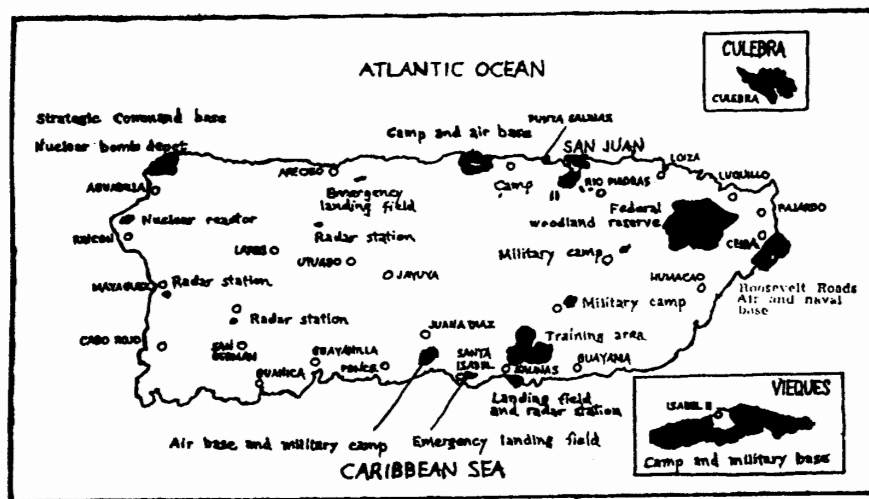


**TOWARD PEOPLE'S WAR
FOR INDEPENDENCE AND
SOCIALISM IN PUERTO RICO:
IN DEFENSE OF
ARMED STRUGGLE**



**Documents and Communiques from the
Revolutionary Public Independence Movement
and the Armed Clandestine Movement**

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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.



credit: William Guillermo Morales

—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 lesion 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 cadres 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 labelling 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 Guillermo 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 purposely would abstain from organizing legally or stimulating legal 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 with Lenin's instructive book. It is read and read, and in truth is not studied because (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 something 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 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 type, created by Lenin, is one created to organize and develop in the most strict clandestinity. It was and has been effective and will be effective as a 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 situation since the end of World War II. *Independentismo* in general, and Marxist-Leninists 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 end of World War II that the CIA is organized and immediately takes over all the imperialist-colonial administrative apparatus in Puerto Rico: from the police to the universities, and the executive, legislative and judicial departments of colonial rule. To give an example of what I say, let's suppose the CIA establishes a store, or a press, as a facade for some deceptive plan. It is a store or press only in appearance; in reality, one or the other is the CIA. It is the same way with the colonial government, it is not what it appears to be; it is a facade

of the CIA.

Along the same line, when studying *WHAT IS TO BE DONE?*, it is indispensable to point out to the students, 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 LARES

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

Compañeros and *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 U.S. Army and stolen from México and the *chicano* people of Pueblo, Alamosa, Tierra Amarilla, Albuquerque and San Francisco, California—my first words and my first thoughts go to the heroic people of Nicaragua that are today disputing their national territory with yankee monopoly capital and the armed forces that serve it. (applause) I passed from my adolescence to my youth being a *Sandinista*, and I continue to be a *Sandinista*. (applause) And that is how I was treated by the *Sandinistas* in San Francisco and Albuquerque. In reminiscence and with deep gratitude, we embraced in revolutionary will to defeat yankee imperialism in every place it needs to be combated. (applause)

La Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña (Puerto Rican Socialist League) dedicates this, their portion of the event in Lares today, to our immortal honorary members Arnaldo Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arriví. (applause) With us here is the *compañera*-wife of Arnaldo Darío Rosado, and for her we have affectionate words.

The most important phenomenon to appear in years in Puerto Rico, and evident within the revolutionary and historical boundaries of today, is the appearance and the obvious development of a revolutionary and clandestine mind, of armed struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico. To the half-dozen clandestine and revolutionary organizations such as the *Ejército Popular Boricua* (Puerto Rican Popular Army), the *Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular* (Armed Forces of Popular Resistance), the *Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo* (People's Revolutionary Commandos) and any other that I may have forgotten—when we dedicate this ceremony to Arnaldo Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arriví, we are certain that we can say in your name that you salute with arms the memory of the *compañeros* murdered in the Cerro Maravilla. (applause) And we believe we represent your willingness and your thoughts when we express here the unconditional commitment of the armed clandestine organizations to the struggle that Nicaragua is waging for its national liberation against yankee imperialism, a battle of fire and blood for their sacred land. (applause)

I want to say a few other words about the clandestine struggle in Puerto Rico. There have been in the course of a year—exactly in the course of one year—actions carried out as notable and important as that of the *Comando Revolucionario Obrero* (Revolutionary Workers Commandos) that executed Randall a year and one day ago; as that of the *Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular* (Armed Forces of Popular Resistance) that seized the police station at

Montebello, forced the garrison to surrender (applause), righteously carried off all the electronic equipment, the arms, the ammunition and all of that which does not belong to the police of Puerto Rico, but which belongs to us; and then retreated victoriously and gallantly without suffering a single casualty or a disturbance in their historic deed. We also point to the instantaneous seizure of the United Press International offices by the *Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo* (People's Revolutionary Commandos), which they carried out with total agility, speed, efficiency and then withdrew victorious.

We also call attention to the important skirmish between a platoon of commandos of *Los Macheteros* of the *Ejército Popular Boricua* (Puerto Rican People's Army) in the vicinity of Naguabo, a skirmish in which the police suffered a fatality. In spite of the combination of an occasional police patrol and a group commanded by the chief of the Bureau of Criminal Investigation in Humacao, the guerrillas of *Los Macheteros*, after a violent shoot-out, withdrew victorious, without suffering a casualty, and without being captured in the ensuing pursuit—a pursuit which continued through 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 Macheteros*. And to these military actions there has to be added the seizure of the Consulate of Chile (applause) in which Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marcano deliberately and with the knowledge and consciousness of what awaited them, knowing that in order to carry out the action they carried out 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 pernicious 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 *compañeros* Oscar Collazo (that smiling challenger of the electric chair) and of Lolita Lebrón, Irvin Flores and Rafael Cancel Miranda. Just last night, in the early hours of the morning, a *compañera* just back from the prison where they keep Lolita communicated to me that the day before yesterday the State Department in Washington was discussing at length the release of Lolita Lebrón; and that the insolent 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 offer of red roses, of the red spirit of the Puerto Rican revolution—the real homage which today Puerto Rico brings to the heroes of the revolution of Lares. (applause) As their spontaneous spokesperson, in the name of the clandestine organizations of the armed struggle: Long live the Puerto Rican revolution, long live the heroes of Lares! (applause and Vivas!)

We have seen that the most profound and revealing phenomenon of these

years and of this moment is the appearance and clear development of a clandestine mentality in Puerto Rico. I want, out of necessity, to point out that a conspiratorial mentality is one thing, and a clandestine mentality another. There is not one revolution, and no possible leap forward in the development of a revolutionary process, without the inclusion of a conspiratorial process that requires the most strict conspiratorial mentality. In order to accomplish *El Grito de Lares*, the immortal heroes of Lares conspired for a very long time. In order to carry out the revolutionary process of the thirties, with the leadership of Albizu, they needed to scientifically and consciously conspire about what they were doing, because they were making a leap forward in the revolutionary process of Puerto Rico. For the revolt of Jayuya, for the attack on Blair House, for the attack on the federal capitol building in Washington, there needed to exist a process of conspiracy, because these things cannot be settled in a public plaza, nor through plebiscites or public consultations. The revolutionary conspiratorial mentality is a historical, political, military necessity; a prelude to the realization of all events where a leap forward is going to happen in the revolutionary historic process of a determined people. (applause) And there is no authority, orthodox or heterodox, marxist or non-marxist, that can be invoked against the historical, political and military necessity of a conspiracy and a conspiratorial process preliminary to the realization of a political-military act that carries forward the struggle for the revolution of a people: in this case, the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico.

But the revolutionary mentality and the conspiratorial mentality, I mean to say the conspiratorial mind and the conspiratorial necessity, is one thing—and the clandestine mentality is another. The conspiratorial mind is a necessity. It is always a preliminary part of any leap in the revolutionary process. It is produced in the tactical link of the revolutionary process, when the vision is extended to all things strategic and at a specific or calculated distance from the principal objective of the struggle and before reconstituting itself in the maneuver that is the very soul of tactics. The clandestine mind on the contrary is a modern, permanent fact of the revolutionary, historical process. It functions within the marxist concept of protracted war. It requires constant organization and constant exercise. Because it is not only produced by the extended vision that reaches up to the ultimate end, up to the final objective—whose calculated or specific distance off we want to be able to approximate—but also contains within it and within its development the concept of maneuvers as the soul of tactics, and of tactics as the necessary link whose total sum adds up to the winning strategy of the revolution. (applause) The time will arrive when the clandestine mind—which acts daily, struggles daily, and daily plans the next day's actions, that continues striking at the enemy until he retreats at the strategic moment—must enter into an immediate conspiratorial process, and combine the great capacity of the daily action of the clandestine mind with the intensification of conspiracy, in order to carry the country, the people and the liberation movement to a great qualitative leap in the development of the struggle that one day will transform itself, by the same combination of many

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 *Ejército Popular Boricua*. (applause) Because from them will come, unifyingly, in the revolutionary unification of our people, the final victory of the independence of Puerto Rico. (applause and Vivas!)

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 clandestine 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, violating the laws of its own country, 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 impudence. (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. So we have here the CIA and the FBI, a fact that 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 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—consider the name! (laughs)—that goes throughout 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

there earning his salary, and he could be there a month, two months, three months, a year without informing Security Associates—until one day he hears a suspicious word on the lips of a friend or *compañero*, and then informs on him; but during all this time, on top of his salary as employee of the commercial firm, he has been earning a salary paid by Security Associates, as well as the use of a bank that cashes the checks that this snitch takes there, checks made out as to amount but without his name.

Against all this investigative adversity of informers and surveillance, the clandestine organizations of Puerto Rico operate. There is nothing more in common for all the parties and all the public organizations of Puerto Rico—from the PIP and the *Partido Socialista*, *La Liga Socialista*, to the MSP, the *Partido Nacionalista*, the *Partido Socialista Obrero*, the *Partido Socialista Revolucionario*, all the organizations of the *Liga Internacionalista*, to all the public organizations that operate in Puerto Rico—we have one point of unity: we have to unite ourselves solidly, as iron, with all the ardor of our patriotism, to shelter, to give refuge, to protect and never condemn one single revolutionary clandestine action in Puerto Rico. (applause) And outside of the public organizations, where the majority of *independentistas* are found, it is also the duty, the inescapable and never-unattainable duty, to give shelter, protection and money when it is needed; and even when it is not absolutely needed, to give it anyway. Give them everything. In the protection of a single member of Puerto Rican clandestinity in need, we all have the obligation to go to his side, and if it is absolutely necessary, to die there with him. (applause) This, friends, is the spirit of Lares, and whoever does not feel this way does not live the spirit of Lares. (applause) We walk onward toward independence, without hurry and without impatience, but with bravery and decision.

In the last few years I have frequently been asked if I believed I would see the independence of my country. Systematically I answer that I have already seen it. Whoever fights with all he has for the independence of Puerto Rico lives independence, is free, is sovereign, is independent (applause) as all our people will be on the day of victory. (applause)

At long last, the international legality represented by the United Nations, and specifically by the Decolonization Committee, has told the brazen ones in Washington that Puerto Rico is a colony. Imperialist legality, international legality, sanctioned all the plunder of the U.S. in Latin America, such as the incredible dispossession of Mexico of more than half of its territory—still retained by the army of yankee occupation—legally camouflaging its territory in a non-existent status, without having denied the "right" of yankee imperialism to subjugate, to mutilate, the Mexican nation and subjugate the *chicano* people. That international legality sanctioned the barbarous U.S. intervention in Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, and continues to sanction it today as the sons and grandsons of General Sandino die and kill for the independence of Nicaragua. That international legality confronted the people of Puerto Rico in 1898, and faced with a brutal act of military aggression like the yankee invasion of Puerto Rico, and faced with a juridical brutality like the Treaty of Paris

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 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 true criteria of justice, of equity, 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 after the resolution 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!) have not said a word; there has not even been an editorial opinion; even the *Washington Post*, who claim to be such decent people, are full of the shit 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 unawareness of their ruling class, from their insensitivity, what can one expect if not the brutality of a people stupefied and insensitized by misinformation and ignorance, by prejudice such as in the northamerican southwest, which we just traveled through—the irredentive heart of *Atzlán*. 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, magnum rifles and hand grenades in order to plague the *chicano* people and their struggle for

liberation, and even their struggle against the most minimal prejudice. What can be expected from a people in this condition of misinformation and ignorance, except for them to submissively respect the mandates of their own prejudices and the mandate of their government of murderers, land-thieves, sovereignty-thieves, water-thieves; because in New México and in the south of Colorado, the big anglosaxon landholders shut off the water supply to the chicanos, their hand-dug wells go dry and their cattle die of hunger! What are we to expect from these barbarians? That they will respect the United Nations? That they will respect the moral force of the United Nations and the Decolonization Committee? How are they going to recognize this moral force when they don't know what morality is? (applause) We know what the moral force is that the Decolonization Committee gives us; we know the importance of the sounding and testing of the moral force of the United Nations carried out by Puerto Rican organizations, above all in the last fifteen years, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The importance is that the testing of moral force equals, in the final instance, the testing of the material strengths for the subsequent confrontation in the clash of arms. (applause)

We have left a minute of the time they have assigned us. I am going to end with a call to the hearts of each of us, that each day our solidarity with the armed clandestine organizations that function in Puerto Rico be stronger, deeper and more decisive. This also applies to that great organization, true vanguard in this stage of the armed struggle, the organization that operates inside yankee territory and that is called the *Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional*. (applause) That is the spirit of Lares and it is the spirit of Lares that accompanies us toward Victory and beyond Victory! (applause) Many thanks. (applause)

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 virtues—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 Jose Martí—"For me the Country is an altar, not a pedestal" (*Para mi la patria es ara y no pedestal*)—which the Cuban apostle put forth at possible opportunism 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 antillean identity.

But in the imperialist trick play, Martí is defeated by yanki military intervention in the way of independence for 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 so than 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 affront to the Fernós-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 Albizu's strategy. This change was demonstrated in the most extraordinary manner at the takeover of the police station in Montebello. The act, defined by the news media as an event similar to that of the Nationalist insurrection of 1950, reveals inside out the morphological development of the Puerto Rican insurrectional process. The FARP takes over the police station without any downfalls and disappears into clandestine protection. The meditated boldness of the hero has defeated the clever; and the revolutionary course, through an exaltation and sacrificial spirit substituted by a military-political concept utilized (demonstrated) by the victorious heroes of the recent insurrection, raises a banner of faith on the hopeful horizon for the independence of Puerto Rico.

Immediately following this, a collective mobilization is announced in Vieques to struggle against the yankee military abuse called "Springboard." The almost unbelievable scene of a fleet of fishermen crossing the path of the naval forces of OTAN (sent by the Office of Naval Operations of the Pentagon) seemed like a chapter Cervantes forgot to put in his book.

A triumphant air seemed to take lift from within the classics of our language. For just as the Vieques fishermen reminded us of Cervantes and Juan Montalvo, the revolutionaries of Montebello seemed to have read Baltazar Gracián.

Vieques, like Culebra, is proof of how the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico is efficient when it is waged at an anti-imperialist level. When the *Culebrenses* struggled to take out from their coast the Marine war ships and the discharge of Marine cannon into their land, regardless of the exterior form of struggle, its content was essentially anti-imperialistic.

And so it is evident that this essential anti-imperialist reality brings us to the conclusion that independence action can do without political parties.

Vieques is now going through the same struggle as Culebra. Only, the bone is harder to chew. Dressed in white, like a bride, the Admiral in charge of the imperialist naval forces ardently declared during the struggle in Culebra, that he would never give in to Vieques. The decisive factor in Culebra gives vigor to that of Vieques: the Puerto Rican population. Had the Culebra struggle taken place at the beginning of the century, it would have fallen prey to the teeth of the imperialist shark due to a population gap (absence).

In Vieques, the population of that island, not any political party, established to definitely regain their right to live in peace and tranquility. The fishermen picket against the naval ships could be—should be—the embryo of a small anti-imperialist popular war in Vieques. And, there's no doubt that they will win. Even more, the test of Vieques may very well serve as an example for the liberating function of Puerto Rico.

Revolutionary struggle of the masses and clandestine direction; therein lies the key for the defeat of imperialism.

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 imperialist press in the U.S. and by the pro-imperialist press in Puerto Rico, with respect to the explosion that occurred in the exclusive Fraunces Tavern and Anglers Club, situated at 101 Broad Street, corner of Water, in the financial district of New York, Friday, January 24, 1975, at noon. 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 that bombed the building 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 yankee finance capital, whose greed for expansion motivated the bombing, without warning, of the capital of Puerto Rico at dawn on May 12, 1899; 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 Fraunces 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 Fraunces 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 and people of Puerto Rico. One of them, Mr. Harold H. Sherburne, of Pine Orchard, Ct., 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 is a typical representative of the clients who frequent both establishments, 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 plan to expand the petro-chemical complex that sickens the health of our people, together with PPG, Union Carbide, etc. (See *El Mundo*, January 27, 1975, page 1; and *Claridad*, same date, page 3.)

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

(4) Everything positive in the patriotic career of Albizu Campos can be reduced to one formulation: identify the enemy of your people. To a people

abandoned to disorientation since 1898, Albizu pointed out the enemy: U.S. imperialism. The act of war of the FALN, following this path in 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 self-satisfaction. 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 this world; from before the time we leave the womb of a Puerto Rican woman we are hated. The need imperialism has for Puerto Rico and their inability to assimilate us causes and encourages this hatred.

Juan Antonio Corretjer
Secretary General
Socialist League of Puerto Rico

Antonio Rivera Figueroa
Southern Regional Committee

Carlos Justiniano
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 of necessity is born of human political and economic evolution, and erupts, 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 Lares on that 23rd of September of 1868.

The roots of Lares are to be found in the slave quarters of captured Africans, in the huts of Spanish paupers, in the survivors of the *Taino* 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 *Taino* 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 Lares. It required the massive alienation of Spanish political and commercial life—the result of capitalist deformation in Spain, whose middle class miss the conquest 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 content, where the bourgeoisie takes up the banner of the tri-color—equality, fraternity, humanity—and thus mobilizes the masses for the destruction of feudalism and the launching of capitalism.

In 1802, Haiti blows. The first independent nation of the Caribbean is born. Haiti, with a 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 struggle, defeats the empire.

Above and beyond having become the refuge for French slavers fleeing Haiti, the home of the creole *gusanos* escaping continent-wide revolution in Latin America, and the increased effort at colonial control now exercised by Spain, Puerto Rico does not escape the consciousness that these revolutions brought about. The bourgeois-humanist consciousness of the times was brought back by Puerto Rican creoles who had studied 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. Leaders emerge, like Segundo Ruis Belvis, soon killed by Spanish agents while on a secret mission to Chile; and Ramón Emeterio Betances, the mulatto who goes on to become the great genius of the separatist conspiracy, and Father of the Nation.

With the murder of Ruis 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, the peon was sold with it; and as it manifested itself in the work-books, which prevented peasants and freed Africans from travel from one place to another without the approval of the *Hacienda* master, or some Spaniard in a position of authority.

Betances soon realizes that these ills 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, mulattoes, whites, *mestizos*—who found themselves in agreement that there was a 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 Prieta, Centro Bravo, Lancero del Norte and Lancero del Sur; but the Masonic 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 emerges 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 envelop 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, Lares 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 illiterate man who cut wood for charcoal to feed a large family. He travels selling charcoal throughout the entire mountain range. He goes to Lares, 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 Lares. There was a meeting of the provisional government on the night of September 22 in a *Hacienda* near Lares. Much is discussed. At dawn, Lares is attacked—a town strategically situated and which controls passage on the west between the north-western and south-western parts of Puerto Rico. The Spanish garrison is defeated, the republic is declared. The abolition of slavery is proclaimed, as is indentured servitude and the work-books. There is a mass outcry of: *Viva Puerto Rico Libre!*

But some Spaniards escape. They make their way to San Sebastián and Arecibo. The Spanish forces are mobilized to San Sebastián, through which the Army of Lares is to pass. They clash on September 24 at the Anon bridge. They fight all day. Manuel Rosado falls, and so do many of his *Macheteros*. The Army of Lares begins a retreat. The Spanish Army counterattacks again and again. The retreat becomes a rout. Two weeks later, the leaders of the revolution who had not fallen in battle, are tracked down in the mountains and arrested. And here, the history of Lares comes to a stop. No historian writes again about Lares. But the armed struggle continued.

And the armed struggle continued in the so-called seditious parties, about which we are now finding out through lengthy research into our written and oral history. And it seems now that, 13 years after Lares, the continuing armed

struggle forced the Spaniards to end slavery, and that happened in 1873. And the work-books were abolished—but the armed struggle continued.

Thirteen years later, Spain imposes on Puerto Rico the so-called Corrections Law, which meant either prison or death by choking in public execution. But the armed struggle continues. In 1897, Spain grants the Charter of Autonomy, conceding independence to Puerto Rico, with few reservations. And 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 Lares, Jayuya, Villalba, Ciales and Adjuntas. They constantly attack those towns. In Ciales, one attack lasts a week, and we now know the name of the leader of that attack, Don Yiyo Ramos. In Adjuntas, we have the famous guerrillas of Aguila Blanca. And so the armed struggle continues.

When the *Yanquis* land in Guanica on July 25, 1898, Spain finds itself engaged in a two-front struggle. Facing them *yanqui* troops; at their backs, the *guerrilleros* from Ciales, Adjuntas, Yauco, Mayaguez, and other places. Because of this, Spain cannot mount a fixed defense. The Spanish presence in Puerto Rico thus comes to an end. The *Yanquis* take power. The Liberation Movement becomes inarticulate in the face of a new *Yanqui* strategy. The only forces, to our current knowledge, who continue the armed struggle, are the forces of Aguila Blanca. And because of them there is continuity to the armed struggle. In 1902, four years after the military conquest of Puerto Rico by North American infantry, 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 it continuity. This is particularly true in those periods of time when the enemy, utilizing all of its resources, manages to confuse the masses, as it did between 1898 and 1924 in Puerto Rico. At these times, the struggle moves into a phase of organization and reorganization. A new generation, with new perspectives, is organized, trained, and mobilized. And in Puerto Rico this is finally achieved with the emergence of the Nationalist Party under the leadership of Don Pedro Albizu Campos. It is precisely this struggle which produces a Juan Antonio Corretjer, 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 reorganization of Puerto Rican patriotism is completed. And the armed struggle continues. Puerto Ricans are massacred in Ponce. And the armed struggle continues. They change the name of the colony. And the armed struggle continues. They exile us by the hundreds of thousands to the U.S. And the armed struggle continues—but this time, extended to U.S. soil for the first time with Griselio and Oscar as examples; with Lolita, Rafael, Andrés, Irvin—and later, with those anonymous *compañeros* and *companeras* of the clandestine organizations which today function in Puerto Rico and on U.S. soil; attacking, organizing, growing,

and again attacking . . . and the armed struggle continues.

And after all this experience—these 110 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 is, a 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—whenever 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 consciousness, as *compañero* Juan Antonio Corretjer says: "A clandestine consciousness. An awareness. A mode of thought which takes us beyond the eyes of the police and the FBI, and beyond the forces of repression. And even beyond the eyes of those who vacillate in the independence 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 Lares. 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 Martínez, Juan Rafael Caballero, Arnaldo Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arriví, 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, Haydée Beltrán, Oscar López and Luz María López, and all those other *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**

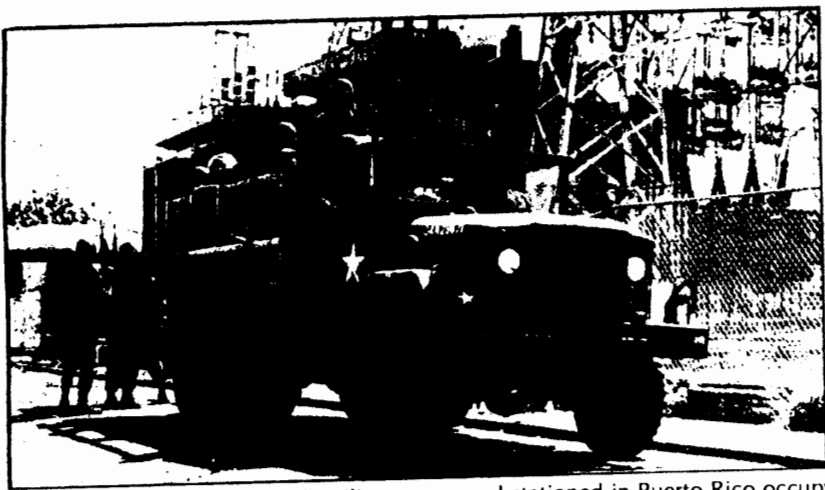
Firebombed ROTC building, University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras Campus, 1971. Removal of ROTC was a consistent demand of militant, anti-imperialist students who fought armed battles with cadets and police.

credit: Liberation News Service

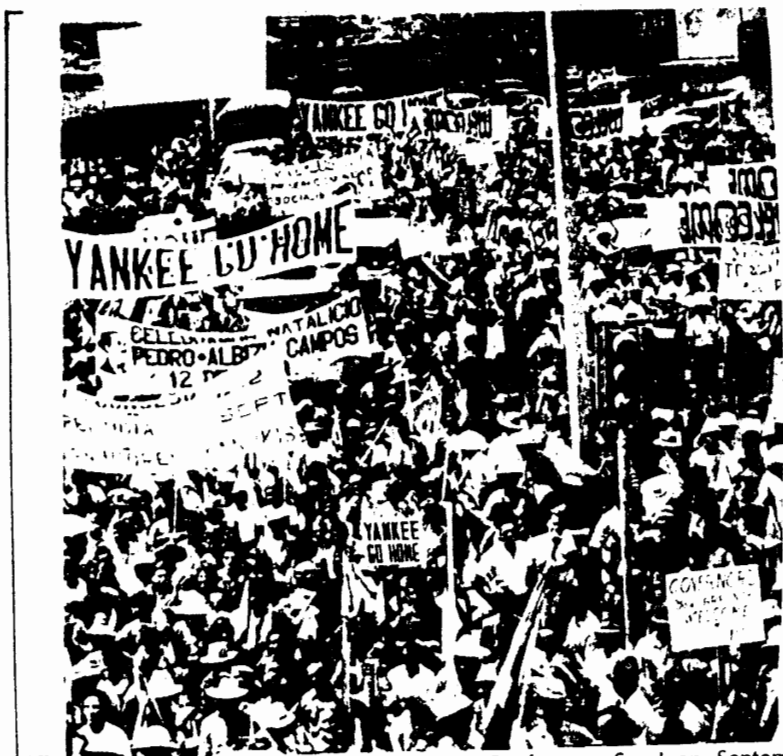


—Massive anti-Vietnam War demonstration, marching from San Juan to El Condado in the early 1970's.

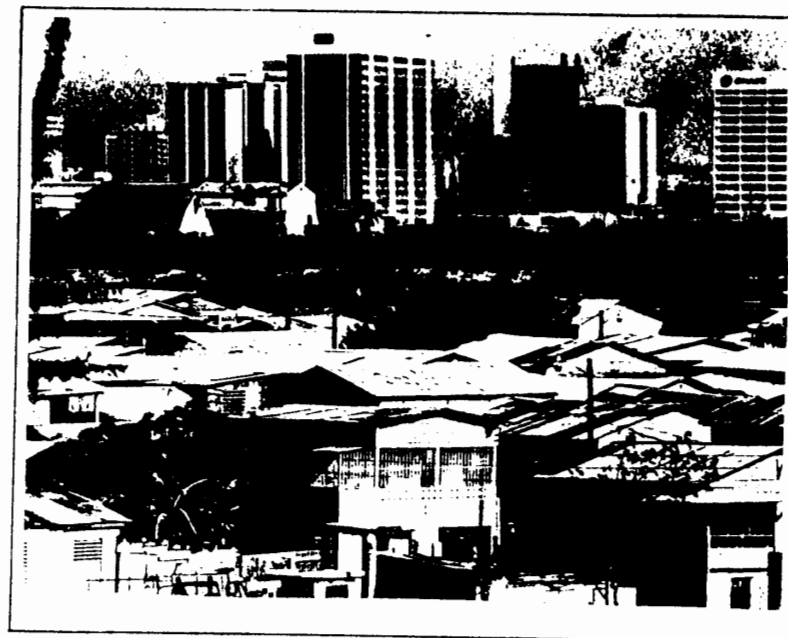




—The tens of thousands of U.S. military personnel stationed in Puerto Rico occupy the national territory, terrorize the population, and use the island as a staging ground for assault upon other Latin American nations and Africa. As shown here, U.S. military vehicles guard power station during Water Workers strike, 1974.

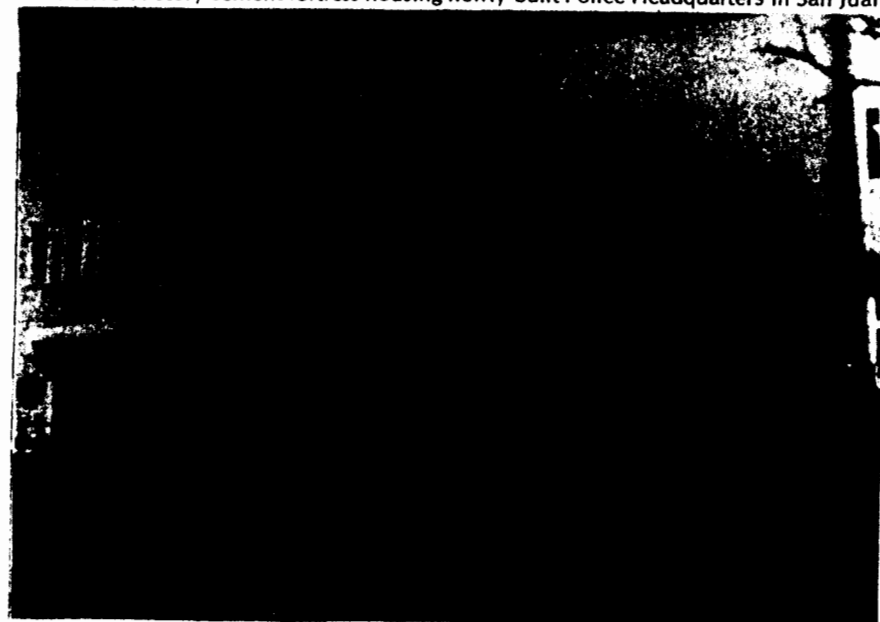


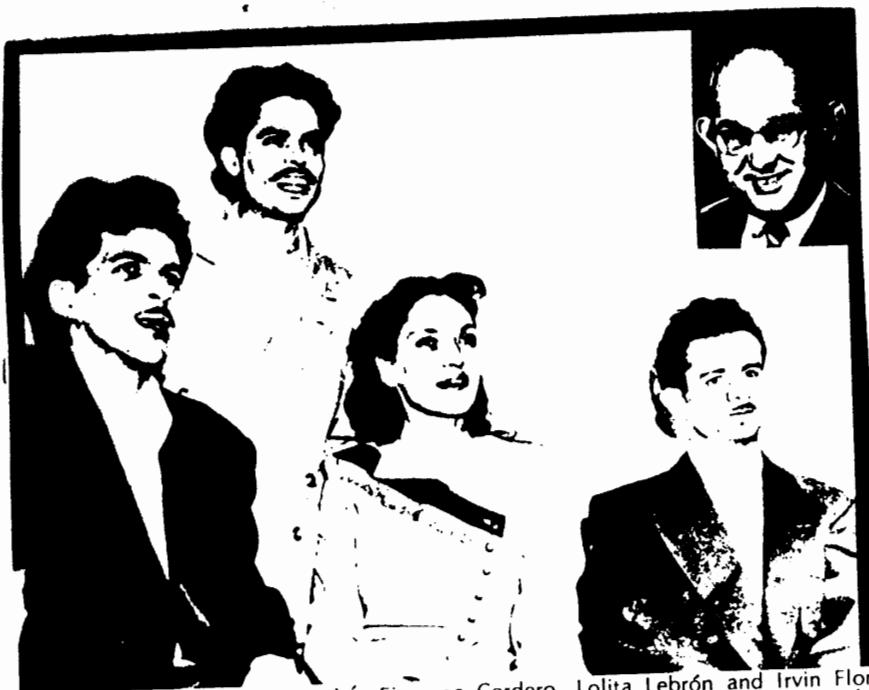
—Mass demonstration against U.S. Governors' Conference, San Juan, September, 1971.



—La Milla de Oro banking center in Hato Ray, San Juan. Foreground, El Barrio Martin Peña.

—Massive 14-story cement fortress housing newly-built Police Headquarters in San Juan.





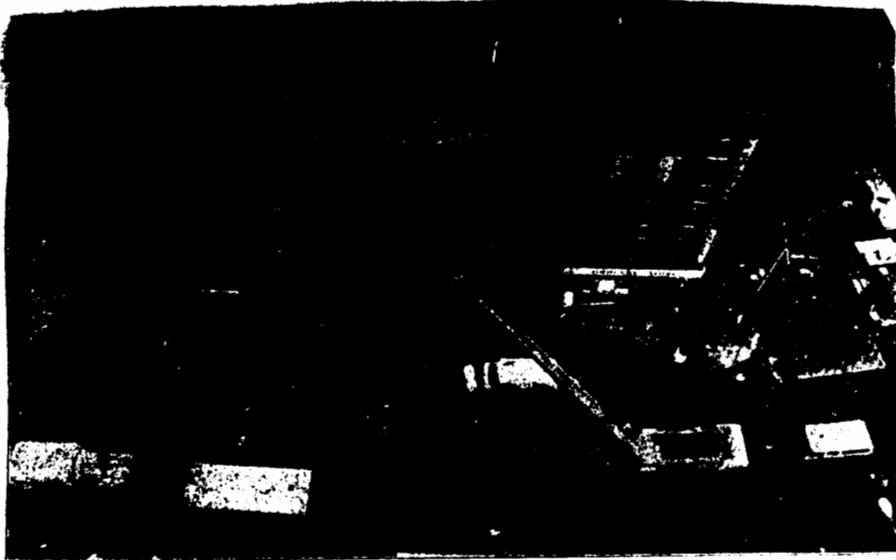
—Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Lolita Lebrón and Irvin Flores Rodríguez after March 1, 1954 attack on U.S. Congress. Held Prisoners of War since their capture. Insert: Oscar Collazo after Nov. 1, 1950 attack on the residence of the U.S. Commander-in-Chief, President Truman. Held Prisoner of War since his capture.



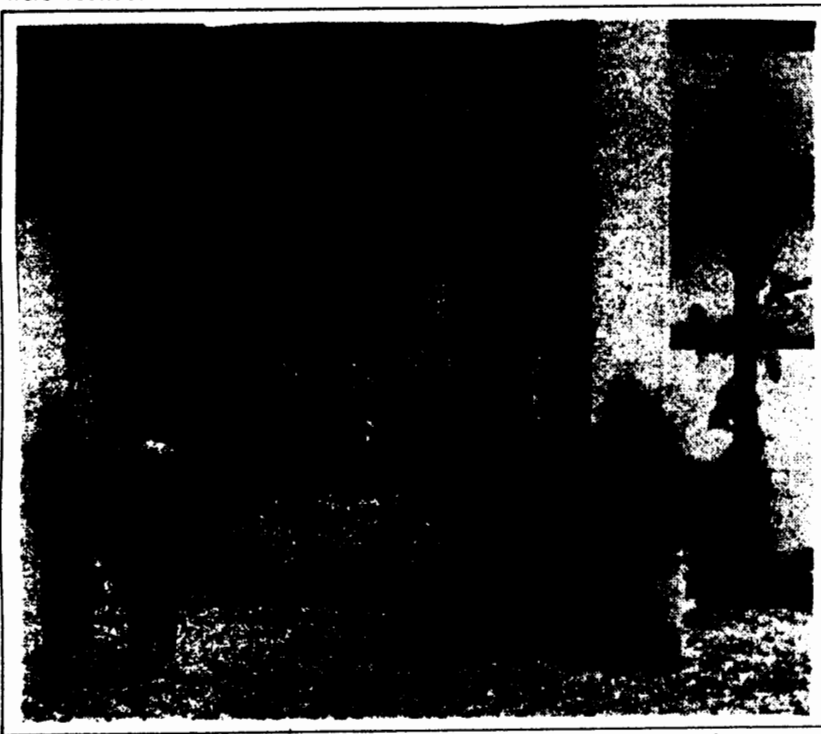
—Nydia Esther Cuevas and Pablo Marciano Garcia, *independentistas*, seized and held Chilean consulate in San Juan for 22 hours, July 3-4, 1978, demanding freedom for the 4 Puerto Rican Nationalists, an end to hypocritical U.S. independence day celebrations in Puerto Rico, and in solidarity with the resistance of the Chilean people fighting against the fascist junta.



—William Guillermo Morales, *independentista*, seriously injured and captured after a bomb explosion, Queens, New York, July, 1978. Held Prisoner of War since his capture.



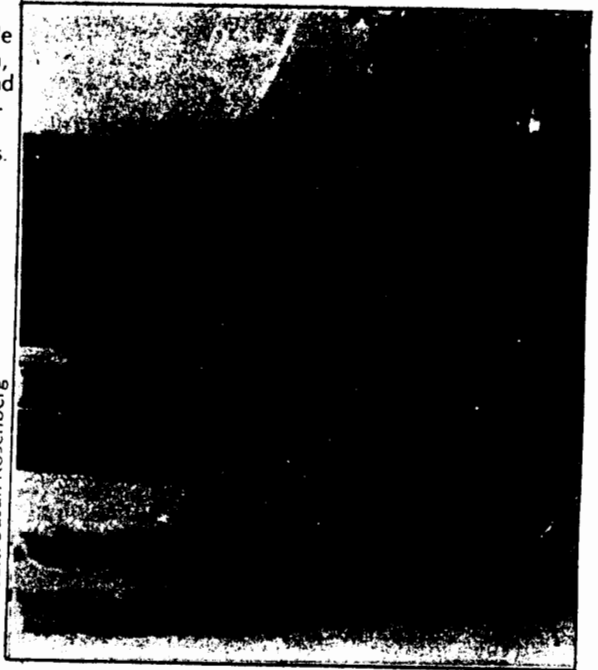
—Fraunces Tavern and Anglers Club, targets of FALN bombing, January 24, 1975. Bombing was in retaliation for the CIA/Cuban exile attack on January 11 pro-independence rally in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, in which 2 *independentistas* were killed and many were wounded.



—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.

—After years of militant struggle against U.S. military occupation, and decimation of the waters and the island itself, this is what remains of what was once the 200-boat fishing fleet of Vieques.

credit: Susan Rosenberg



—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 militant protests and demonstrations; the park has been renamed Cruz-Osorio in their honor.





—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, 1977.

—Demonstration in 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 withdrawal of a law suit filed in 1975 demanding the immediate release of Andres 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 rapidly deteriorating health. Upon his release they withdrew the lawsuit to submit it to the U.N. because the U.S. courts cannot deal with Prisoners of War.



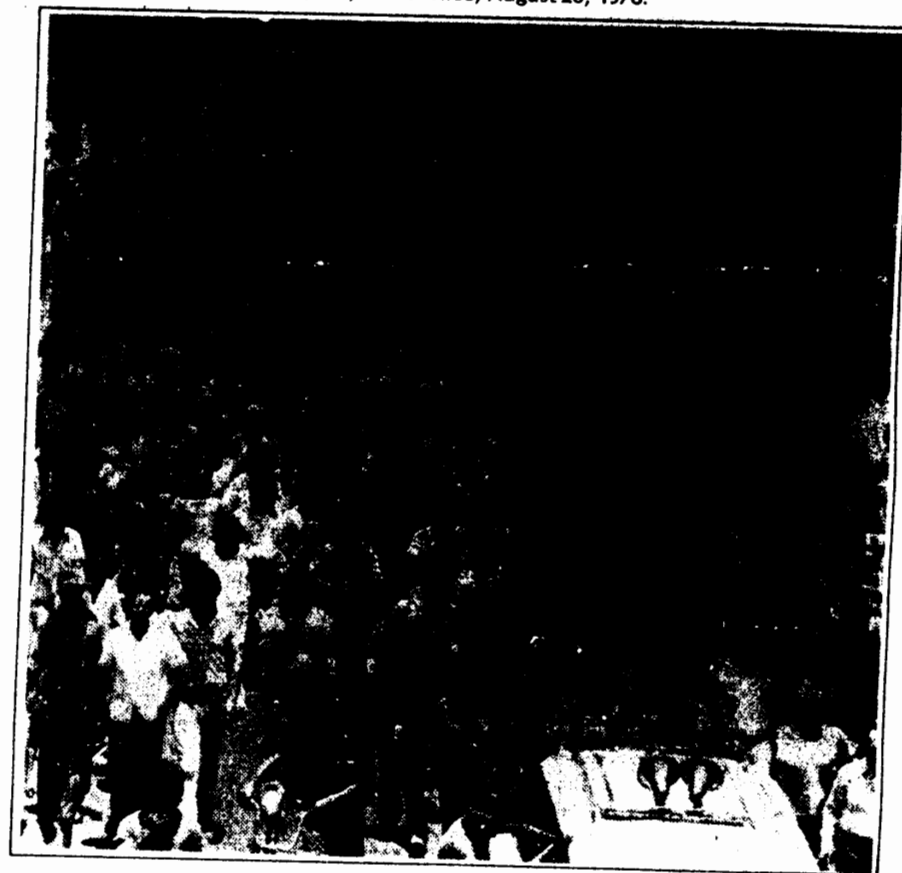
—Carlos Soto Arriví and Arnaldo Darío Rosado, *independentistas*, set up and assassinated in ambush by FBI-trained and directed colonial forces, Cerro Maravilla, Puerto Rico, July 25, 1978.



CARLOS SOTO ARRIVI

ARNALDO DARIO

—Mass militant demonstration protesting the brutal murders of Arnaldo Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arriví, San Juan, Puerto Rico, August 20, 1978.



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

- Sept. 30, 1967** Time bombs explode in 4 U.S.-owned department stores in San Juan, Puerto Rico: Barker's, Belk Lindsay, Bargain Town, and Kresge's.
- Oct. 4, 1967** 4 unexploded bombs are found by police in U.S.-owned buildings in San Juan.
- Feb. 22, 1968** The *Comandos Armadas de Liberacion* (CAL) sets off 3 bombs in Puerto Rico, including one at the Strategic Air Command's Ramey Air Force Base. CAL issues a communiqué announcing its aims and objectives: to obtain the national liberation of Puerto Rico through armed action; to end the monopolistic control of industry and commerce in Puerto Rico by U.S.-owned firms; and to expel all U.S. companies from Puerto Rico. CAL states, "direct action is the principal task and abundantly strengthens our efforts... to place imperialism's interests in our country in check until they leave." The communiqué also pledges to destroy 100 million dollars' worth of U.S. property in Puerto Rico. Within the next week, 11 bombs explode at U.S.-owned companies in Puerto Rico, including the Shell Oil Company pipeline. Following the 11th blast, police advise U.S. businesses in Puerto Rico to secure themselves.
- March 6, 1968** U.S.-owned department store in San Juan is firebombed.
- March 23, 1968** Sears department store in Puerto Rico is bombed.
- Sept. 23, 1968** On the occasion of the Centennial of *El Grito de Lares*, CAL issues a communiqué stating: "We will not lose sight of the real enemy: the Yankee imperialists. Therefore, we undertake the commitment, which today we renew before the patriotic people of Puerto Rico, that for each young Puerto Rican jailed for refusing to serve in the U.S. armed forces, we will execute one Yankee."
- Feb. 15, 1969** The *Movimiento Independentista 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 Santurce; and one in front of the Howard Johnson's Hotel Restaurant in the Condado area.
- MIRA actions, which were most often not followed by written communiqués, usually directed themselves against U.S.-owned businesses in Puerto Rico and businesses in the U.S. with interests in Puerto Rico.
- Feb. 23, 1969** Explosive device goes off at the Selective Service Office of the U.S. armed forces, in Isabela, Puerto Rico, in response to the growing U.S. military intervention in Vietnam, and the forced conscription of Puerto Rican citizens to fight the U.S. imperialist war.

- April 10, 1969** CAL sets off bombs in the Condado area, the center of U.S.-owned tourist and consumer industry in Puerto Rico, at the Blackton's Fifth Avenue store, and 2 bombs in Maricao—one at the Communications Authority of Puerto Rico; the other at the Commission of Parks and Public Recreation.
- April 11, 1969** 2 bombs explode in the Condado 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 Lum'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. 19, 1969** Major bombings of department stores in Puerto Rico: Woolworth's and Lerner's in San Juan (Woolworth's sustains \$1.4 million in damages); Pueblo de Ponce supermarket, Woolworth's, Franklin and Kresge'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, students organized by the *Federacion Universitario Pro-Independencia* (FUPI), *La Liga Socialista Puertorriquena* (LSP), *Juventud Universitario Independentista* (JUI), Student Government and student associations take over the ROTC building, burn part of it, haul down the U.S. flag (leaving only the Puerto Rican flag flying), while 3-4,000 students demonstrate outside, singing "La Borinquena," the national anthem of Puerto Rico. The attack on the ROTC was led by the student cadres of La Liga Socialista Puertorriquena (LSP). The day after the attack the LSP circulated a leaflet honoring the participants in the attack for their heroism.
- Oct. 2, 1969** Juan Antonio Corretjer, Secretary General of La Liga Socialista Puertorriquena (LSP) and the entire Central Committee of that organization, is arrested and charged with multiple violations of the weapons act. This is an attempt by the U.S. repressive agencies to destroy the LSP for its leadership role within the student movement.
- Dec. 11, 1969** 2 armed men from MIRA take over radio station WUNO in San Juan, and broadcast tape announcing initiative of "revolution against Yankee imperialism" and calling on the people to stage an armed uprising against the colonial government. Minutes later, bombs explode in five luxury hotels in Puerto Rico: the Hotel Americana, Howard Johnson's Hotel, the Puerto Rican Sheraton, the San Jerónimo Hilton, and the Hotel Racquet Club. The Ch� Bambú Restaurant and the oil refinery of the Caribbean Gulf Refining Company in Bayamón are also bombed.
- Dec. 21, 1969** 3 early-morning bombs explode in New York City—at the Banco Credito, Woolworth's and the office of the Puerto Rico Free Associated State, all within 40 minutes of one another.

- Jan. - Dec., 1970 MIRA is responsible for at least 35 firebombings in department stores in New York City, and a major explosion outside the General Electric building; also a series of explosions and firebombings in the metropolitan San Juan area and in the eastern part of Puerto Rico.
- Jan. 9, 1970 CAL claims responsibility for fire at Barker's Store in Caparra Shopping Center in Río Piedras, Puerto Rico.
- Jan. 12, 1970 Bomb explodes during a strike at the General Electric factory in Río Grande, Puerto Rico.

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, Río Piedras, between students organized by the LSP, FUPI, JUL, 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 Antonia Martínez Lagares and injuring ten others.
- March 5, 1970 CAL executes two U.S. Marines in San Juan in retaliation for murder of Antonia Martínez.
- April 23, 1970 At the same time that La Liga Socialista Puertorriquena 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 blasts would have crippled most of Puerto Rico's communications system.
- May, 1970 Bomb explodes at Burger King in Río 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 LSP, Juan Antonio Corretjer and his wife, Consuelo Lee, LSP Central Committee member. Corretjer publicly denounces the General Electric management as being responsible for the attempt.
- Nov. 14, 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 communique threatening to engulf the Condado area with another wave of bombings as part of its "war... against the Yanki 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 Río Piedras, Puerto Rico.
- March 11, 1971 Thousands of students at the University of Puerto Rico, at Río Piedras, attempt to drive out the ROTC, as part of a continued attack. Riot squad summoned. Students fight armed battle with police, killing the riot squad's head, Col. Mercado, 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 organized. The police are forced to withdraw. Later, students set fires at U.S.-owned stores in Río Piedras. The Liga Socialista Puertorriquena acclaimed the victory: As in the previous demonstrations, LSP cadre again led this mass student upsurge.
- 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. Mass demonstration by 20-30,000 *independentistas* marches through San Juan, passing the conference site.
- Sept. 26, 1971 Firebomb destroys the ROTC building at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras.
- Feb., 1972 CAL sabotages five helicopters that were used to transport scab labor during newspaper (El Mundo) workers strike.
- May 20, 1972 Major explosions by three bombs rock site of Miss U.S.A. Pageant, damaging 10 rooms in the Cerromar Beach Hotel in Dorado, Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico's Governor Ferré was in the audience. The day before, 250 pro-independence picketers protest 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.

July 6-12, 1973 Massive sabotage of power lines and substations leave 45 of 78 towns in Puerto Rico without power and water 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 (AFF). 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 Jayuya 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 and City Hall.

In their communiqué, the FALN gives support to the pro-Independence rally at Madison Square Garden and raises the demands for 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 Northamerica."

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 López 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/poet/musician, Martín "Tito" Perez. "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."

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 Griselio Torresola* of the FALN bombs the Anglers Club, an exclusive millionaires' club, and the Fraunces Tavern, a restaurant for the ruling class, on Wall Street in New York City. FALN Communiqué #3 states that the action is in retaliation for the CIA-ordered bombing in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, on January 11, in which two young *independentistas* were killed.

Communiqué #3 states: "In our Communiqué 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. . . You have unleashed a storm from which you comfortable Yankis 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 Insurance Co., Bankers Trust and American Bank and Trust Co. The communiqué 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, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, Irvin Flores, and Oscar Collazo." Special concern is expressed for the immediate release of Figueroa Cordero, who is dying of cancer, with the warning that his "death in prison will result in grave consequences for the Yanki Capitalist class."

April 30 1975: The liberation of the South of Vietnam is completed, signalling the decisive defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and the victory of the Vietnamese 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 16, four bombs damage trucks belonging 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 which states that the Federal Building and Immigration offices are also targets, and that the actions are "in solidarity with the protest contingent" of the Puerto Rico Day Parade.

- Oct. 27, 1975 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 yanki 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 firebombs four major department stores—Macy's, Ohrbach's, Lord & 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 *Andrés Figueroa Cordero* in prison "will result in the severest retaliation against Yanki 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 Colon is welcomed at a banquet there. The communiqué states that the action is also in "remembrance of Pedro Albizu Campos' birthday on September 23."
- Dec. 1, 1976 Letter bombs addressed to Carter, the Justice Dept., the CIA and FBI explode in a New York City mailbox. Radio station receives call saying the devices were mailed by the *Comando Armado Revolucionario Pro Independencia*.
- Jan. 3, 1977 The "Lolita Lebrón Puerto Rican Liberation Command" takes responsibility for bombs placed in the ROTC 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 Ford's threat to make Puerto Rico the 51st state, four letter bombs are discovered in mailboxes 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 *Andrés Figueroa Cordero*—"or his death in jail will bring a serious blow upon the heads of the imperialists"—the FALN firebombs 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 150 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.
- 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.
- Aug. 4, 1977 The FALN bombs the New York Commodity Exchange.
- Sept. 22, 1977 The *Comandos Obreros* (Labor Commandos) execute CIA agent Allan A. Randall in Santurce, Puerto Rico. Randall was responsible for the planning and implementation of anti-worker's conspiracies.
- In their communiqué, the *Comandos Obreros* 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 heart of that struggle..."
- October 6, 1977: *Andrés Figueroa Cordero*, one of the five Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners of War, freed, after 23 years in U.S. prisons.
- Oct. 12, 1977 The FALN firebombs Gimbel's and Macy's in New York City, in response to Rosalyn Carter's visit to Puerto Rico.

- Oct. 29, 1977 In San Juan, the *Comandos Obreros* 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 UTIER workers go on strike against the Water Resources Authority (AFF) 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 UTIER 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, funds and uniforms.
- Feb. 8, 1978 The *Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo* (CRP), clandestine organization in Puerto Rico, bombs an office of the Chase Manhattan Bank in San Juan, calling it the "principal culprit" in the UTIER strike, and claims 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 Río Piedras, the Citibank in Río Piedras, Woolworth'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 exploits 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 bombardment and the 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 Yanki 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 Barceló.
- July 3-4, 1978 Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marcano 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 "Independence Day" celebrations. The *independentistas* 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 stoop 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 Arnaldo Darfo Rosado and Carlos Soto Arriví in an FBI/police ambush in Cerro Maravilla, Puerto Rico, on July 25. The CRP issues "De Pie Y En Guerra" communiqué, attacking the State's repression, lauding the action on July 4 of Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marcano, and arguing that "Only People's War will save the People."
- Sept. 4, 1978 The CRP takes over the United Press International offices in Puerto Rico, demanding the release of Nydia Cuevas and Pablo Marcano.
- 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. 24, 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 form of action of the Police, already excessively demonstrated in Cerro Maravilla, with Benjamin Ortiz in Aguas Buenas, with the teacher in Manatí, with the artisan in Barranquitas, with the veteran in Dorado, with Caballero, with Antonia 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 *Organizacion de Voluntarios por la Revolucion Puertorriquena*, in conjunction with one another, expropriate huge quantities of explosives and other materials from a Public Works Department Warehouses of 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.

Oct. 25, 1978 Major expropriation of arms and explosives occurs at privately owned armory in Puerto Rico.

Dec., 1978 Expropriation of weapons and other resources from the National Guard armory in Puerto Rico.

March 14th 1979

The CRP bombs 3 recruitment offices of the marines and the Yankee army located at Caguas and Carolina. This action was in support of the people of Vieques and to protest the presence of Yankee marines in Vieques, and in memory of the revolutionary fighter Andreas Figueroa Cordero. "The working people of Puerto Rico are learning a very important lesson: we will not find justice in the imperialist courts. Only the peoples mobilization and organization for the revolutionary struggle will chase the Yankees from Vieques and expell them from our country."

March 15th 1979

The CRP attacks Sperry Univac and RCA, both corporations that supply electronic equipment and services for U.S. military communications and espionage. This action again pointed to the significance of the struggle of the people of Vieques against U.S. military aggression.

PART TWO

Documents and Communiques from the Armed Clandestine Independence Movement

INTERVIEW WITH ALFONSO BEAL
Leader of *Comandos Armados*
de Liberación (CAL)

Tricontinental (1968)

Interview by Gaspar Cuneo Elizondo for Tricontinental (Havana) reproduced by Liberation News Service, No. 117, November 9, 1968. The interview, writes Cuneo, "took place in the cocktail lounge of one of Condado's modern hotels on the outskirts of San Juan, Puerto Rico. The fact that this bar is patronized by the bourgeoisie and U.S. agents made it an ideal spot to meet secretly."

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 government 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—regarding this stage of urban struggle, but we apply this experience to the Puerto Rican reality, which has its own special—though not exceptional—characteristics; we apply in Puerto Rico whatever we can from the struggles all over the world. Puerto Rico is a U.S. military and economic bulwark in the Carib-

bean; in this appraisal we coincide with other Puerto Rican fighters for independence; it's just that they wage their struggle on a political plane, while we are waging an armed struggle. We are not the armed branch of any particular organization; we are the armed branch of the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, although that doesn't mean that there is any formal agreement between us and the various independence organizations. In the Commandos, we have some people who don't belong to any organization other than ours.

Question: What method do you use for getting in touch with the people and spreading armed struggle?

Answer: We begin by linking our actions with the specific problems of the working class and the people in general, affected by the presence of imperialism here. For instance, when the telephone workers' strike broke out last April we got ready to sabotage the telephone company, which is a branch of the ITT monopoly, in solidarity with the workers on strike. Our actions against the telephone company prompted its running full-page ads in the local newspapers offering a substantial reward for any information leading to our arrest. In our first bulletin we showed the people how to take an active part in the war against the telephone company.

Question: What were CAL's fundamental tasks during its first year of struggle?

Answer: First, to organize, discipline, and train the members of our organization. We have worked not only in the formation of cadres, the organization of cells, and the training of Commandos but also in getting the necessary resources to carry on our revolutionary struggle. We took up, organized, and disciplined a spontaneous armed struggle that has been going on in Puerto Rico for the past ten years. Naturally this year we began to put into practice our plans for armed struggle, consisting of sabotaging the imperialist enterprises that have gradually taken over the economic life of our country. As part of our armed struggle, we have carried out—and will continue to carry out—operations against this Condado zone, the lair of the U.S. gangsters and mafia and Cuban counter-revolutionaries who control the casinos of the big hotels in this area and who have outdone—as far as prostitution and drug peddling are concerned—the Havana of prerevolutionary days. All these night clubs practice discrimination against Puerto Rican artists. We have declared Condado a war zone and have warned Puerto Ricans not to go through it, especially at night. Moreover, we are preparing to engage in more important operations.

Question: What about the arrests that have been made?

Answer: That's because the pressure brought to bear by U.S. investors and the reactionary press forced them to produce scapegoats; they look for these scapegoats among the more active independence organizations. That explains the arrest of members and even leaders of the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI).

The government offers big rewards and twenty-four-hour-a-day police protection to all those who will testify as witnesses against these scapegoats. 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 or 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 Lares, 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 Lares 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 Rosa de Bayamon 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. gangsterism 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 communique 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 commitment "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 traitor 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 five 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 1950, 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 independence of the homeland of Betances, Hostos and Albizu Campos.

This is nationality 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 3000 doctors and 138 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 43.8%.
- 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 \$2,500,000 in merchandise comes from the United States at a price that exceeds that of the world market by 20%; 50% of the food products consumed are U.S.-made.

October 26, 1974



Today, commando units of FALN attacked major Yanki corporations in New York City. These actions have been taken in commemoration of the October 30, 1950 uprising in Puerto Rico against Yanki colonial domination. These bombings are also to accent the seriousness of our demands for the release of the five Puerto Rican political prisoners, the longest-held political prisoners in the hemisphere: Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andres Figueroa Cordero and Irvin Flores; and for the immediate and unconditional Independence of Puerto Rico.

The corporations that we bombed are an integral part of Yanki monopoly capitalism and are responsible for the murderous policies of the Yanki government in Puerto Rico, Latin America, and against workers, peasants and *Indios* throughout the world. It is these corporations which are responsible for the robbery and exploitation of Third World countries in order to make greater profits and increase their capital. They are the ones which often decide who shall govern countries, who shall live and who shall die.

For these reasons these corporations and the criminals who run them are the enemies of all freedom-loving people who are struggling for self-determination and the right to decide their own destinies.

We, the guerrilleros of the FALN, have undertaken these bombings not only against the presence of the Yanki corporations in Puerto Rico, but as part of the international workers' revolution and all people fighting for national liberation.

These actions, along with the bombings of major department stores for three consecutive days in late spring, and the dynamite blasts at Newark Police Headquarters and City Hall, demonstrate what we have said since 1969: that the Puerto Rican people are organizing and arming in order to form a People's Revolutionary Army which will rid Puerto Rico of Yanki colonialism. 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 Northamerica.

We are not pure militarists. Therefore we do not oppose those parties or people who believe in mass organization. However, to be truly revolutionary, a party must educate and organize the masses for the seizure of power by way of an organized and disciplined vehicle, a People's Revolutionary Army. A party which fails to do this falls into reformism and becomes an agent of the bourgeoisie for the continued exploitation and oppression of the people.

The importance of a People's Revolutionary Army is that it arms the masses and produces cadres to lead the masses to victory and the development of a Marxist-Leninist Party, tried and tested under fire, which will educate and organize the people for the construction of a socialist society.

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

NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

December 11, 1974



Commando *Tomás López de Victoria* of the FALN, 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 Martín "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 FALN 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.

Yanki capitalism has developed through the utilization of racist policies. The genocide of the *indios*, enslavement of millions of Africans, inhumane bombing of Indochinese 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 Yanki system of government.

For each repressive act taken upon our people and fighters for Puerto Rican independence the FALN 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
FALN

NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

January 24, 1975



We, FALN, the Armed Forces of the Puerto Rican Nation, take full responsibility for the especially-detonated 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 Chavonier 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 Yanki 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, México, the Congo, and in many other places including the United States itself. But this CIA/Colby method will fail.

In our Communiqué 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 Yankis cannot escape.

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

FREE PUERTO RICO RIGHT NOW
COMMANDO GRISELIO TORRESOLA



de LIBERACIÓN NACIONAL PUERTORRIQUEÑA

The FALN 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 Rockefellers, was a retaliatory attack against that sector of the North American ruling-class which is directly responsible for the actions of the C.I.A. and for the wave of repression which is being murderously 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 C.I.A. 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 FALN 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 FALN



de LIBERACIÓN NACIONAL PUERTORRIQUEÑA

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 our *chicano* brothers and sisters. This agency is responsible for the massive deportation and repressive actions against our *chicano* and Mexican workers.

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

Once again, we demand the immediate release of the 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 FALN

NEW YORK CITY,
WASHINGTON, D.C.,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.



October 27, 1975

de LIBERACION NACIONAL PUERTORRIQUEÑA

Today, armed units of the FALN commemorated the 25th Anniversary of the October 30, 1950 revolution in Puerto Rico against Yanki domination, and marked the first anniversary of our existence as an organization, by launching a simultaneously-coordinated attack against yanki 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 Figueroa Cordero, and Irvin Flores, as well as other Puerto Rican Political Prisoners in yanki colonial and neo-colonial prisons.

We extend our friendship and solidarity to the United States working class, our allies in the struggle against yanki fascism, who like Puerto Rican workers are being pushed out of work and forced to the unemployment lines while yanki 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 yanki colonialists from the area is just as important as our national independence. Should the Panamanian people be forced to resort to arms, the FALN will give them whatever support is necessary.

The FALN welcomes the support given the Puerto Rican National Liberation struggle at the solidarity conference in Cuba and the meeting of Non-Aligned Nations in Perú 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 FALN. Although we have acquired everything we need at this time from our own efforts, as the struggle intensifies and the needs 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 yanki 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 yanki 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 FALN and the political prisoners. Any organization entering parliamentary 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 yanki 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 your 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 México and the north where the struggle continues to end fascist oligarchies and their yanki 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!

NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

July 12, 1976



de LIBERACIÓN NACIONAL PUERTORRIQUEÑA

Today, July 12, the armed commando unit *Andrés Figueroa Cordero* of the FALN, detonated 12 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!

FREE THE FIVE PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST PRISONERS!

COMMANDO UNIT ANDRES FIGUEROA CORDERO

FALN

NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

September 21, 1976



de LIBERACIÓN NACIONAL PUERTORRIQUEÑA

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 108th 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.

FREE THE NATIONALIST PRISONERS!

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO NOW!

OPPOSE ELECTORAL OPPORTUNISM IN PUERTO RICO!

FALN

CENTRAL COMMAND

NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

February 17, 1977



The FALN assumes full responsibility for the armed actions taken today. Our actions are part of the offensives 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 Imperialist's 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.

April 9, 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



de LIBERACIÓN NACIONAL PUERTORRIQUEÑA

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: Lolita Lebron, 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 local officials to stop oppressing, incarcerating, exploiting 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 also against grand jury abuses.

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

FALN CENTRAL COMMAND



COMANDOS OBREROS

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 this individual was carrying forth in Puerto Rico and the high spirits of the workers.

The final decision, however, rested, above all other considerations, on 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 execution of this enemy of the working class. Hence, 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 Communiqué, he planned and implemented anti-workers' conspiracies developed at the highest levels of the intelligence service of the United States, principally 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 on by our organization, which we took into consideration in the trial, 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 stability in the country. This is the 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 destruction 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 labored in the design of the general plan approved by the North American intelligence services. He personally participated in its 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 duties.

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 gains and the instruments of the workers' struggle."

Randall was, then, a soldier who, although undercover, 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. When this is not the short-term objective—as is the case at the present historic moment—revolutionary violence is one method, among others, in our struggle. 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 characterizes 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 these sorts of defensive slogans with respect to the use of violence? The reason is that the historic right of the bourgeoisie to the use of violence became extinct when that class ceased being revolutionary. When one sector of the class—for example, the petty bourgeoisie—has to make use of violence, it uses it within the political, legal and ethical parameters established by the bourgeois class. The political justification given by the petty bourgeoisie for the use of violence against the big bourgeoisie is situated within bourgeois right itself.

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 conformance 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 conspirer 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 commando 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 Vieques. The people of Puerto Rico demand that the navy immediately cease the bombardment and the occupation of Vieques.

The Navy are not only an obstacle for the free development of Vieques, but also a constant danger to its security. The continuous bombardment of the island and the storage of nuclear arms on Vieques soil is clearly a danger unacceptable to Puerto Ricans. Only the immediate and total end to the shooting practices in Vieques, 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 Vieques 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 Vieques have suffered defeat after defeat. First an order of provisional injunction was denied and now the hearing about permanent prohibition is postponed.

Vieques 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 yankis out of our Fatherland. Only people's war will save the people.

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

April 10, 1978



We, the *Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo* take responsibility for the actions against the Navy recruitment office situated in Bayamón, and against a vehicle of this office which was in Carolina. These actions are in protest against the presence of the yanki Navy in Vieques and in support of the courageous people of Vieques which have risen to oust the imperialists.

During the past weeks various bombs have exploded at locations of the yanki armed forces and federal post offices, acts which the colonial police attribute to our organization. We want to express to our people that the *Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo* have and will always take responsibility for all our political-military actions.

In light of this we solely claim credit for the acts taken against the offices of the National Coast Guard Club in the month of April.

On the other hand, we would like to clarify that the attack against the police station in Manatí, was carried out by the *Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular* (FARP) and not our organization. We understand that it is our revolutionary duty to clarify this situation because we cannot permit that actions of other *compañeros* be attributed to us. We support all types of anti-imperialist manifestations at different levels and only if they do not threaten the lives or employment of our working people.

The continuous North American imperialist aggression against the people of Puerto Rico is manifested at different levels, from military aggression which is dramatized in the continuous bombing of Vieques, the installment of military bases, and the recruitment of Puerto Ricans to serve in the North American imperialist armed forces, to the oppression and superexploitation of our workers and our working class in the factories, and in other work centers.

In the 80 years of constant suffering, of continuous violence which the yanki imperialists have imposed on us, we find ourselves in one of the most difficult moments in our history.

The continuous aggression which we suffer in the economic order has submerged Puerto Rico in a permanent crisis. This crisis is reflected not only in the exploitation of our people, but also in the high unemployment rate, in the low rate of social benefits for our population, and in horrifying scenes of social illness in which our people find themselves: drugs, alcoholism, suicide, crimes, etc.

Faced with the collapse of their traditional methods of exploitation, the imperialist plan at this moment is at the economic level. The necessary changes which will permit an increase in the degree of exploitation to which we are subjugated, are focused in the expropriation of our natural resources.

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 economy 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 problem. Thus we can say 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 much less do 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 broad 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)

**PUBLIC DECLARATION
FROM WITHIN PRISON**

Nydia Esther Cuevas
and Pablo Marcano García

The takeover of the Chilean Consulate on July 4, 1978, has created strong controversies within our colonial political midst. 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 conceptions and reasonings 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 American rebels 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 person 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 human rights 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 napalming

Viet Nam, the village of My Lai, and the oppression of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, is continually present in the artificial campaign for human rights carried out by proconsulates and gendarmes of the United States.

We have acted in light of the consensus of great liberators, and in the spirit, firmness and tradition of Don Pedro Albizu Campos and our legendary heroes who still remain in United States' prisons after 24 years.

Our ideology is indestructible. Carter's government can imprison us by force. It doesn't matter. Future generations of struggling Puerto Ricans will liberate us sooner than expected when we realize our Independent Nation and full sovereignty to construct a society free from exploitation of man by man.

NYDIA ESTHER CUEVAS
PABLO MARCANO GARCIA

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 concientization. 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-invindication 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 combatants, 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-guella statement: **The urban guerrilla's rebellion and his persistence in interceding 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 puppets, 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 places of employment for our workers. We should learn to utilize revolutionary violence firmly, but cautiously, and always direct it accordingly.

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 of 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 revolutionary humility. 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 us 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 Y 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 Nazis. No one has any doubt that the yankee hand was behind the paid assassins who cowardly shot the heroes Arnaldo Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arriví. Only the most insensitive and reactionary sectors in the country have done honor to their stingy anti-worker and anti-national interests by attempting to justify such vileness.

It is necessary that we understand what interests lie behind these assassinations. It is fundamental that we avoid the use and soiling of these two 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 *independentismo*.

Nevertheless, on July 4th Puerto Rican cleverness outwitted the imperialist designs. The bold couple, Nydia Esther Cuevas and Pablo Marcano put imperialism to 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 Monte 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 member of the MSP for alleged connections 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 hunt for eight other *independentistas* of various affiliations, and including some with no affiliations, is initiated.

The press sings of victory. They compare the murdered comrades 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, Santo 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 the UTIER 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 ready ourselves against the official politicians, such as Sanchez Vilella, Marcos Rigau and Hernández Colón, who hypocritically masquerade as pro-worker 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 their 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

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 condemn violence *per se* not only is 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 permeated 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 Montebello 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 necessitates.

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 ambush two *independentistas*. 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 *compañeros*—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 compañeros*. 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 deceived *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 barbarous and savage form in which they murdered the two young men. Fear—because 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.

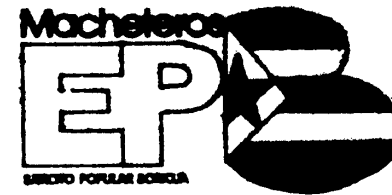
This type of behavior obliges us to take preventive measures. If this is the way the enemy is going to act, our fighters will be ready for it. We will respond to their savagery with calculated and well-aimed attacks. We will make the enemy responsible for the consequences that this repressive escalation 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* Arnaldo 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 Mendoza under the point of a gun, pretended to be fixing the motor of the car. When the path was clear, two combatants took officer Mendoza 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 Benjamin Ortiz in Aguas Buenas, with the teacher in Manatí, with the artisan in Barranquitas, with the veteran in Dorado, with Caballero, with Antonia Martínez, and many more cases in our districts and neighborhood—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.



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.

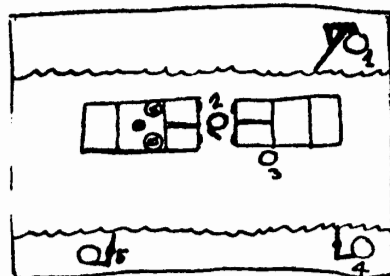
On July 3rd this bold couple, unbreakable symbol of the purest Puerto Rican dignity, occupied the offices of the Chilean consulate in San Juan. This action had as its only objective to indicate the consciousness of the Puerto Ricans about the opprobrious July 4th yankee celebrations and about the already 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 humanism 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 cause 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.

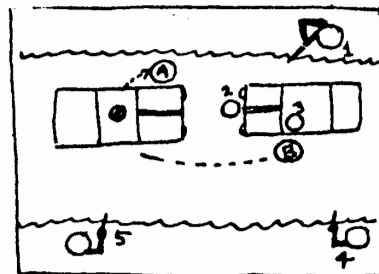
To achieve this objective, imperialism has chosen as its instrument Judge Juan R. Torruella. In 1933 *El Maestro* Don Pedro Albizu Campos warned: "It is not convenient for any empire to exercise tyranny openly; and it always hides behind the despotism of the natives of the intervened nation." Torruella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

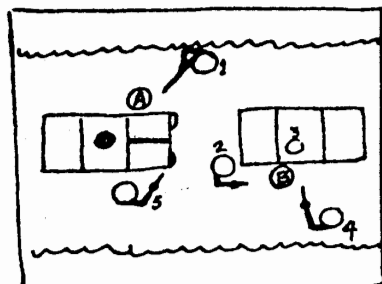
Torruella has simply put on the finishing touches. He has tried all the methods available to be partial in the case against Nydia and Pablo. First, he refused to accept the resignation of lawyers Rechani and Segal, when they alleged ideological differences with their clients. This denial was made in 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,



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



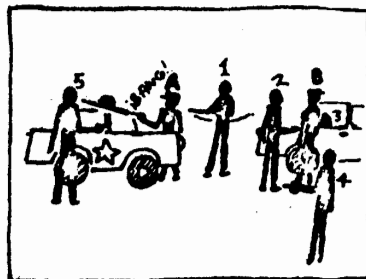
Rodríguez and Mendoza move toward the "broken down" car.



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. Combatants of the Ejército Popular Boricua

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, treating 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 statements 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 go-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 Arnaldo Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arriví.

We call on our people to defend all of our persecuted *políticos* from Nydia and Pablo to the enormous group of patriots arrested since July 24: all of them *independentistas*—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 Malavé took part; for all the persecuted *políticos*—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 varmint. 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)



October 1 at 1:00 in the morning: two combat units of the *Ejército Popular Boricua* (Puerto Rican Popular Army) *Macheteros*—in conjunction with combatants of the *Organización de Voluntarios por la Revolución Puertorriqueña* (OVRP—Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution)—successfully carried out an incursion against one of the explosives depositories of the colonialist capitalist government, located on Highway #2 in the neighborhood of Manatí.

The success of the operation was total. After outwitting the watchmen and all the security measures of the installation, our fighters seized 500 pounds of ammonium nitrate, 53 dynamite cartridges, 112 iremite cartridges, 988 detonating capsules and 17,500 feet of detonating cable. We seized all the material that was in the depository with the exception of 2 bags of ammonium nitrate that we abandoned because of the bad condition we found them in. All this without casualties within our forces or the enemies'.

The *Ejército Popular Boricua*, as has already been expressed in their first communique to the Puerto Rican people, will always assume responsibility for their actions. As a revolutionary army, we will respect the lives of all innocents who we understand to be victims of an oppressive system, and of all those enemies who surrender or fall prisoner. Unlike the terrorist government of Romero, who has fired hundreds of workers and who applauds murder, we will not make attempts against the lives of innocents. But we will be implacable with those who exploit us and betray us, and who intend to obstruct our revolutionary work.

EJERCITO POPULAR BORICUA (EPB-MACHETEROS)

APPENDIX

PUERTO RICO

Spring, 1978



WE ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE

For a long time it has been clear that everything in society has its class stamp. The political parties, the institutions of society like the press, the courts, the armed forces, the legislature, the laws, and even ideas serve or benefit in some way 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 & put themselves at the service of the class they correspond to. This is what happened in the UTIER and Tuama strikes.

The colonial governor of Puerto Rico, boss of the water-workers and administrator of the capital of the bankers of Wall Street, lost its false objectivity very quickly. Romero Barcelo 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.N.P. lashes out against the workers on strike, the congressmen (supposed representatives of all the people), raged against the strikers; the whole ruling class press - El Mundo, the San Juan Star, El Nuevo Dia & 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 imposing 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 Kiwanis pandered to the police; so-called free speech is denied the unions on T.V. even though they pay, while the Cuban exiles, and the death squads attack the workers and their allies.

Thus the police have been used not only to guard the installations but to open the way to the strikebreakers, to drive the jeeps & trucks of the A.F.F. & to provoke and club the workers with the shock troops.

They have taken men and women driven 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 plantation they pretend to "sweat the fatherland" inheritance of the rich, while they "sweat" in air-conditioning for their juicy salaries and use the shock troops to fan hatred among Puerto Ricans. 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 stop being the cover for rich Americans & their social friends on this land.

Against this whole mob that has turned to reprimand the comrades on strike, the workers of UTIER 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 hint of the misfortune they will harvest.

**THE WORKING CLASS WILL TRIUMPH!
LONG LIVE THE STRIKES OF THE UTIER & THE TUAMA!**

Armed Forces of Popular Resistance

PUERTO RICO

May, 1978



Documents captured in action

SPECIAL BULLETIN

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

SOLDIER YOUR DUTY IS TO YOUR PEOPLE

The ARMED FORCES OF POPULAR RESISTANCE (FARP) considers it our duty to bring to your attention the function which yanki 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 certain 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 yanki 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 your last training drills have been in anti-guerrilla warfare and riot control; why you are bombarded with anti-communist, anti-independentist and anti-worker propaganda; why the marines will not abandon Vieques; why they are enlarging their facilities at Salinas; and the political considerations behind other measures they are taking.

In continuation we quote to you some parts of the study, which has 29 pages plus appendices:

"Comparative analysis of courses of action:

a. Background

(1) Fort Buchanan was acquired from the navy in december of 1971 and reestablished as an active army installation under the Third US Army. The Department of the Army (DA) decided it was necessary to reopen Ft. Buchanan, after having closed Ft. Buchanan and Ft. Brook in 1966 and Rodriguez Army Hospital in 1971 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 1971, the Commander of the Third US Army-Puerto Rico (designation of USAG, Ft. Buchanan before Steadfast) commanded the Assessor Army Group (PRANG) and (USAR), the Army Training Group (ROTC) and all the troop units in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.....

(4)In December, 1973, on petition of the AAR IV Command, FORSCOM removed all its units from USAG Fort Buchanan, except during mobilizations, state of alert or **when the National Guard was called by the state or federal gov't to deal with civil disorders.**

b. General

(1) Fort Buchanan is part of a strategic bloc in the Caribbean, politically as well as economically. Puerto Rico and nearly all the other islands in the Antilles have changed their political status since WW II. By means of a process of self-determination, many of the islands have become free associated states or republics. Many have experienced difficulty in maintaining internal stability in their new political status. Disorders have been caused by racial problems, a high volume of unemployment, strong nationalist 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 reordered. 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-gov't and communist aggression to the point of insurrection all maintain the possibility of continued civil disorder. The presence of the US Army in the area helps to develop an atmosphere of stability through which commerce can grow and more efficient self-gov't can develop.....ground forces are necessary in the Caribbean to provide control in the islands. A suitable Army force is particularly important in Puerto Rico at this moment.....At this moment, Puerto Rico is confronted by a serious menace to its internal security due to the threat of Marxism. The high volume of unemployment (20-30%) provides a fertile environment for discontent and very disorder which the Marxists can exploit. There is also present in Puerto Rico a small but very vocal number of individuals who desire independence. These individuals are not necessarily Marxists but work with them for independence. The severe state of economic problems is reflected in the recently submitted Tobin Report."

(END QUOTE)

The politics of imperialism have been and continue to be those of using Puerto Ricans against Puerto Ricans. During the repression of the 50's they used the National Guard against the Nationalists. It was also used during the last important civil disorders. (Firemen, Water-Workers) **Your role has not been to defend Puerto Rico from attacks from the outside, but to be the shock troops of the yanki army during "civil disorders"; to repress workers and Puerto Ricans and to act as strikebreakers.**

The yankees are aware of the political and economic reality of Puerto Rico. They know that confrontation between our people and them is inevitable and they keep their military forces prepared. But you Puerto Rican worker, integrated into the National Guard and Reserve, you are the advance guard. They hope that when we Puerto Rican workers kill ourselves, they will win. That you will confront the people and will fight against the people's army.

During the last year you must have noticed the increase in armed actions in Puerto Rico. The armed struggle is developing. Our organization, like the political-military organizations in struggle for independence and socialism, is contributing to the growth of consciousness, organizing, training and arming the people, especially the working class.

We invite you to participate in your duty as a worker, as a Puerto Rican; in the political and economic situation of your country. Put your preparation at the service of your class and your people and organize yourself. Sabotage the development of the National Guard and show the yankee that he cannot count on you, that he is your enemy.

REMEMBER SOLDIER, YOUR DUTY IS TO YOUR PEOPLE.

FARP



de LIBERACION NACIONAL PUERTORRIQUEÑA

Yesterday we the ARMED FORCES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION carried out another attack against the enemies of the Puerto Rican People and the enemies of the independence movement. This armed attack against the property of the North American Corporations and the United States military, constitutes the continuation of our just struggle for the Independence of Puerto Rico. Our attack against the property of the U.S. military represents in part a reprisal against the U.S. Navy. The Navy's continuous bombardment of the Island of Vieques represents an act of aggression and violates the security, wishes and interest of the people of Vieques and all of Puerto Rico. The colonial politicians and stooges denounce the just instrument of the people: REVOLUTIONARY ARMED STRUGGLE; meanwhile they ignore to denounce and stop the violence perpetrated against our people. Example of the violence against our people are: the bombardment of Vieques, the sterilization of 35% of Puerto Rican Women, an unemployment rate of 60% of the people in Puerto Rico, terrorizing the striking workers, assassination at the hands of police death squads. All these acts of violence perpetrated against our people are ignored by the colonial puppets.

Our attacks against the North American multi-national corporations come about because they are now and have always been the major enemies of the Puerto Rican people. These corporations advance their annexationist (statehood) scheme, using as their main mouthpiece the traitor: Gov. Romero Barcelo. Statehood goes against the interest of the people. The corporations have squeezed the Puerto Rican workers dry. The corporations now want to steal our natural resources, the wealth of our Nation, the copper and the oil. Statehood facilitates the theft and exploitation of these resources. Statehood denies us our right of sovereignty as a Nation, and condemns us to a perpetual existence of exploitation worse than that which we experience today.

We will continue to wage our just struggle against the North American multi-national corporations, against the U.S. Military and against the Government of the United States, until the people of Puerto Rico achieve independence.

This July 25, 1978 should not be a day of celebration, but rather a day of protest. For it was on this day in 1898 that the military forces of the U.S. invaded Puerto Rico, and assumed control of the island regardless of the wishes of the people.

We wish to express our solidarity with our Compatriots: NYDIA CUEVAS RIVERA and PABLO MARCANA GARCIA who carried out the heroic revolutionary act in the Chilean Consul on July 3 & 4, 1978 in Puerto Rico.

FREE PUERTO RICO

FREEDOM FOR THE FOUR NATIONALIST POLITICAL

PRISONERS: LOLITA LEBRON, RAFAEL CANCEL

MIRANDA, IRVING FLORES, OSCAR COLLAZA

STOP GRAND JURY ABUSE

U.S. MILITARY OUT OF VIEQUES AND ALL OF PUERTO RICO.

Commando Central



PRESS RELEASE

The F.A.R.P. has liberated guns & ammunition in the operation carried out in the Armory on Domenech Avenue. By means of popular war, the Puerto Rican people will win independence and our working class will guide it towards socialism. For this it is necessary to obtain modern equipment in good condition that will let us fight effectively against the yankee imperialists. The imperialist bourgeoisie and their dirty junior partners have enormous material & economic resources of all types to repress the working people & keep themselves in power. The working class & the people in general do not have the economic resources necessary to supply their needs against the enemy. Moreover, the workers have created this wealth & these resources that imperialism has appropriated & uses to continue its exploitation. The people have the right to take what they have made with their sweat - what they need now for their liberation. We carry out this appropriation in their name in order to fill one of the needs of the revolution. It is only a logistical operation like those we have carried out in the past & will have to realize in the future.

The F.A.R.P. believes firmly that the people will make the revolution & that they must sustain it with their own efforts. We do not wait for external resources although we know that our struggle can depend on international solidarity, above all from other people in struggle. Faithful to our principles, we are totally committed, **in practice**, to the development of the political-military organization, & to provide what is needed, economically & materially, for the development of the armed struggle. The working class, the working people, have the human resources to form the fighters and the combat units necessary to the struggle; among them we look for these. The enemy has the necessary logistical resources, from them we seize what we need. At this stage, our forces are moving forward with political work among the masses - that of denouncing the enemy and on the necessity of the struggle for independence; & the organizational work, the spirit of the combatants and actions of a logistical nature.

Let us go on the road that Albizu & Betances have shown us. Go and salute the heroic, patriotic act of Jayuya, in honor of Dario Rosada and Soto Arrivi & as a response to the annexationist primaries.

F.A.R.P.

FUERZAS ARMADAS DE
RESISTENCIA POP-
ULAR



COMMUNIQUE

Contrast the patriotic & principled attitude of Don German Rieckehoff Sampayo, of the sports directors, the athletes and the sports press, in short of the great majority of the Puerto Rican sports world, with the underhanded Romero-Rana agreement.

The governor Romero Barcelo, in his servile eagerness to demonstrate that he is more North American than the Yankis, has again betrayed the people of Puerto Rico while he boasts that he will respect the will of the people concerning status, he tries to use every opportunity to impose the symbols and culture of imperialism on our culture and our national symbols.

For years the P.N.P. & its leaders have been saying that statehood will not mean cultural assimilation of our nationality. Today, under the actual colonial status, they try to suppress our national identity as a people. Even now under the E.L.A. they try to suppress what affirms us as a people and reduce our flag & national anthem to mere local symbols.

Remember, you who support statehood, that the Yankis have planned for the turn of the century. Spanish will be suppressed & only the gringo's flag will fly and only the national anthem of the metropolis will be sung. Our flag, our true anthem and our language are the result of many struggles and blood shed by the men and women of our proud & dignified people.

By maintaining his stubborn position, the governor has thrown down a challenge & declared war on our people & our patriotic & revolutionary organizations.

The Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (F.A.R.P.) will respond to the challenge made by the enemies of our country. We are ready to come to the defense of our peoples' rights & we will do so. Under the conditions agreed on, we do not consider the Panamerican games to be for the Puerto Ricans, but rather we consider them to be servile activity that wounds our sensibility and an affront to those who have struggled & suffered imprisonment for Puerto Rico. From now on we will be in the street, preparing the operations that will show imperialism & its lackies that our people are in struggle.

We exhort the clandestine organizations to launch a political-military campaign against the P.N.P.'s plans.

We exhort the legal patriotic & socialist organizations to organize mass demonstrations to reveal the indignation of our people.

We exhort all the athletes and sports personnel of our people to repudiate the Romero-Rana pact.

**TO REPRESENT PUERTO RICAN SPORTS, THE PUERTO RICAN FLAG!
TO THE PANAMERICAN GAMES WITHOUT THE AMERICAN FLAG!**

F.A.R.P.

FUERZAS ARMADAS DE RESISTENCIA
POPULAR

March 14th, 1979



PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY COMMANDOS

Arise & Fight

We the Peoples Revolutionary Commandos (C.R.P.) take responsibility for the action taken at dawn on March 14 against 3 recruitment offices of the Marines & the Yankee Army located at Caguas & Carolina. This action is in repudiation of the Yankee marines' presence in Vieques & in support of the brave people of Vieques who have risen up to drive away the imperialist invader.

It was in addition a post humous homage to the memory of the revolutionary heroic fighter, Andres Figueroa Cordero, enduring symbol of our liberation struggle.

We issue a call to the independentist organization, to the unions, to cultural & religious groups and to the people in general, that we must organize ourselves in a united form and struggle to the fullest extent against the yankee marines in Vieques. The struggle to redeem Vieques is a struggle against oppression, & thus is the inescapable 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 will chase the yankees from Vieques & expel them from 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

March 15, 1979



Arise & Fight

We 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 recruiting offices of the armed forces of imperialism, this action is in repudiation of the yankee marine presence in Vieques & in support of the struggle of the people of Vieques for the redemption of their territory.

The 2 companies that we attacked today, Sperry Univac & RCA, are yankee octopuses 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 and bombing systems for yankee war planes. RCA, which specializes in communications, operates the communications & espionage installations of the yankee marines in the town of Isabela.

These big corporations, among many others, are the true beneficiaries of the direct aggression suffered by our people in the territory of Vieques. They not only enjoy juicy contracts with the military forces of imperialism, but the so-called "national defense" that the marines allude to in order to justify their presence in is nothing but the defense & protection of a system of colonial exploitation that only benefits these big transnationals, who - like leeches - enrich themselves with the sweat & labor of our people & other people of the world.

Today we make clear our daily more profound commitment to the liberation of our people & the peoples of Latin America. We know that every blow we strike is a step toward our liberation & the liberation of our brothers. With the heroic example of Andres & all our fallen & jailed patriots, we say long live to our liberty - independence & socialism.

MARINES OUT OF VIEQUES!

ONLY PEOPLE'S WAR WILL SAVE THE PEOPLE (CRP)

EL PUEBLO VENCERA - THE PEOPLE WILL WIN

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