politicians of colonialism, in order to struggle for our freedom and our rights as a people. To carry out a proud struggle for the freedom of our political prisoners, to go to their trials, find them their bail, hide those being pursued; to protest the assassinations and brutality of the police, and to hit our enemies harder each time. This brave people is a formidable force if it organizes, arms itself and fights. It is through the consciousness and the knowledge of the need to be free that our people will organize in a revolutionary manner to assume the tasks of reclaiming our Fatherland and making ourselves free.

ONLY PEOPLE'S WAR WILL SAVE THE PEOPLE DE PIE Y EN GUERRA

COMANDOS REVOLUCIONARIOS DEL PUEBLO (CRP)

PUERTO RICO

FARP

Summer 1978

A revolution is a violent phenomenon. This is a fact that we cannot forget. He who wants revolution, whether late or early, has to call on violence to achieve his objective. However, the degree of violence that a revolution reaches depends on the resistance put up by the dominant class.

Revolutionaries should be ready to use revolutionary violence to achieve their goal of creating a new society where man is not exploited by man. For this reason, to commit violence per se is not only illusory, it is counter-revolutionary. One thing a revolutionary should never do is spill blood unnecessarily.

The revolutionary is guided by superior consciousness. Revolution is the most humanitarian act that exists, and its violent acts are justified by this reality. It is this consciousness that does not allow a revolutionary action to be converted into a vicious bloodbath.

The practice of the Fuerzas Armadas De Resistencia Popular (Armed Forces of Popular Resistance) has been to avoid the necessity of hurting anyone. Not that we are not ready to do it—necessary violence is justified; we go armed to actions, we attack if we have to attack, and we defend ourselves if we have to. But we don't allow our armed actions to go beyond what the operation requires.

Our successful action in the police station at Montebeallo in Manatí is proof of this policy. We disarmed and tied up two police; we expropriated material, destroyed enemy war equipment and painted slogans. Later we retreated without wounding or mistreating the prisoners. This does not mean that we wouldn't have shot them if some of our fighters had been in danger. When we act militarily we keep in mind that death is a real possibility, and we make sure that in the event of a confrontation the enemy will be effectively dominated. Right now our revolutionary morality keeps us from being more violent than the operation necessities.

The unfortunate events of Cerro Maravilla demonstrate, on the other hand, that our enemy is not disciplined by the same rules. Fifteen men with long range arms ambushed two independentsistas. They shoot them without any previous warning, they disarm them and then later on they execute them. Having at their disposal all the repressive state apparatus (courts, prisons, etc.), having a clear numerical and armed superiority, having the factor of surprise in their favor, and having an agent behind the backs of the compa/fenas—they single them out to murder them.

This repressive operation demonstrates two things to us: that the enemy plans to destroy the people's resistance with all the cruelty that their fascist minds are capable of dreaming up; and that having the overwhelming majority,
they can act with prudence. Their need to strike at the clandestine organizations, and their inability to do so, causes enemy intelligence to create a plan to make them appear successful in their repressive campaign.

Since they cannot hit at any of the real organizations, they decide to invent one. Through the use of an agent, they deceive two independentista comrade-nos. They give the anticipated publicity to their first operation (the barracks of the university guards) and make easy its realization. A name is invented for their "organization" and the agent writes up a ridiculous communiqué.

Later comes the second operation: the shooting at Muñoz Marín's house. They take a few shots at a wall—and get more publicity.

At this point, it is considered time to destroy the "terrorists." They do the ambush at Cerro Maravilla, and the two deceive compañeros fall. Romero Barceló applauds the assassins and proclaims the destruction of a terrorist "organization."

This is the master plan that enemy intelligence has created to destroy the people's resistance. Fear and lack of morality causes them to act in the barba-rous and savage form in which they murder the two young men. Fear—be-cause in spite of being in a superior position they couldn't dare let them live, because they didn't think at the time that their agent would be wounded and only by murdering them could they feel safe. Lack of morality—because they felt that they were doing the dirty work of their boss, and because in murdering those "terrorists" they were murdering their own consciences.

This type of behavior obliges us to take preventive measures. If this is the way the enemy is going to act, our fighters will be ready for it. We will respond to their savagery with calculated and well-directed attacks. We will make the enemy responsible for the consequences that this repressive escalation brings.

As for undercover agents, we want to make our position clear: when an agent is detected in the ranks of a revolutionary organization, the corresponding sentence is denunciation and execution. He is a spy discovered behind enemy lines, and there can be no other punishment.

Not to take action against an enemy agent allows him to continue his destructive work. If Alejandro González González had been dealt with responsibly, two revolutionary compañeros would not be dead.

Finally, we want to make our position clear on the act of sabotage they had intended to carry out. Compañeros Armando Dario Rosado and Carlos Soto Arriví should live in the hearts and memories of all fighters and all our people. Independent of the operational errors and the police trap, the objective was correct: the type of action was correct. We applaud the two compañeros for their decision, their bravery and their inclination to struggle.

ETERNAL LIFE TO ARNALDO DARIO ROSADO AND CARLOS SOTO ARRIVÍ! THEIR DEATHS WILL BE AVENGED!

FUERZAS ARMADAS DE RESISTENCIA POPULAR (FARP)

With the intention of establishing the precedent of always telling the truth to the people, as opposed to the conduct of the colonial and repressive government of Romero Barceló and the CIA, we make the following declaration about the death in combat of police officer Julio Rodríguez at Naguabo Beach.

The Ejército Popular Boricua (Macheteros) will always assume total responsibility for the actions in which it participates, without trying to distort the facts.

In the early morning of Thursday, August 24, 1978, a combat unit of the Ejército Popular Boricua undertook to seize a police patrol in the neighborhood of Naguabo Beach. The objective of this operation was the seizure of uniforms, arms and the police vehicle. The surprise factor, our greater fire-power and our numerical superiority guaranteed our security and the defeat of the enemy. Police officer Rodríguez did not heed our order to surrender—and, drawing his gun, fired against our combatants, who saw themselves obliged to respond. This was how police officer Rodríguez fell in combat.

Later two civilian vehicles passed, and our combatants, maintaining police officer Méndez under the point of a gun, pretended to be fixing the motor of the car. When the path was clear, two combatants took officer Méndez to the beach to tie him up and take his uniform. They had brought two sportsuits with the intention of saving the two officers the humiliation of being found tied up in their underwear.

It was at this time that the unmarked car arrived with the two NIC agents in it. Our combatants tried to tell them that they should go away, but the agents paid no attention and opened fire. Our combatants responded and the agents fled, abandoning their comrades. They retreated to a distance of approximately one kilometer and did not attempt to return immediately. We effected our retreat at this point, before enemy reinforcements would arrive.

We want it to be clear that we revolutionaries are not assassins. We will always intend to realize our actions without unnecessary loss of life. Contrary to the form of action of the Police, already excessively demonstrated in Cerro Maravilla, with Benjamín Ortiz in Aguadillas, with the teacher in Manatí, with the artisan in Barrioquitas, with the veteran in Dorado, with Caballero, with Antonio Martínez, and many more cases in our districts and neighbor-hood—we respect life and the dignity of being human. It is precisely in this respect for life and the right to a future of justice and social equality for all men, women, and children that our principles are founded.

Because we have and we struggle for these principles, we will not vacillate in responding to fire with fire.

We warn members of the police to take this very much into account, and in
future cases to pay attention to our orders to surrender. If this is what they do, their lives will be respected. Otherwise they assume responsibility for that which could happen.

Location of the arrival of the police patrol in the direction of Humacao.

Rodríguez and Mendoza move toward the "broken down" car.

Voice calling halt. Rodríguez and Mendoza are captured.

Rodríguez loses his cool, pulls his gun and fires.

Rodríguez shooting, seconds before falling, victim of his own nervousness.

Key:
A. Police officer Rodríguez
B. Police officer Mendoza
1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Combinations of the Fabriaco Popular Boricua

SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO
September 4, 1978

To the people of Puerto Rico:
The Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo (the People’s Revolutionary Commandos) fulfill our responsibility of denouncing before the Puerto Rican people and before the world the painful situation being experienced by compañeros Nydia Esther Cuevas and Pablo Marcano, political prisoners of yankee imperialism.

On July 3rd this bold couple, unbreakable symbol of the purest Puerto Rican dignity, occupied the offices of the Chilean consulate in San Juan. This action had as its only objective to indicate the consciousness of the Puerto Ricans about the opprobrious July 4th yankee celebrations and about the already too-long imprisonment of the Nationalist heroes. There was no violence during their action. All the people, including the Chilean Consul himself, have recognized the great humanity that guides these two compañeros.

Now, humiliated internationally, the yankees and their colonial lackeys seek to destroy Nydia and Pablo. They know that this heroic couple symbolizes the most precious aspects of Puerto Rican nationality, and more than that, the spark that could light our people to light the powderkeg that is Puerto Rico, sunk in crisis today. The yankees want to imprison Nydia and Pablo in order to intimidate Puerto Ricans, and especially the youth who openly demonstrate their contempt for imperialist oppression. They want to imprison Nydia and Pablo, and what they represent.

To achieve this objective, imperialism has chosen as its instrument Judge Juan R. Torruella. In 1933 El Maestro Don Pedro Albizu Campos warned: “It is not convenient for any empire to exercise tyranny openly; and it always hides behind the despotism of the natives of the intervened nation.” Torruella is an example of this practice.

Since their imprisonment, Nydia and Pablo have personally suffered the excesses of the imperialists. In the first place, an astronomical bail was fixed—ten times that which is set for a murderer or a child rapist. After the bail was lowered, property was put up for their freedom. Nevertheless, the secretary of the court estimated the value of these properties at far below their real value, in this way impeding the freedom of these brave comrades.

Torruella has simply put on the finishing touches. He has tried all the methods available to be partial in the case against Nydia and Pablo. First, he refused to accept the resignation of lawyers Rechani and Segal, when they alleged ideological differences with their clients. This denial was made in spite of the allegations of Nydia and Pablo that their lawyers were trying to convince them to declare themselves guilty, restricting in this way the right of the comrades to have lawyers truly identifying with their defense. At the same time,
members of the jury were disqualified for the mere fact of sympathizing with the independence of our Fatherland.

Moreover, Torruella has attempted to "muzzle," through judicial orders, the lawyers, try them as if they were on trial themselves, in a desperate attempt to hush up the truth.

Proving beyond doubt his arbitrary partiality, he has rejected the statement of a doctor about the precarious health of compañera Nydia Esther Cuevas and has made the decision to go full speed ahead with the trial.

The intentions of imperialism, demonstrated by its ap- between Torruella, are clear: resolve the case as quickly as possible, and obtain a long sentence for a couple whose only crime has been to be dignified in a country led by immoral and insensitive rulers.

It is before this same pro-imperialist judge that the colonial government in power is now bringing its supposed case "against" the presence of the Yankee navy in the Puerto Rican territory of Vieques. What justice can the people of Vieques expect from this farce, staged by the government of the colony before this lapdog of imperialism?

We denounce the trial against Nydia and Pablo as a political trial, against fighters for our independence, just as we denounce the case "against" the Yankee navy as an imperialist trick to divert these brave people from the truly valuable methods of struggle: the struggle of the people in the streets and the armed struggle against our oppressors.

It particularly pains us to see these two compañeros alone, politically alone, without a political defense that comes from the street to defend them in the imperialist courts, and that brings from the courts to the streets and to the people a case of such magnitude and importance as this case is.

And even more, it pains us to see them alone in a moment in which we still feel the freshly-spilled blood of heroes Armando Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arriil.

We call on our people to defend all of our persecuted patriots from Nydia and Pablo to the enormous group of patriots arrested since July 24: all of them independents—affiliated with organizations or not—who fight for the freedom and independence of our people.

For Nydia and Pablo, for the eight compañeros, victims of the police conspiracy in which González Márquez took part; for all the persecuted compañeros—our most affectionate love. Courage, compañeros! Freedom and justice will soon triumph!

For the Yankee FBI and their paid assassins in the colonial police, we will not make attempts against the lives of Torruella or any other judicial warmonger. For him, for all like him who kiss the boots of the Yankee invader—your time will come before the true justice: the people's justice. The people, organized, exercising revolutionary violence will be your judge.

Only people's war will save the people.

DE PIE Y EN GUERRA
COMANDOS REVOLUCIONARIOS DEL PUEBLO (CRP)
APPENDIX

SPRING 1978

WE ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE

For a long time it has been clear that everywhere in society has its class struggle. The political parties, the institutions of society like the press, the courts, the armed forces, the legislature, the law, and even the idea of society itself in some way is a particular class or classes & have a negative effect on others. In this conflict of class interests, as it becomes more intense, the whole world will take sides. The institutions of society will lose their false objectivity & align themselves with the interests & sit themselves at the service of the class they correspond to. This is what happened in the URTR and Tuama strikers.

The colonial governor of Puerto Rico, boss of the workers and administrator of the capital of the bankers of Wall Street, lost its false objectivity very quickly. Romero Barceló immediately dropped his false disguise as governor of all the Puerto Ricans to show his true face — defender of big interests against the Puerto Ricans.

With him, the whole leadership of the P.R.P. sticks out against the workers on strike, the congressmen (supported representatives of all the people), raped against the strikers; the whole ruling class press: El Mundo, the San Juan Star, El Nuevo Día & El Vocero — came out against the Union & the right of the public sector to strike, the Civil Defense, at the service of Pedro Vazquez; the courts of "justice" imposed enormous fines on the strikers while ignoring the lowest possible fines on the violators and murderers of children; the big publishers put their resources at the service of the governor: Masso offered timber, others offered cars and the businessmen even offered themselves as vigilantes; the so-called civic clubs like the Ponceanians to the police; so-called "pro" speech is denied the unions on T.V. even though they pay, while the Cuban exiles, and the nigger squads attack the workers and their allies.

Thus the police & armed forces have not only been used just to guard the installations but to open the way to the strikebreakers, to drive the jeep & trucks of the A.F.T. & P.R.P. to provoke and club the workers with the shotguns.

They have taken men and women from the working class by their need to work and made them enemies of their class brother and sister and subjected them to an exhausting schedule. To the police of the police they pretend to "sweeten the fatherland" in the defendant of the rich, while they "sweat" in pre-conditioning for their juicy salaries and use the black troops to fan hatred among Puerto Rican Police; on you depends whether you will go on being used as the point of a spear against the workers. You are not the enemy but only you can be the covers for rich Americans & their social friends on this land.

Against this whole mob that has turned to reprimand the conscripts on strike, the workers of URTR and TUAMA do not fight alone. The government and the ruling class have declared war and we take it as a challenge to the working class, to its unions and to its political organizations. This action is only a drop to recapture our honor.

THE WORKING CLASS WILL TRIUMPH!

LONG LIVE THE STRIKES of the URTR & TUAMA!

Puerto Rico

ARMEED FORCES OF POPULAR RESISTANCE

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

SOLDIER YOUR DUTIES TO YOUR PEOPLE

The ARMED FORCES OF POPULAR RESISTANCE (FARP) considers it our duty to bring to your attention the function which its imperialism has assigned to you in the political, social and military reality in Puerto Rico.

The U.S. Army recently took a study to determine the convenience of quitting or eliminating one of its military bases in Puerto Rico. This study, classified "FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY", is entitled "CONCEPT STUDY Fort Buchanan, P.R." and was obtained by our fighters from the Yankee army. Here we can see how the North Americans interpret our reality and the political considerations of their military presence in Puerto Rico.

Now you can understand why soldiers use training drills have been in anti-guerrilla warfare and riot control, why you are bombarded with poll communist, anti-independentist and anti-mob propaganda, why the measures will not abandon Vieques, why they are enlarging their facilities at Salinas, and the political considerations behind other measures they are taking.

In conclusion we quote to you some part of the study, which has 29 pages plus appendices.

"Comparative analysis of courses of action"

a. Background

(1) Fort Buchanan was acquired by the navy in December 1917 and reestablished as an active duty installation under the Third US Army. The Department of the Army (DA) decided it was necessary to remove Ft. Buchanan after having closed Ft. Buchanan and Ft. Brooke in 1966 and Rodriguez Army Airfield in 1973 so that it could

(a) Provide efficient operations to specific administrative personnel and provide support to members of the Army in Puerto Rico;

(b) Maintain a unified command in Puerto Rico during civil disorders.

(c) Maintain the Army's good image in Puerto Rico.

(2) In 1973, the Commander of the Third US Army-Puerto Rico (designation of USAG, Ft. Buchanan Subbase Staff) commanded the Assteyon Army Group (PRANG) and USARM, the Army Training Group (ROTC) and all the troop units in Ponce Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

(3) In December, 1973, on petition of the AAR IV Command, FORSCOM removed all or units from USAG, Fort Buchanan, except during mobilizations, state of alert or when the National Guard was called by the state or federal govt. to deal with civil disorders.

b. General

(1) Fort Buchanan is part of a strategic bloc in the Caribbean, as politically as well as economically. Puerto Rico and nearly all the other islands in the Antilles have changed their political status since WW 11. By means of a process of acculturation many of the islands have become free associated states or republics. Many have experienced difficulty in maintaining internal stability in their new political constitutional structures have been caused by racial problems, a high volume of unemployment, strong nationalistic sentiments over certain matters and agitation of the radical left. Many of the islands suffer from overpopulation. Plans have been made to push ahead with industrialization in order to reduce unemploy-
ment and resolve social problems. The development and diversification of agriculture have been monitored. Although this region has the potential to feed itself, in reality it depends on imports for food... The US, Great Britain, Holland, and France have used their armed forces in the area to maintain stability, the combination of a high volume of unemployment, racial tension, nationalism and intense social problems, the lack of good self-govern and communist newspapers. The US Army in the area helps to develop an atmosphere of stability. The presence of the US Army in the area helps to develop an atmosphere of stability. The presence of the US Army in the area helps to develop an atmosphere of stability. The presence of the US Army in the area helps to develop an atmosphere of stability.
COMMUNIQUE

Confront the pacific & principled attitude of Don Carmen Beckett, the sports director, the athletes and the sport press, who at the great majority of the Puerto Rico sports world, with the understanding. Respect for radicals.

The pack causes Puerto Rico, in its various aspects to demonstrate that the people in North America in the Yanks, don't just believe they are the problem of Puerto Rico, what they have to do is to integrate the will of the people. Consciousness, to identify every opportunity to improve the quality and culture of the presentations of Puerto Rico and our national goal.

For years, the P.R.N.A. has been saying that the people look out for the national interest, take the lead and try to integrate the will of the people. They are the people who are looking for us to integrate the will of the people. We are not just saying that, we are saying it. They are the people who are looking for us to integrate the will of the people. We are not just saying that, we are saying it.

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PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY COMMANDOS

Against the Yorkie Multinational Companies

March 14th, 1979

We are the Peuples Revolutionary Commandos (C R P) of Puerto Rico. We organize in the memory of the revolutionary hero, Andres Figueroa Cordero, and in the memory of the resistance, cultural and religious groups and the people in general, that we must organize ourselves in a united form and struggle to the fullest extent against the Yankee invaders in Vieques. The struggle to redeem Vieques is a struggle against oppression and thus is the unavoidable duty of all to support that struggle.

The working people of Puerto Rico are learning a very important lesson - that we will not find justice in the imperialist courts. Only the people's mobilization & organization for the revolutionary struggle can change the yankee invasion and free them of our country.

MARINES OUT OF VIEQUES!
ONLY PEOPLE'S WAR WILL SAVE THE PEOPLE (CRP)
RAISE THE SLOGAN: MARINES OUT OF VIEQUES!

COMANDOS REVOLUCIONARIOS DEL PUEBLO

Puerto Rico

March 15, 1979

We are the CRP, take responsibility for the action taken at dawn on March 15 against the offices of 2 yankee multinational companies. Like the operations the day before against 3 yankee military bases, this action is in rebellion of the yankee military presence in Vieques & in support of the struggle of the people of Vieques for the reclamation of their territory.

The companies that we have attacked today, Sperry Univac & RCA, are yankee occupiers that function internationally & are intimately linked to the military apparatus of the U.S. Sperry Univac makes computer & other electronic equipment for war, such as navigation & bombing systems for yankee war planes. RCA, which specializes in communications & espionage installations, and the yankee marines in the town, suppresses the communications & espionage installations of the yankee marines in the town.

The people of Puerto Rico are learning a very important lesson - that we will not find justice in the imperialist courts. Only the people's mobilization & organization for the revolutionary struggle can change the yankee occupation and free them from our country.

MARINES OUT OF VIEQUES!
ONLY PEOPLE'S WAR WILL SAVE THE PEOPLE (CRP)
EL PUEBLO VENCERA - THE PEOPLE WILL WIN