

PETITION TO THE U.N.

ON P.O.W. STATUS

SUBMITTED BY PUERTO RICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS  
AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO FREE PUERTO RICAN  
PRISONERS OF WAR

To: The Secretary General of the United Nations  
The United Nations Human Rights Commission  
The Special Committee on Decolonization  
The Bureau of Coordination, Conference of  
Non-Aligned Countries

# PETITION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

BY ELEVEN PUERTO RICAN ANTI-COLONIAL FREEDOM  
FIGHTERS, FOR RECOGNITION OF THEIR STATUS AS  
PRISONERS OF WAR AND ALL APPROPRIATE MEASURES  
TO SECURE THEIR RELEASE FROM DETENTION AND  
IMPRISONMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

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Puerto Rican Prisoners of War

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## I. STATEMENT OF THE CASE

This Petition presents the claim under international law of eleven named Puerto Rican freedom fighters, captured in the course of their deployment for an armed action which was part of the historic struggle of the Puerto Rican people to free their country from illegal colonial domination by the United States. These eleven captives hereby petition the United Nations to formally recognize their legal status as Prisoners of a Decolonization War, and to take all appropriate measures to secure their release from detention and imprisonment in the United States.

Petitioners have made clear their Prisoner of War claim from the moment of their arrest by civilian police in the United States on April 4, 1980. Nonetheless, they are being held and tried in the United States as common criminals. The charges against them range from possession of weapons and stolen vehicles, and armed robbery, to conspiracy, and a homicide which allegedly occurred in the bombing of the Mobil Oil Co. building in New York City, in August, 1977, when company officials refused to order the building cleared after a telephone warning.

The U.S. government and press have repeatedly asserted that Petitioners are members of "Las Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional Puertorriquenas" (FALN), an armed clandestine organization which has taken credit for nearly two hundred armed actions against colonialist government and corporate targets inside the United States. While refusing to disclose to the enemy their membership

in any particular organization or fighting unit, or their participation in any specific action, Petitioners unequivocally state that they are soldiers and combatants in the armed clandestine movement for the liberation of the Puerto Rican nation.

Fierce resistance has marked the struggle of the Puerto Rican people from the moment of U.S. military invasion and conquest in 1898. During the 20th Century, the independence movement has repeatedly been violently repressed by U.S. military and economic power. Today, learning from this history and from liberation struggles in Cuba, Algeria, Vietnam, and around the world, Puerto Rican patriots dedicated to the overthrow of U.S. colonialism have begun to implement a guerilla strategy designed to provide the initiative and nucleus for development of successful peoples' war. Petitioners' claim of Prisoners of War status and the right to release is based upon their active involvement in this armed clandestine movement.

Regardless of all attempts to cover up the true facts, it is undeniable, as the United Nations has recognized, that Puerto Rico is maintained as a colony by the United States. The United Nations has declared that further continuation of colonialism "in any form or manifestation" is a crime under international law. It has likewise confirmed the absolute right of colonized peoples to fight for their independence and national liberation "by all available means, particularly armed struggle" and this includes the right to conduct armed actions inside the metropolitan

borders of the colonial power. This strategic imperative, established by the Algerian people as a legitimate component of a decolonization war, is essential to the Puerto Rican struggle, since nearly half of all Puerto Ricans have been forced to migrate to the U.S., where they are subject to an "internal" colonial oppression. These Petitioners avow their dedication to the liberation of the entire Puerto Rican nation, and invoke the right of the entire Puerto Rican people to self-determination.

Since Petitioners have been captured while fighting for independence, United Nations resolutions dictate that they be treated as Prisoners of War. Moreover, since they are waging a just struggle against the crime of colonialism, they are entitled under recent resolutions of the General Assembly to release from all forms of detention or imprisonment imposed by U.S. authorities. The refusal by the United States to recognize Petitioners' status is part of an attempt to criminalize their actions, in order to discredit the cause they represent.

Because of Puerto Rico's strategic military, economic, and political position within a faltering and disintegrating empire, the U.S. is at special pains to cover up its illegal colonial control. United Nations recognition of Petitioners' status as Prisoners of a Decolonization War will do much to unmask the reality of U.S. colonial rule and advance the Puerto Rican struggle for national liberation, and will contribute significantly to this body's efforts to rid the world of colonialism" in all its forms and manifestations".

## II. THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE AT WAR WITH UNITED STATES COLONIALISM

### A. Puerto Rico Wins Autonomy From Spain.

From 1508 until 1897, Puerto Rico was a colony of the Spanish Empire. During the Nineteenth Century, as Spanish world dominance disintegrated, the Puerto Rican economy and population expanded rapidly, and early popular movements arose in opposition to slavery and the harsh Spanish colonial rule. Led by Mariana Bracetti and Ramon Emeterio Betances, military-political units organized in clandestinity staged an armed uprising at Lares, September 23, 1868 and proclaimed the first Republic of Puerto Rico. The revolutionary insurrection of Lares was savagely suppressed by Spanish troops, but many insurgents escaped into the central mountains, and continued to wage guerrilla actions and build the movement opposed to Spanish rule. El Grito de Lares, (The Cry of Lares) has remained a powerful symbol of the continuing struggle for national liberation.

After Lares, armed guerrilla bands ranged up and down the central cordillera of Puerto Rico, and the pressure of their operations helped to force Spain to end slavery on the island in 1873. The insurgents controlled the countryside around Lares, Jayuya, Villalba, Ciales and other towns, where they constantly attacked and harrassed the Spanish troops.

Spain was finally forced to grant autonomy to Puerto Rico in 1897. The Charter of Autonomy was a concession won by the Puerto Rican people as a direct consequence of the revolutionary armed movement led by Bracetti and Betances, and of the political assassination of Conovanas Castillo, the Spanish Prime Minister, by a Catalan anarchist in solidarity with the liberation struggle of Puerto Rico. The Charter, a covenant negotiated between representatives of the Puerto Rican people and the Spanish Crown, granted a series of important powers and rights to the insular government of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico acquired the authority to establish its own currency and postal system, determine tariffs on products entering from abroad, enter into commercial treaties, and reject or approve treaties negotiated by Spain which would affect the economic interests of Puerto Rico. Most significantly, Article 44 of the Charter provided that the Charter could not be amended except at the request and with the approval of the Puerto Rican parliament.

B. The United States Conquers Puerto Rico and Establishes Its Colonial Rule.

The United States, which since the early Nineteenth century had come to look upon the Caribbean as a natural arena for its own territorial expansion, saw in Spain's weakened position an opportunity to establish hegemony over Cuba and Puerto Rico, as well as the Phillipines. The United States declared war on Spain on April 23, 1898. For the following three months United States forces concentrated their efforts on crushing the last enclaves of Spanish

resistance in Cuba. On July 25, 1898, United States Army troops led by General A. Miles, renowned slaughterer of American Indians, invaded Puerto Rico. Throughout the island the people resisted fiercely, often with only machetes as weapons. Bands of armed guerillas, scattered throughout the island, continued to raid U.S. based and businesses for years afterwards. In August 13, 1898, the second Republic of Puerto Rico was proclaimed in Ciales.

The United States conquerors informed the people of Puerto Rico that they had come "to bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government..." The existing Puerto Rican government was ignored and a military regime was established. United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge crowned this imperialistic endeavor with the following words:

"With its population and advantageous strategic position, the island of Puerto Rico, the easternmost and most beautiful of the Antilles, had constantly been on the minds of the Army and Navy from the very moment the war had begun; and this war was to constitute the last step in an inexorable movement begun by the United States a century ago to expel Spain from the Antilles."

By the Treaty of Paris, Spain ceded Puerto Rico to the United States on December 10, 1898. The Treaty provided that "the civil rights and political condition of the territories here ceded to the United States will be determined by (the U.S.) Congress." Even though the Charter of Autonomy provided by its own terms that it could not be amended except at the request and approval of the Puerto Rican Parliament, the United States and Spain negotiated away the fundamental sovereign rights of the Puerto Rican nation

without any representatives from Puerto Rico present. For this reason, the provisions of the Treaty with respect to Puerto Rico were and are null and void under international law.\*

In 1900, the United States Congress replaced direct military rule with a civilian colonial administration, keeping all power in the hands of officials appointed by the U.S. The Foraker Act, which became the legal basis for Puerto Rican political and economic life, made all United States laws applicable to Puerto Rico. It required that all laws passed by the Puerto Rican legislature be submitted to the U.S. Congress for approval, put stringent restrictions on who could vote, and prohibited Puerto Rico from making commercial treaties with other nations or setting its own tariffs. The Act gave the U.S. Congress ultimate power over all laws and trade relations affecting the Puerto Rican nation.

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\*The case against the provisions of the Treaty concerning Puerto Rico was threefold: a) that the Charter of Autonomy of 1897 had conferred upon the island full sovereign powers (Puerto Rican judicial personality achieved international recognition upon being accepted as a member of the Universal Postal Union); b) that according to its own wording the Charter could not be altered except at the request of the popularly elected Puerto Rican Parliament; and c) that the transfer of Puerto Rico to the United States resulting from Article Two of the Treaty of Paris violated the basic principles of international law since Puerto Rico was not res in commercium. See, Petition for a Writ of Certiorari, filed by Don Pedro Albizu Campos, Esq., in People of Puerto Rico, Petitioner v. Luis F. Velasquez, Respondent, October Term, U.S. Supreme Court, 1935, #243.

On the eve of World War I, the United States further consolidated the colonial status of Puerto Rico through the Jones Act, which imposed U.S. citizenship on all Puerto Ricans, en masse. This Act, against the expressed will of the legislative representatives of the Puerto Rican people, permitted wholesale conscription of Puerto Rican men to fight in the U.S. Army. The second-class nature of this involuntary citizenship became clear in 1922 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Puerto Rico "belongs to, but is not part of" the United States, so that the protections provided by the U.S. Constitution still did not apply to Puerto Ricans. Balzac v. People of Puerto Rico, 258 U.S. 298 (1922).

The Foraker and Jones Acts, known as the Organic Acts, provided a "legal" framework for the development of a dependent colonial economy. At the time of the U.S. invasion, Puerto Rican people owned over 93 per cent of the land in their country. Puerto Rico had a prosperous, diversified, self-sufficient agricultural economy, with coffee as a profitable export, and incipient industry.

During the following period, U.S. corporations and the colonial government colluded to expropriate most of the land of Puerto Rico for sugar plantations and military bases. The colonial government imposed U.S. currency, and in the process effectuated a 40 per cent devaluation of the Puerto Rican peso. In the immediate aftermath of a hurricane which destroyed Puerto Rico's entire coffee crop and left one-quarter of the population homeless, the government imposed a confiscatory tax enabling it to foreclose on the land of thousands of farmers. At the same time, colonial courts nullified

the property rights of further thousands of Puerto Rican farmers when they could not prove legal title to the courts' satisfaction, and the U.S. government set prohibitive tariffs on foreign trade so that Puerto Rican farmers and small business people were forced to deal exclusively with U.S. firms on terms set by them.

Through the combination of these and other legal and extra-legal methods, a one-crop economy was imposed on Puerto Rico. Most of the small independent farmers who had made up the great mass of the Puerto Rican population were forced off their land to form a new rural proletariat. Four giant U.S. corporations took control of Puerto Rico's entire sugar industry and extracted enormous profits from the land and labor of the Puerto Rican people.

C. Pedro Albizu Campos And The Nationalist Party Lead Mass Struggle For Puerto Rican Independence.

The Puerto Rican people continued throughout this period to resist U.S. colonial rule. Significant organization leadership emerged in 1930, when Pedro Albizu Campos transformed the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party into a militant anti-imperialist force for independence. Albizu Campos identified Puerto Rico as a "militarily intervened nation" which has an absolute right to independence by any means necessary, including force of arms. "Nationalism", he declared, "is the nation organized to recover its sovereignty."

Under Albizu Campos, the Nationalists pursued the strategy of retramiento, a deliberate policy of non-recognition and non-participation in all the institutions of colonial government imposed on Puerto Rico by the U.S. Don Pedro Albizu Campos argued that the military intervention of the U.S. in Puerto Rico's affairs, and the subsequent illegal cession of Puerto Rico to the U.S. by Spain, meant that a state of war still existed between Puerto Rico and the U.S.

Because the colonial government is an illegitimate authority, he urged Puerto Ricans to boycott colonial elections, refuse to serve in the U.S. military, deny the jurisdiction of the courts, and not participate in any of the superstructure of the colony in appointed, elected or voluntary capacities.

Popular support for the Nationalist Party spread throughout the island in the 1930's. The Party organized openly for anti-colonial insurrection and developed a paramilitary youth group, "Cadets of the Republic", which trained its members in the use of arms. In 1934, Albizu was asked to represent thousands of sugar cane workers in a major and successful strike.

As the influence and effectiveness of the Party grew, the United States directed the colonial government to step up its repression. In October, 1935, colonial police gunned down four Nationalist Party activists at a rally in Rio Piedras. In retaliation, two Nationalists, Hiram Rosado and Elias Beauchamp, assassinated Colonel Francis Riggs, the U.S. Chief of Police on the island. These martyrs in turn were murdered in the police station after their arrest, and in 1936 the United States Government indicted President Albizu Campos, Secretary-General Juan Antonio Corretjer, and the other leadership of the Nationalist Party for conspiracy to overthrow the United States government in Puerto Rico. At that time Corretjer became the first Puerto Rican to assume the position of Prisoner of War by not recognizing the jurisdiction of the U.S. Grand Jury and courts in Puerto Rico. All the leaders of the Party were convicted by a hand-picked jury and sent to U.S. prisons, Albizu Campos for ten years.

In March, 1937, police operating under direct orders from the U.S. colonial governor, Winship, opened fire with machine guns on unarmed, peaceful demonstrators gathered in Ponce to protest the

jailing of the Nationalist leaders and commemorate the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico. Police murdered twenty-one patriots and wounded 150 others in what became known as the "Ponce Massacre".\*

The repression of the Nationalist Party continued throughout World War II as its members refused to be inducted into the United States Army, and many were rounded up and imprisoned. Even after completing five year sentences for refusing to serve, many Nationalists were drafted and imprisoned again.

Emerging victorious from World War II as the world's leading imperialist power, the U.S. Government developed a grand plan for total economic penetration of Puerto Rico. Under the guise of improving economic conditions in Puerto Rico, this "Operation Bootstrap" actually entailed a second disruption and transformation of the Puerto Rican economy to serve North American corporate and military interests. U.S. companies shifted from sugar production to light industry, mainly textiles, while the U.S. military consolidated control over more than ten per cent of Puerto Rico's arable land. These measures drove the sugar workers into urban centers and to the U.S. in search of a livelihood, dispersing what had been a main base of the independence movement.

The main obstacle to successful imposition of this new phase of colonial exploitation was the intransigence of the Nationalists. The Party secured observer status at the United Nations and had Puerto Rico placed on the organization's list of colonial territories.

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\*See Report of the Commission on Inquiry on Civil Rights in Puerto Rico, July 17, 1942 (Arthur Garfield Hays, General Counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, Chairman.) condemning acts of Governor Winship and the police.

Don Pedro Albizu Campos was greeted by enthusiastic thousands when the colonial government finally was forced to let him return to Puerto Rico in December, 1947. In 1948 the administration of the University of Puerto Rico refused to let him speak and a militant five-month strike ensued. Hundreds of students and teachers were arrested, jailed and beaten. That same year, when the U.S. Congress "allowed" the Puerto Rican people for the first time to elect a "governor" to administer the island for the U.S. Government and under its direction, 41 per cent of the electorate boycotted at the urging of the Nationalist Party. The vast majority of those who did vote chose Luis Munoz Marin, a candidate whose platform seemed to favor independence through parliamentary means.

As the level of Nationalist agitation and support increased, the U.S. Government ordered a new round of repression. Under strong U.S. pressure, the Puerto Rican legislature made it a crime to advocate independence. In April, 1950, U.S. President Harry Truman sent his Secretary of Defense to confer with Munoz Marin to develop a coordinated plan to crush the Nationalist Party and once again arrest and jail its leaders.

Having learned of the U.S. plan, the Nationalists moved first, launching coordinated armed attacks in ten cities. On October 29, 1950, Nationalists led by Blanca Canales seized control of the Police headquarters in Jayuya, raised the Puerto Rican flag over the Post Office and proclaimed the first free territory of the Republic of Puerto Rico.

The U.S. Government and press painted a deliberately false picture of the insurrection as a civil war between Puerto Ricans when in fact the United States military was massively involved. In a

reminder of Guernica and a prelude to My Lai, the U.S. Air Force heavily strafed and bombed the people of Jayuya and Utuado. U.S. tanks patrolled the streets of Ponce and Mayaguez and battallions of U.S.-financed and -trained National Guardsmen, armed with U.S. machine guns, attacked towns and villages. The Nationalists were poorly equipped and greatly outnumbered. Hundreds were shot. More than 3,000, including Albizu Campos, were arrested and imprisoned.

In the U.S., Oscar Collazo, president of the New York branch of the Nationalist Party, and Griselio Torresola, undertook a dramatic action to bring to the attention of the American people and the world the brutal U.S. suppression of the Nationalist uprising. Collazo and Torresola launched an attack at the front of Blair House, then the temporary residence of U.S. President Truman. Their specific intent was not to assassinate Truman, as the U.S. Government claimed, but to carry out an armed action, at the possible sacrifice of their lives, which would force the American people to see what was happening in their beloved Puerto Rico.

Torresola and a Secret Service agent died in the attack, and Collazo was seriously wounded. He recovered, was tried and found guilty in an atmosphere of intense anti-communist hysteria, and was sentenced to death. Only through an international campaign was Truman forced to commute Collazo's sentence to life in prison.

With the 1950 revolution crushed and Albizu Campos back in jail, the U.S. Government moved quickly to try to cover up the continuing colonial status of Puerto Rico. In 1950, the U.S. Congress passed Law 600, which allowed the Puerto Rican people to write their "own" constitution, subject "only" to approval by the U.S. Congress and to call the colony a "Commonwealth" (or "Free Associated State").

In 1952, the U.S. conducted a referendum which posed the spurious choice between traditional colonial relation and the new "Commonwealth" status. Independence was not an option, and half the eligible voters stayed home, in adherence to the policy of retraimiento.

When those who voted chose "Commonwealth" as the lesser evil, the United States demanded that the United Nations remove Puerto Rico from its list of colonies and declare it to be a self-governing territory. Despite clear evidence that the new name meant no real change in the colonial relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States\*, the U.S. was able by 1953 to use its economic and military power to force the United Nations, in a close vote of 26 to 16, with 18 abstentions, to remove Puerto Rico from its list of colonial possessions.\*\*

Just when the United States Government believed it had finally repressed and covered up the demands of the Puerto Rican people for independence and freedom, a heroic action by four other Nationalist patriots again brought the colonial case of Puerto Rico to the attention of the world. On March 1, 1954, a commando Nationalist unit composed of Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores and Andres Figueroa Cordero, and led by Lolita Lebron, attacked the U.S. House of Representatives. Firing shots from the gallery onto the House floor,

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\*Congressman Joseph Mahoney of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in explaining the Commonwealth status to his colleagues stated: "The U.S. Constitution gives the U.S. Congress complete control, and nothing in the Puerto Rican Constitution could affect or amend or alter that right." The Governor and legislature continue under Commonwealth status to function under the authority and subject to the approval of the U.S. Government and Congress. Puerto Rico is still required to use U.S. currency and postage, and is not allowed to have independent foreign trade or diplomatic relations. U.S. military obligations are still imposed. As of 1980, U.S. monopoly capital controls 80% of manufacturing in Puerto Rico, 60% of banking and 90% of exports. The U.S. military owns and uses 13% of Puerto Rico's arable land.

\*\*The Ambassador to the United Nations from El Salvador, for example, after being forced to change his vote in favor of the United States, spoke in English as an act of protest.

Lolita Lebron unfurled a Puerto Rican flag and loudly demanded independence for her country.

The military action by the Four served to state to the world the demand for freedom, and to remind the American people and their representatives that the spirit and determination of the Puerto Rican people for independence was still alive. The attack proclaimed the independence and sovereignty of Puerto Rico. In the words of Irvin Flores:

It was an intolerable situation which forced us to take some action that would expose the political masquerade that the imperialists were trying to impose on us. We had to show the world the true facts--that Puerto Rico was still a colony. It is bad enough when someone oppresses, exploits and enslaves you, but when they say you are satisfied with it, that is like adding insult to injury.

The United States government actively hid the truth about the clear political motivation of the Four, charging and trying them as common criminals. For weeks prior to their trial the press branded them as "terrorists" and "lunatics". The United States District Court prohibited any political explanation of their actions, and the government engineered sentences far in excess of those given to others charged with the same offense. Instead of the maximum penalty of fifteen years as provided by law, the Four received consecutive terms for each of the five Congressmen they wounded, for a maximum of 75 years.

Immediately after the trial, the Four were shipped to New York, where, along with 13 Nationalist Party members in the U.S., they were tried for conspiracy to overthrow the United States Government. The Four received additional six-year terms, and many of the remaining Nationalist leaders in the U.S. were also imprisoned. Another round in the struggle for Puerto Rican independence had come to a close.

D. "Esta Lucha Va A Llegar A La Guerra Popular":  
Clandestine Armed Struggle Towards People's War  
For National Liberation

With the Nationalist Party effectively destroyed, U.S. business was free to continue expanding its domination of the Puerto Rican economy, ultimately controlling 80% of manufacturing, 60% of banking, and 90% of industrial exports. Today one-fifth of all U.S. investment in the Third World, and one-third of U.S. investment in Latin America, is in Puerto Rico.

"Operation Bootstrap" continued to displace sugar workers throughout the 1950's. By the 60's and 70's U.S. business had started to seize large portions of the island's coastal areas for giant drug and other petrochemical plants. While substantially increasing the virtually tax-free profits of U.S. transnational corporations, these high technology, capital-intensive operations brought the Puerto Rican people only severe pollution of their land and water, and a sharp decline in employment. Per capita income on the island continued to drop and official unemployment figures rose to over 40 per cent, while prices remained far higher than in the U.S. Today, 75 per cent of the Puerto Rican people on the island are dependent on food stamps for their survival.

By expropriating first their land and then their livelihoods, the U.S. colonialists effectively exiled one-half of the Puerto Rican people from their own country and forced them to migrate to the metropolis in order to survive. To create a safety valve for the island's colonial woes, the colonial administration actively encouraged this exodus with false promises of a better life in the U.S. Instead, Puerto Ricans experienced in the U.S. similarly

brutal colonial oppression, exacerbated by racism. Each year, more than 50,000 Puerto Ricans who had been lured by offers of steady-paying farm work found themselves packed into migrant labor camps and moved up and down the coast of the U.S. in conditions of semi-slavery. In the cities Puerto Rican people were relegated to the dirtiest, most dangerous, and lowest-paying jobs, forced to live in slum housing, and required to send their children to schools which ridiculed their language and culture. They were abused and maltreated in public hospitals and beaten and murdered by police.\*

In the U.S., as on the island, nearly 40 per cent of all Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age have been involuntarily sterilized under various government programs. Thousands more have become the unwitting subjects of government and drug company experimentation to test birth control pills and other drugs considered potentially too dangerous to be given to U.S. women.

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With the formation of the Federacion de Universitarios Pro-Independencia (F.U.P.I.) in 1956, a new orientation was given to the Puerto Rican independence movement. This new orientation was based on the idea that the struggle for national liberation must be linked to the class question on the island. The F.U.P.I. was particularly influenced by Juan Antonio Corretjer on the island, and by the Chinese Revolution, as well as the Cuban Revolution and the experience acquired by those who supported it through the July 26th Movement. The anti-colonial struggle in the Third

\*The nature and significance of the Puerto Rican experience in the U.S. is more fully set forth in Appendix D.

World served as a catalyst for the reorganization of the independence movement.

In 1959, two new organizations emerged with anti-imperialist politics; Accion Patriotica Unitaria (APU) and the Movimiento Pro-Independencia (MPI) which was later transformed into the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). Even though both were anti-electoral, the M.P.I. left open the possibility of future participation in the election process, while the A.P.U. assumed a strong policy of "retramiento"--non-collaboration and non-participation in the illegal colonial system.

By the early 1960's the F.B.I., C.I.A. and other repressive agencies initiated their war against the independence movement, particularly aimed at the A.P.U. with the intent of disrupting, dividing and destroying it.\* The repression, and the differing ideological positions, led to the dissolution of A.P.U. and to the emergence of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena (L.S.P.) in 1962. The Liga became the first Marxist-Leninist organization in Puerto Rico to clearly state a program based on the need for a Party, the creation of a socialist state upon independence and the need to seize state power through armed struggle and people's war.

Meanwhile, their experience of colonial oppression inside the metropole had made it clear to the Puerto Rican people there that they would continue to be victimized so long as their homeland remained a colony. With this realization the Independence struggle was intensified in the U.S. as well as on the island.

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\*See documents in Appendix H.

In New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Newark, Hartford, and Gary, "barrio" residents rioted and rebelled in the mid-1960's in reaction to colonial conditions. Inspired by the Black Liberation Movement in the U.S., barrio youth in Chicago and New York formed Young Lords organizations to demand human rights and dignity for the Puerto Rican people living in the U.S. In New York in 1971 the Lords led a forcible community takeover of Lincoln Hospital, in a heavily populated Puerto Rican section of the Bronx, and helped operate it for many months to serve the needs of the community.

The Lords were part of a larger upsurge of Puerto Rican anti-colonial struggle in New York, where the majority of exiled Puerto Ricans live. "Free Puerto Rico Committees" were formed throughout the city, and on October 30, 1971, thousands marched for independence.

Puerto Rican students in the U.S. organized to win Puerto Rican studies programs and to stop the Viet Nam War. In Puerto Rico, thousands of young men burned their draft cards and refused induction into the U.S. Army. Anti-colonial organizing and resistance increased at the main campus at University of Puerto Rico, at Rio Piedras. Violent armed confrontations erupted between students and police with deaths and injuries on both sides. In this same period, the people of the smaller islands

of Culebra and Vieques demonstrated repeatedly to protest the U.S. Navy's use of their land to test its weapons, bombs, and war maneuvers.

The armed struggle for independence also resumed in this period, with anonymous incendiary attacks on North American business establishments in San Juan. In 1967, the "Commandos Armados de Liberacion" (CAL) formed, with the sworn purpose of destroying the stability of the colonial administration and building a People's Army to wage war for independence.

In 1969, the "Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario en Armas" (MIRA) bombed five San Juan hotels which catered to the North American tourist trade, and seized a radio station to broadcast a call for armed action by the people against North American business interests and the colonial regime. In the same year MIRA also began operations in New York City with incendiary attacks on big department stores. As their attacks continued in Puerto Rico and New York during the next two years, CAL and MIRA found solid support among popular organizations working for independence.

The re-emergence of mass and armed struggle elicited another heavy counter-attack from the U.S. government. Juan Antonio Corretjer, now Secretary General of the Puerto Rican Socialist League, and the League's other leaders were arrested and charged with conspiracy and violation of weapons laws. By the end of 1972, more than two hundred independentistas had been arrested on the Island and charged with participation in armed actions. Inside the U.S. the Young Lords were also attacked by police, who arrested and imprisoned their leaders.

During this period of repression, the armed struggle passed through a process of re-evaluation and re-organization. Although anti-colonial clandestine armed activity continued, no groups issued communiques to provide political explanation and leadership.

In the fall of 1974 the F.A.L.N. appeared and announced its intent to operate within the metropolitan home base of the colonialists, creating a second front in the development of a people's army. In October of 1974, the F.A.L.N. claimed credit for a series of bombings of multi-national corporate headquarters which coincided with a pro-independence rally of 25,000 people held at Madison Square Garden in New York. While the F.A.L.N. claimed credit for a series of armed actions within the United States in the next years, clandestine groups within Puerto Rico continued to operate in absolute anonymity, refusing to use names or send communiques claiming credit for their actions.

In September of 1977, the clandestine movement inside Puerto Rico emerged from anonymity with the communique of the "Commandos Obreros" taking credit for the revolutionary assassination ("ajusticiamiento revolucionario") of North American corporate lawyer Alan Randall, chief CIA operative in a program to repress and disrupt the Puerto Rican workers' movement. Shortly after the assassination of Randall, five additional clandestine groups emerged to take credit for numerous military actions against the U.S.

presence in Puerto Rico: Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular (FARP), Ejercito Popular Boricua (popularly known as the "Macheteros"), the Organizacion de Voluntarios de la Revolucion Puertorriquena (OVRP), the Movimiento Accion Revolucionaria (MAR), and the Comandos Revolucionarios del Pueblo (CRP). (See Chronology, Appendix B).

This development reflected a new strategy for winning independence. Inspired by the example of successful people's war in Vietnam, Algeria and Southern Africa, and the struggle rising in Nicaragua and El Salvador, and having learned important lessons from U.S. success in destroying open organizing for Independence, many of the most experienced cadre from the movements of the 1960's and early 1970's initiated the building of an armed force to work in clandestinity.

Like the other liberation movements throughout the Third World, these Puerto Rican groups made explicit their understanding that this choice of clandestinity is in no way antagonistic to the mass movements against U.S. colonialism and is not intended to denigrate or undercut mass struggle. On the contrary, as the armed clandestine movement has grown stronger in recent years, so has the militant mass movement. Both have fought fiercely for Independence. Both have the same demands and have supported each other's work, especially in relation to the main issues of the recent period: Freedom for the Nationalist Prisoners of War, an end to the U.S Navy's bombing of the island of Vieques, and the struggle of the militant Puerto Rican workers' movement.

Over and over again, the actions and communiques from clandestinity stressed the case of the Nationalist prisoners, who had languished in the dungeons of the U.S. for 25 to 29 years with little public attention and a great deal of special, politically-motivated extra-punitive treatment. These clandestine actions complemented by a militant mass movement for the release of the Five\* and broad international support forced the U.S. government to release Andres Figueroa Cordero, who had contracted terminal cancer of the colon as a result of the government's refusal to provide him proper medical treatment. Upon his release, Figueroa Cordero reaffirmed the right of the Puerto Rican people to attack the "Yanki colonizers" in their own territory, and returned to Puerto Rico where he remained active in the Independence struggle until he succumbed to cancer over a year later.

Finally on September 9, 1979, under pressure from the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations, as well as from broad sectors of the Puerto Rican community, the U.S. government was forced to free Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, and Oscar Collazo. In Chicago, in New York City, and throughout Puerto Rico, tens of thousands of Puerto Rican people came out to cheer and cry tears of happiness for the return of these heroic figures in the independence struggle.

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\*In the last half of the 1970's national committees formed in Puerto Rico and the U.S. to free the five. This was the genesis of the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War which submits this Petition together with the 11 captured freedom fighters.

1979 also marked a major escalation in the continuing struggle of the people of Vieques and their supporters throughout Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican community in the U.S. to stop the bombardment of their island by the U.S. Navy and its NATO allies.

The issue of Vieques clearly exposes the reality and evil of U.S. colonialism. With a total disregard for life, property, and the well-being of people, the U.S. Navy has taken over three-quarters of the island in 1941 for the purposes of off-shore naval maneuvers and shelling practice. The people of Vieques have been forced to relocate to the center of the island, the east and midwest end of the island was designated for target practice, and in the west the U.S. established a naval base. In addition to this forced relocation, the people have been severely restricted as to where and when they can engage in their main livelihood - fishing.

During navy maneuvers, when bombing of the island is carried out on a twenty-four hour a day basis, the people of Vieques suffer unbearable noise and serious damage to their homes, and are completely unable to fish. After maneuvers, the people are left with no possible area for cultivation. Chickens will lay no eggs, stock will produce no milk, fishing waters are irrevocably damaged, and unexploded bombs and mines already have taken several lives.

The people of Vieques have struggled against the Navy for many years. In January, 1979, they and their supporters escalated their fight by entering the waters in their small boats and shooting at the Navy ships to interrupt their maneuvers. This militant con-

frontation made the Navy's presence in Vieques the leading mass issue in the struggle against U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico.

On February 3 and 4, 1979, the people peacefully occupied the beaches of Caracas and Cayo Yaye in Vieques, again interrupting naval exercises. At this point the clandestine movement, which earlier had bombed the U.S. Coast Guard station in Puerto Rico "in solidarity with the struggle of the people of Vieques," began to focus increasingly on the Vieques struggle. On February 2, 1979, the MAR took responsibility for bombs in the offices of the 65th infantry and in military recruitment offices in Rio Piedras, and on the 9th of February it firebombed the gates of the U.S. Naval Base in Sabana Seca.

On February 15th the O.V.R.P. bombed a Coast Guard installation in San Juan, stating that:

"Navy operations in Vieques must be stopped. It is the beginning of a great battle that will systematically extend throughout the national territory."

On March 14 the C.R.P. placed bombs in San Juan, Carolina, and Caguas, including such targets as RCA Global Communications in Miramar, and Sperry Univac in Hato Rey. They wrote that their actions were to repudiate "the presence of the U.S. Navy in Vieques."

The struggle for national liberation reached full motion as the clandestine movement began to complement and encourage the mass movement. On May 14, 1979 the people of Bahia de la Chiva in Vieques again disrupted the naval maneuvers. The people, including Carlos Zenon, head of the Vieques Fishermen's Association, was taken by military police and brought to Roosevelt Roads Naval Base, but was released without being charged. On May 19, 1979,

the U.S. Navy military police arrested twenty-one of more than 200 people occupying Playa de la Chiva in Vieques. Nationalist Patriot Isabel Rosado was assaulted and brutalized. Those arrested were taken to Roosevelt Roads and then carried to San Juan, charged by the U.S. Federal Government with trespassing on navy land. Among the arrested were Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, a leader of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena, and Ismael Guadalupe, head of the Crusade to Rescue Vieques, as well as members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, religious people, fishermen, and other supporters.

Two days later in an audacious show of boldness and logistical expertise the FALN liberated captured freedom fighter, William Guillermo Morales, from a New York City prison hospital, where he was awaiting to be fitted for artificial hands. Morales, injured and captured in an apartment bomb blast in Queens, New York, had refused to participate in his trial, and became the first Puerto Rican to assert a Prisoner of War position in the U.S. courts. Sentenced to 99 years, Morales had promised to return to the struggle, and within six weeks escaped and was flown out of the country before the authorities were even aware he was missing.

In the following weeks, the Vieques twenty-one were denied the right to a jury and forced to trial, one at a time, in the U.S. Federal Court in San Juan before Judge Torruellas, a former U.S. naval officer. On September 26, 1979, Angel Rodriguez Cristibal refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the U.S. Court, claiming to be a Prisoner of War. Angel was sentenced to six months in jail and, despite the short length of his misdemeanor sentence, was immediately exiled to a U.S. prison in Tallahassee, Florida. In the following days and weeks, Ismael Guadalupe, Diego Ledee,

Ramon Alicea, Pedro Biages Chapel, Lourdes Santana, Mildred Martinez and Emilia Rodriguez received six month sentences, and were also exiled to U.S. prisons.

On September 23, 1979, at the unitary celebration of the Grito de Lares, just two weeks after the release of the Nationalist Prisoners, the first joint communique of the Puerto Rican clandestine movements was issued, signed by the F.A.L.N., the F.A.R.P., the O.V.R.P., and the E.P.B. (los "Macheteros"). On October 17, 1979 these groupings took credit for the coordinated bombing of the Great Lakes Naval Training Center, Chicago City Hall, the U.S. Customs House and Coast Guard tower in San Juan, Puerto Rico, a Navy installation in Isabela, Puerto Rico, and explosive devices in the Democratic and Republican Party offices in New York.

On November 11, 1979 Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, a leader of the Vieques struggle and of the L.S.P., the only organization which had given unconditional support to the politico-military clandestine movement, was found hung in his cell in the U.S. prison at Tallahassee, Florida. Just hours before his death, his attorney and Juan Antonio Corretjer had found him in strong spirits and planning his return to the struggle. Rodriguez Cristobal had been subjected to continuous threats and harrassment, including forced drugging and isolation, during his confinement in the U.S. prison. He was found hanging by a bed sheet with a large

gash on his forehead and blood on the floor. Though U.S. authorities claim "suicide," the Puerto Rican people assert that this independentist martyr was assassinated by U.S. intelligence forces as a warning to those who publicly support the armed struggle. More than 8,000 people jammed his small town of Ciales, Puerto Rico as Angel was buried in a spirit of militant resistance and with the cry of revolutionary retaliation.

On December 3, 1979 the F.A.R.P., O.V.R.P., and F.P.B. retaliated for the U.S. imperialist assassination of Rodriguez Cristobal and two other independentists\*with a daylight attack on a U.S. Navy bus carrying naval radar technicians to a base at Sabana Seca. The freedom fighters killed two Navy personnel and wounded ten others. They declared: "The clandestine organizations who write these communiques are not playing at war. We are disposed to carry this struggle to its ultimate consequences." In recognition of the state of war created by its hostilities against the Puerto Rican people, the U.S. government awarded its wounded the Purple Heart, a medal given only to those hurt in combat.

As the clandestine and mass struggles have escalated, the U.S. has

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\*An informant-provocateur, acting with the knowledge and approval of colonial governor, Romero Barcelo, had led two young independentist activists, Arnaldo Dario Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivi, into an ambush at Cerro Monte Maravilla, Puerto Rico, where police murdered them on July 28, 1978, under the pretext that they had been planning to set a bomb.

moved simultaneously to attack the movement\* and to patch up its neo-colonial cover by annexing Puerto Rico as the 51st state. Direct Puerto Rican participation in U.S. presidential primaries is a first step toward annexation. As the LSP and other forces have struggled to block this move, the FALN on March 15, 1980 undertook armed occupations of the Carter Campaign Headquarters in Chicago and the Bush Campaign Headquarters in New York City. The issued a communique denouncing annexation through statehood and condemning continued U.S. military occupation of Vieques.

One week after Petitioners' capture on April 4, 1980, the FARP, FALN, OVRP, EPB issued a joint communique declaring that the Puerto Rican revolutionary movement will continue and will not be detained by the arrest of the Eleven.

The communique calls for the support of the Eleven as Prisoners of War and demands that the Eleven be transferred to military camps to await an international hearing to determine their fate. On April 14, a new clandestine group, Grupo Estrella, entered the struggle by "arresting" a high official of the electrical works in support of workers' actions there.

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\*On January 7, 1980 a right-wing group calling itself the "Anti-communist Alliance" bombed the headquarters of the Puerto Rican Bar Association, denouncing it as "intellectually responsible for the attack at Sabana Seca". These right-wing terrorists named Juan Antonio Corretjer as another person they hold responsible. Three weeks later, Sgt. de la Cerda, U.S. naval attache, was arrested for bombing the Bar Association and for planning to bomb a civil air flight from Puerto Rico to Vieques.

In March, 1980, a U.S. Grand Jury subpoenaed four independentists and an FBI list of other independence leaders who are targets of the Grand Jury, including Juan Antonio Corretjer of LSP, was disclosed.

The emergence and cooperation of the clandestine groups has created a qualitative change in the armed resistance movement against colonialism. A new conception of organizing has been introduced into the liberation struggle, which posits the necessity of the development of a politico-military organism with both popular and clandestine components, capable of preparing the subjective conditions for winning independence and socialism through protracted People's war. What begins as small units, whose tactical objective is to harass the enemy and strengthen and train its military cadres, develops into military formations which involve great numbers of the people in the armed struggle for independence and freedom.

Understanding the repressive nature of the colonial state apparatus, directed and assisted by the U.S. intelligence and police agencies, and breaking with both the Nationalist conception of insurrection and the reformist tendency within the independence movement, the armed clandestine movement has now taken the revolutionary initiative and is committed to the final phase, a People's War of Decolonization, until liberation and independence are finally and fully achieved. Petitioners and their comrades share the same dedication, commitment and legitimacy as the guerilla fighters of Algeria, Ireland, Vietnam, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Palestine, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Iran and all other peoples who have fought for freedom against imperialism and colonial domination. They are entitled to the same respect and status under international law.

### III. THE CAPTURE AND PROSECUTION OF THE ELEVEN

The eleven Petitioner-combatants were captured by local civilian police authorities on April 4, 1980, in Evanston, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago. In two separate incidents, close together in time and place, they were taken prisoner while allegedly driving stolen vehicles and in possession of numerous weapons.

Immediately upon being placed in the local jail, each of the eleven asserted that they were prisoners of war, captured freedom fighters who are part of the armed clandestine movement for the independence of Puerto Rico. They demanded, pursuant to the United Nations resolutions and the Geneva accords, to be transferred out of the hands of the civilian authorities and placed in a military Prisoner of War Camp. Their demands were ignored. They were held isolated in the Evanston jail, where a stream of United States federal and local police constantly interrogated and harrassed them. The eleven refused to provide any information to the civilian authorities, including their names, and asserted the right to provide their name and military affiliation only upon placement in the hands of the proper military authorities.

On Sunday, April 6, 1980 and Monday, April 7, 1980, against their will, the eleven were brought before a local civilian judge for the purpose of setting bail and the filing of criminal charges, pursuant to the domestic criminal law of the United States. Again, each of the eleven asserted before a packed courtroom of supporters his or her right to be treated as a Prisoner of War, specifically citing the appropriate U.N. resolutions; and each argued that International Law bars any jurisdiction for the domestic civilian court.

The Evanston court refused to hear their claim. Instead, it

allowed the police authorities to physically and brutally force Petitioners to appear before the court, and to file domestic criminal charges of illegal possession of weapons, robbery, and possession of stolen vehicles. Despite the minor nature of most of these charges, the court, exposing its colonial relationship to the Petitioners, set a grossly excessive bail of two million dollars cash for each of the eleven, and ordered them confined to the Cook County Jail, a prison for those awaiting trial for the violation of the criminal laws of the State of Illinois.

On April 15, 1980, ten of the combatants were forcibly brought before the Chief Judge of the Criminal Court of Cook County to be formally arraigned on indictments pursuant to local law. Once again, before a courtroom filled with their supporters, they asserted their right to Prisoner of War status; as before, the Court proceeded to treat them as common criminals, handing them indictment papers, which they refused to accept or acknowledge, and ordering them to appear on April 28, 1980 before four different judges in the Cook County Criminal Courts Building.

On April 15, 1980, the eleventh prisoner, Haydee Torres, was forcibly separated from the others and taken by federal marshals to New York City, where she was charged in the U.S. District Court with responsibility for the bombing of the Mobil Oil Building in August, 1977. A man was allegedly killed in the bombing, when Mobil Corp. officials evacuated only their executives and refused to clear the workers from the building, after one and a half hour's telephone warning. The federal prosecutor has asserted the authority to seek life imprisonment or the death penalty.

Ms. Torres, appearing on April 16 and May 6, 1980, before U.S. Judge Whitman Knapp, clearly and forcefully asserted her right to be treated as a Prisoner of War. (See Appendix F.) The judge denied her claim to Prisoner of War status, forcing her to appear in court against her will, and requiring her to stand trial on May 19, 1980. The Court subsequently permitted the Government to physically take some of her hair as evidence and to force her to appear in a series of line-ups over a period of eight hours. She was physically brutalized and injured when she protested her participation in this procedure. Ms. Torres is being held in the Federal Jail in Manhattan, where, unlike any other prisoner, she must have all her visits approved by the federal police (FBI), who have refused her all visits, tauntingly telling her she could have a visit from an officer in the Israeli Army.

When the ten confined in Chicago were forcibly returned to Court on April 28, 1980, they and their supporters, over two hundred people from the Puerto Rican community, were met with escalated brutality and harassment. Two of the Petitioners, Alicia Rodriguez and Luis Rosa, were physically assaulted by court police in open court. As the beating continued, the Judge ordered Petitioners' legal consultants, family and supporters forcibly removed from the courtroom, and had one consultant held handcuffed in an anteroom. The other prisoners were dragged back to court amidst threats to them and their supporters.

The following day, April 29, 1980, the colonial terror continued; Ms. Rodriguez was forced to appear again in a secret proceeding, her friends and family barred from the courtroom. She

was dragged before the Judge, bound, gagged, and physically held by the nose by court police, so that she would not be able to assert to the Court her Prisoner of War rights under International Law. When these gross violations of human rights were protested by her legal consultant, the Court immediately jailed the attorney and ordered Ms. Rodriguez to be more tightly gagged, so that no sound would emanate from her. Both the Judge and the courtroom policewoman who gagged Ms. Rodriguez were heard to say that Petitioners "should all be shot." (For further details see Complaint to the Illinois State Judicial Inquiry Board, Appendix G.)

The Ten and Ms. Torres, despite their position of non-recognition, and non-participation in the United States Courts, are being forced to return to court again on May 19, 1980, providing the authorities with further opportunity to brutalize and harass them and their supporters.

Petitioners have also been subjected to special selective treatment and punishment in the County Jail. Unlike the friends and relatives of other prisoners, their visitors must be photographed and submit to a security interview. Two days after the mother of one of the prisoners submitted to a photograph, her picture was being shown in the Puerto Rican community by the FBI. The Prisoners of War are denied the right to para-legal visits and group meetings, and the men prisoners are confined to their individual cells on a twenty-three-hour a day basis.

Petitioner Carlos Alberto Torres was confined for several days in "solitary", when he refused to back down in the face of loud insults from the jail warden, who threatened to "beat you jive m----f----s," and to "see you all killed". Three Petitioners had contact lenses and

and eyeglasses taken from them, and, as of this date, are forced to function without them, at great strain and risk of permanent injury. Another Petitioner with a serious medical problem has been unable to receive proper treatment.

Despite a campaign of hysteria and distortions in the establishment media, Petitioners have received substantial support from the Puerto Rican people, both on the island and in several U.S. cities. Chicano/Mexicano people have organized support demonstrations across the Southwestern U.S. and in Mexico. In Chicago, a "Civic Committee to Support the Rights of Puerto Rican Prisoners of War," has been formed by concerned clergy and progressive professionals, who actively support and advocate P.O.W. recognition for these eleven captives. (See Appendix I)

The Petitioners do not recognize the authority or legitimacy of any court of the United States, federal or state, to hear and determine their P.O.W. claim. Their Petition is brought before the constituent bodies of the United Nations, for an impartial consideration of their right to Prisoner of War status and immediate release.

IV. PETITIONERS' CLAIM: UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW, CAPTURED PUERTO RICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS ARE ENTITLED TO PRISONER OF WAR STATUS AND TO RELEASE FROM DETENTION AND IMPRISONMENT.

A. Puerto Rico is a Colony of the United States and Colonialism is Illegal Under International Law.

On December 14, 1960, the General Assembly of the United Nations, as part of the further implementation of the basic principles in its founding Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, unanimously enacted a Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Resolution 1514 (XV)). The Resolution "solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations." The Resolution further declared that "immediate steps shall be taken in all territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the people of those territories", and that "all armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependents shall cease..."

The passage of this fundamental declaration was in direct response to the heroic armed struggle of the Algerian people, through the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN), to liberate their country from French colonialism. Five days after the enactment of Resolution 1514 (XV) the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution recognizing the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence, and the need for effective

guarantees to ensure implementation of this right on the basis of respect for the unity and territorial integrity of Algeria (Resolution 1576 (XV)).

The General Assembly's recognition of the Algerian people's right to self-determination and independence affirmed the competence and authority of the United Nations to pass upon the issue of self-determination, i.e., the right of a captive people to choose political separation from an existing state. For the first time, the judgment was not expressed in the traditional framework, based on the simple question of whether the people had established control over the territory, but upon agreed objective criteria under which any people should be entitled to self-determination. The criteria, put forward by the Algerians and accepted by the Assembly, consisted of the following set of questions: Was the territory held as the result of prior military conquest? Was the population of the territory subjected to colonial rule? Did there exist within the territory the suppression of human rights? Was there a geographical separation between the territory and the ruling State?

By their actions, and their votes in the political organs of the United Nations in response to the national liberation struggle of the Algerian people, the countries of the world have established near-universal political support for a particular separation of peoples: the decolonization war.

In order to facilitate the process of decolonization throughout the world, the United Nations established in November, 1961, the Special Committee on the Situation With Regards to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Hereinafter referred to as the "Decolonization Committee", Resolution 1654 (XVI).) Each year the Decolonization Committee would assess the situation of the territories in the world still suffering under colonialism, and would explore specific concrete steps to assist in their liberation struggles and to put pressure on the colonial powers to relinquish their domination.

Despite the undeniable parallel between the case of Algeria and the situation in Puerto Rico, the overwhelming coercive influence of the United States, and the slow re-emergence of the Puerto Rican independence movement throughout the 1960's, delayed formal consideration of the case of Puerto Rico by the Decolonization Committee until 1972. Originally, Puerto Rico was one of the territories designated by the United Nations when it required yearly reports by the "administering" country on the process of establishing self-rule. In 1953, however, a year after the United States had imposed the euphemistic "Commonwealth" status on the Puerto Rican people, the United States demanded that Puerto Rico be taken off the list of reporting territories. In a close vote, 26 to 16, with 18 abstentions, the United Nations voted to remove Puerto Rico from the list of colonial possessions.

On August 28, 1972, the Decolonization Committee adopted a resolution, without a dissenting vote, to again consider the Puerto Rican people's inalienable right to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly Resolution 1514. The Resolution instructed the Committee's Working Group to submit at an early date in 1973 a report relating specifically to the procedure to be followed by the Decolonization Committee for the implementation of that Resolution with respect to Puerto Rico. (Official records of the General Assembly, 27th Session, Supplement 23, A/8723/ Rev. 1, Vol., Chap. 1, para. 85.)

In November, 1972, the entire General Assembly approved the report of the Decolonization Committee, reaffirming "its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples... to exercise their right to self-determination by all means necessary at their disposal..." (Resolution 2908 (XXVII).)

In 1973 the Decolonization Committee reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence, and "requested that the Government of the United States refrain from taking any measures which might impede the full and free exercise of that and other rights by the people concerned, and in particular to prevent any violation of those rights by bodies corporate under its jurisdiction". (Official records of General Assembly, 28th Session, Supplement N. 23 A/9023/ Rev. 1) Vol. 1, Chap. 1, para. 69.) The report of the Decolonization Committee, including the resolution on Puerto

Rico, was adopted by the full General Assembly by 104 to 5 (France, Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States) with 19 abstentions. (United Nations Resolution 3163 (XXVIII).)

In 1976, the Decolonization Committee again reaffirmed the right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence. (Official Records of the General Assembly, 31st Session, Supplement No. 23 (A/31/23 Rev. 1), Vol. 1, Chap. 1, para. 1969.) as did the Fifth Conference of Heads of State of the Non-Aligned Countries, in Sri Lanka that same year, and the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, in Yugoslavia in 1978. (A/31/197, Annex I, paras. 108 and 118.)

Beginning on August 28, 1978, the Decolonization Committee again considered the case of Puerto Rico. For the first time in the history of its consideration, the Special Committee heard from proponents of each status for Puerto Rico; independence, continuation of "Commonwealth", and statehood. Among those who made presentations was the present colonial governor, Romero Barcelo, a strong advocate of statehood, and the former governor, Rafael Hernandez Colon, a proponent of "Commonwealth". The question of Puerto Rico was considered by the Committee more carefully and thoroughly than ever before, over a period of two weeks.

The resolution of September 12, 1978, reaffirmed the inalienable right of the People of Puerto Rico to self-determination and

independence, in accordance with 1514 (XV). Further, it affirmed that "self-determination by the people of Puerto Rico in a democratic process should be exercised through mechanisms freely selected by the Puerto Rican people in complete and full sovereignty, in accordance with Resolution 1514 (XV) which inter alia provides for the full transfer of all power to the people of the territory," and that "all determinations concerning status should have the approval of the Puerto Rican people." (Emphasis supplied.) The Resolution said the Committee "considers that the persecutions, harrassments, and repressive measures to which organizations and persons struggling for independence have been continuously subjected constitute violations of the national right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence." The Resolution kept the question of Puerto Rico under review, and requested the Rapporteur to up-date the information subsequently in order to facilitate consideration of appropriate follow-up steps by the Special Committee in 1979. The Report of the Decolonization Committee was adopted by the General Assembly on December 13, 1978, by a vote of 109 to 0, with five abstentions. The United States abstained on the pretext that the question of Puerto Rico was an "internal" matter, not appropriately within the jurisdiction of the United Nations, a position identical to that of the French Government up until the final stages of the Algerian Decolonization War.

In 1979, the Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization again reaffirmed the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence, and noted "with preoccupation" that, so far, the government of the United States had not taken any concrete steps to comply with the mandate of United Nations Resolutions which call for complete transfer of all powers to the Puerto Rican people. The resolution "urges that concrete measures be taken in that direction without further delay," and asks that a fact-finding mission of the Special Committee be admitted to Puerto Rico by the competent authorities for the purpose of compiling all data, "including in particular information on persecution and harrassment of organizations and individuals struggling for independence and self-determination." The resolution also demands that the armed forces of the United States "terminate permanently" their operations in Vieques, "thus allowing the people of that island to live in peace on their own land and to enjoy fully the results of the exploitation for their benefit of the natural resources in the land and sea of the island municipality." At the urging of revolutionary Puerto Rican groups, the Committee deleted all reference to "the right of free association" with the U.S. as one self-determination option. The General Assembly approved the 1979 Report of the Decolonization Committee 129 to 0, with 6 abstentions.

The Resolutions of the Decolonization Committee, approved by the full body of the General Assembly, unequivocally establish the colonial case of Puerto Rico and the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence. The present status of Puerto Rico violates the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration of Human Rights, and the United Nations' Declaration Against Colonialism.

B. The Puerto Rican People Have The Right to Take Up Arms to Resist United States Domination and Liberate Their Nation.

In October, 1970, the General Assembly established its "Programme of Action For the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples." (Resolution 2621 (XXV)) Specifically, the resolution declared "that further continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is a crime which constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principles of international law." The Programme further "reaffirms the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial powers which suppress their aspiration for freedom and independence."

The right of colonial peoples to use all means available including armed struggle is restated in almost every General Assembly Resolution concerning the right to self-determination and independence. (See e.g. Res. 2708, 14 Dec. 1970; 29 Nov.

1974; Res. 3382, November 1975; Res. 31/34 (30 Nov. 1976; Res. 32/14 (7 Nov. 1977)).

On December 8, 1978, the General Assembly enacted Resolution 33/24, entitled "Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights," wherein it stated:

"The General Assembly...reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial domination and foreign occupation by all means available, particularly armed struggle." (Emphasis added)

This states the realization of the countries of the world, expressed through their plenary body, the General Assembly, that since colonial powers rule by military force, any true commitment to the principle of self-determination requires that a colonized people has the right to resort to force of arms. The Puerto Rican people have that right, and have exercised it through their resistance to U.S. colonialism. Since the anti-colonial principles were first embraced in the United Nations in response to the struggle of the Algerian people, carried on in both the colonized territory and the metropolitan mainland, the right to resort to "all necessary means" includes the right to wage the anti-colonial war by attacking the colonial power at home.

The right to fight colonialism on a second front, within the metropolis, is particularly legitimate for the people of Puerto Rico, since half of them have been literally driven from their homeland, forced by U.S. expropriation of their country's natural wealth to emigrate to the mainland in search of jobs, and then subjected to an internal colonial oppression. Since the effects of colonization are equally real, and devastating, in the U.S. and Puerto Rico, self-determination and armed struggle for liberation are the inalienable rights of the Puerto Rican people no matter where they live.

Likewise, the principle which permits resort to "all necessary means" to defeat colonialism does not contemplate externally-imposed restrictions upon the targets and methods chosen by the freedom fighters. Those who struggle for the true liberation of their people do so under broad principles of justice and humanity, and may not be constrained by labels of "terrorism" promulgated by the colonizing power. The real terror is the evil of colonial oppression and exploitation, which pervades all aspects of life in Puerto Rico and in Puerto Rican communities in the U.S. The targets hit by the armed clandestine movement have consistently been institutions, installations, and facilities of colonial-imperial power over Puerto Rico.

The unconditional support of the United Nations for the liberation struggles carried on by the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, Palestine, and other newly freed or soon-to-be freed nations of this world, clearly establishes the right to employ all methods and choose all targets which the strategy and conscience of the freedom fighters themselves indicate are correct.

C. As Combatants Captured In A Decolonization War, Petitioners Are Entitled To Prisoner Of War Status And Release.

As Part of its "Programme of Action" to end colonialism, the General Assembly has specifically demanded that captured anti-colonial freedom fighters not be prosecuted as criminals under the domestic law of the detaining colonial power, but be "treated in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, of August 12, 1949." (United Nations Treaty Series, Vol. 75 (1950) Resolution 2621 (XXV) Para. 6a; see also Resolution 2852 (XXVI) December 20, 1971; Resolution 3103 (XXVIII) December 12, 1973). The Assembly has recognized that a critical part of any plan of support and assistance to peoples fighting colonialism is United Nations condemnation of all attempts by the colonial power to "criminalize" their actions. Since captured freedom fighters are afforded P.O.W. status, the colonial power is obliged to recognize the legitimacy of their liberation struggle and to limit how it treats and punishes them.\*

Further, the Additional Protocols (I and II) to the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949, adopted on June 8, 1977, by the Diplomatic Conference on Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable to Armed Conflict, specifically expanded the Geneva Convention to protect those fighting against colonialism and foreign domination, and to confer Prisoner of War status upon anti-colonial freedom fighters. Article I,

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\* On January 24, 1979 the United Nations passed a specific resolution on Political Prisoners in South Africa. It stated, in part: "The General Assembly declares that freedom fighters captured during the struggle for liberation must be entitled to Prisoner of War status in accordance with the relevant Geneva Convention."

concerning the scope of the Convention's application, provides, under Paragraph (4):

The situations referred to in the preceding paragraph include armed conflicts in which peoples are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes, in the exercise of their right of self-determination, as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The paragraph specifically applies the protection of the Geneva Convention to wars of national liberation, and codifies what has been recognized by most countries of the world: that such wars have an international character for the purpose of the application of humanitarian law. It is important to note that, at the working session of the Diplomatic Conference, the representative from Cuba stressed that his delegation had voted in favor of the new Article I "on the understanding that the text was interpreted as referring not only to the national liberation movements present at the Conference, and those recognized by the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, but also others such as the Puerto Rican liberation group."\*

Article 43 of the Additional Protocol provides that the armed forces of a party to a conflict "consist of all organized armed forces, groups or units which are under a command responsible to the Party for the conduct of its subordinates, even if that Party is represented by a government or authority not recognized by an adverse Party." Article 44 recognizes that "owing to the nature of hostilities," an armed combatant cannot always distinguish himself or herself from

\* See Rosas, The Legal Status of Prisoner of War, Helsinki, pg. 274, footnote 265.

the civilian population.

Article 42 of the Additional Protocol creates a presumption in favor of a captured combatant, that he or she shall be entitled to P.O.W. status upon claiming such status, and that this presumption continues until a "competent tribunal" finally determines the prisoner's true status.

The Additional Protocols to the Geneva Convention, which have been expanded to protect National Liberation fighters under the spirit of its humanitarian development, applies with full force to the Puerto Rican independence struggle. Any other interpretation would be anti-historical and against the will of a majority of the world, who oppose the evils of colonialism and racism everywhere.

The General Assembly has also addressed the question of the right of colonial powers to detain or imprison legitimate anti-colonial Prisoners of War in any manner. They have recognized that the country who perpetuates the crime of colonialism has no right to imprison those who fight back.

General Assembly Resolution 33/122 (15 Feb. 1978) entitled "Protection of persons detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle against apartheid, racism and social discrimination, colonialism, aggression and foreign occupation and for self-determination, independence and social progress for their people" reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for liberation from colonial and foreign domination by all means available, including armed struggle, and further states:

Recalling its resolution 3103 (XXVIII), 12 Dec. 1973, in which it solemnly proclaimed the basic principles of the legal status of the combatants struggling against colonial and alien domination and racist regimes...

- (3) Demands the release of all individuals detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle against colonialism, aggression and foreign occupation and for self-determination, independence and social progress for their people.

On December 8, 1978, the General Assembly again expressed its extreme concern for the "universal realization of the right of people to self-determination, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, (and) the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples as imperatives for the full enjoyment of all human rights."

The Assembly again demanded:

the immediate release of all persons detained or imprisoned as a result of their struggle for self-determination and independence, full respect for their fundamental individual rights and the observance of Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, under which no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

Resolution 33/24 (8 Dec. 1978)

With these two most recent General Assembly Resolutions, the United Nations has declared it illegal for a colonial power to continue to detain captured freedom fighters who have a legitimate P.O.W. status. It is clear that Petitioners, in the circumstances of their captivity, are entitled to these protections.

V. CONCLUSION: THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE PETITIONERS' STATUS AS PRISONERS OF WAR. THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS CONSTITUENT BODIES ARE THE APPROPRIATE FORUM FOR THEIR CLAIM.

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As set out fully in Part III, from the moment of their capture Petitioners asserted to the detaining authorities their right to POW status. Their position was asserted to the Police, F.B.I., local and federal prosecutors, and several judges in the domestic criminal courts. The US Government through all the "bodies corporate under its jurisdiction" have been put on notice of the Petitioners' claim, and have refused to afford them proper status and disposition as P.O.W.s.

It is not surprising that the US Government and its judicial system have refused to recognize Petitioners' right to POW status under International Law. To grant such recognitions would be to recognize Puerto Rico's right to self-determination and independence, and the "crime," as the United Nations has termed it, of its colonization by the U.S. The U.S. Courts, judicial enforcers of colonial oppression, are not about to betray their own role in the evil and illegality of US colonialism. The United States continues to cover up its colonial domination of the Puerto Rican people by all means available, and all the institutions of power respond to the task.

The slave master will not willingly grant freedom to the slave, and thus, since the law does not require an idle act, Petitioners have fairly exhausted all reasonable avenues for POW recognition by the US Government. They therefore appropriately bring their claim

before the constituent bodies of the United Nations, seeking an official declaration of their proper POW status as captured anti-colonial freedom fighters. They ask further that the United Nations, pursuant to its recent General Assembly Resolutions, take all appropriate measures to secure their release from illegal detention and imprisonment by the United States Government.

This Petition is submitted to the Secretary-General in his capacity as Chief Representative of the United Nations, for his attention and dissemination to its member nations and all other appropriate bodies, pursuant to Res. 33124 (8 Dec. 1970) which

Requests the Secretary-General to give maximum publicity to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to give the widest possible publicity to the struggle being waged by oppressed peoples for the realization of their self-determination and natural independence;

and pursuant to the responsibilities of the Secretary-General under the provision of Resolution 33/45 (5 January, 1979)

"Dissemination of Information on Decolonization".

The Petition is also directed to the "Decolonization Committee," which has specifically affirmed the right of the Puerto Rican People to Self-Determination and Independence, and which is committed, under its latest resolution, to "appropriate follow-up steps" to assist the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for liberation.

The Petition is also directed to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, which the General Assembly has specifically

asked

(6) to continue to give particular attention to the question of the release of individuals detained or imprisoned as a result of their participation in the struggle against colonialism, aggression and foreign occupation and for self-determination, independence, and social progress for these people. (General Assembly Resolution 32/122, 2/15/78)

Finally, this Petition is directed to the Bureau of Coordination of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, which, since 1964, in Cairo, and most recently in Sri Lanka in 1976, Yugoslavia in 1978, and in Cuba in 1979, has clearly and forcefully recognized that Puerto Rico should be free.

Petitioners are fully prepared to submit additional statements and documents, pursuant to the jurisdictional and procedural requirements of these bodies.

DATED: May 16, 1980

First Corrected Edition  
5/19/80

Respectfully submitted,

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- B. Chronology of Armed Struggle for Puerto Rican Independence, 1967-1980
- C. Communiqués From the Armed Clandestine Movement For Puerto Rican Independence
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APPENDIX A

Chronology of Puerto Rico  
on the International Level

## APPENDIX A

### CHRONOLOGY: PUERTO RICO ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

- 1815 At a meeting in Mexico City on March 15, 1815, a representative group of Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Mexicans, and Dominicans signed a document empowering the Cuban, Jose Alvarez de Toledo, to organize a liberating army to drive the Spanish from the Caribbean Sea.
- 1815 On 15 September the Liberator, Simon Bolivar, issued his famous "A Letter to a Jamaican Gentleman" in which he includes Puerto Rico as part of his designs to liberate America from the yoke of Spanish domination.
- 1825 On May 15, 1825, Simon Bolivar instructed the delegates to the Congress of Panama to take action on behalf of Puerto Rico's independence from Spanish domination.
- 1910 In the centennial celebration of the convocation of the Spanish Cortes, the Puerto Rican statesman, Cayetano Coll y Cuchi, raised the issue of the island's status to the other delegates from the Spanish world.
- 1910 Jose de Diego, the most important independentist leader of the early 20th century, attended an international law conference in Lake Mohonk, New York, in which he called for the independence of Puerto Rico and the cession of Culebra to the U.S. Armed Forces, in lieu of the independence.
- 1913 Upon receiving one of the most important literary awards of the Dominican Republic, during the celebration of the Inter-Antillean Floral Games on Oct. 12, 1913, Jose de Diego addressed himself to the issue of Puerto Rico's independence and the need for international support.
- 1916 Jose de Diego traveled throughout Spain in an effort to enlist support for Puerto Rico's freedom.
- 1923 The first President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, Jose Coll y Cuchi, issued his book El Nacionalismo Puertorriqueno, in an attempt to advance the cause of independence at the international level.

- 1927-30 Pedro Albizu Campos, then Vice President of the Nationalist Party, was commissioned to undertake a political journey through the Caribbean which took him to the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Cuba, Mexico, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela. Everywhere he went he left committees organized in support of Puerto Rico's national liberation, which counted among their members some of the most illustrious sons of the Americas, such as, Pierre Moroviah Morpeau, Enrique Jose Varona, Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, Americo Lugo y Henriquez, et al.
- 1938 The Dominican Patriot, Americo Lugo y Henriquez addressed the VIII Pan American Conference in Lima, Peru through a written message reminding the delegates that colonialism still remained in the Americas, and that the issue of Puerto Rico had to be addressed.
- 1945 From the very day of the inception of the United Nations in San Francisco, in 1945, the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico initiated its diplomatic offensive. Julio Pinto Gandia was selected as the Party's first official representative to that conclave. The result of his efforts was the United Nations granting observer status to the Nationalist Party. The North American, Thelma Mielke, was named to that post, a position she kept until October 30, 1950, when her credentials were taken away. Ever since then Puerto Rico has not enjoyed any official recognition.
- 1948 The Puerto Rico journalist, Jose Enamorado Cuesta was sent as an observer to the International Conference of the American States in Bogota. The U.S. opposed this move. The American Commission of Colonies and Territorial Possessions was created and charged with the responsibility of dealing with the colonial question of Puerto Rico.
- 1949 The case of Puerto Rico was raised before the American Commission on Colonies and Territorial possessions in Havana, Cuba. After much debate, a resolution was passed demanding that the Organization of American States (OAS) address itself to the issue of Puerto Rico.
- 1953 The United States submitted to the United Nations a resolution to the effect that Puerto Rico's political status had changed, and it was no longer mandatory for the United States to hand in reports on its decolonizing efforts in Puerto Rico. Resolution 748 (VIII) dealing with this matter was approved on November 27, 1953 by a vote of 26 in favor, 16 against and 18 abstentions.

- 1960 A meeting of the Latin American Democratic left was convoked with the idea of taking a position against Cuba, but instead the delegates moved to support Puerto Rico's right to independence. Due to the efforts of Juan Antonio Corretjer, who had acted at the behest of Ernesto (Che) Guevara, a call which was signed by such former heads of State as Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico, Juan Jose Arvalo of Guatemala, Jose Maria Velasco, Ibarra of Ecuador and Wolfgang Larrazabel of Venezuela, was adopted as the resolution of the "Conferencia de Personalidades" (Conference of Personalities).
- 1964 The non-aligned nations meeting in Cairo, Egypt recognized the right of Puerto Rico to its independence, and demanded that the United Nations Committee on De-Colonization look into the colonial situation of Puerto Rico. This position in support of Puerto Rico was re-affirmed in subsequent meetings of that entity in Algiers, Georgetown, Belgrade, and Havana.
- 1972 On August 25, the Iraqi Ambassador presented a motion that called upon the United Nations Committee on De-Colonization (Committee of 24) to name a task force to present, at the beginning of the Committee's 1973 session, a report that would refer concretely to the procedures to be pursued in applying United Nations Resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly to the case of Puerto Rico.
- 1973 The Committee of 24 decided, after hearing the heads of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), that the case of Puerto Rico would henceforth be under continuous study. The United Nations General Assembly approved this position by a vote of 104 in favor and 5 against, with 19 abstentions.
- 1978 The Cuban and Iraqi Ambassadors submitted a resolution to the Committee of 24 for the United Nations to recognize Puerto Rico's right to independence and self-determination, including the right to free association. Many of Puerto Rico's independence organizations opposed the inclusion of the latter point. By a vote of 129 in favor, 0 against, and 6 abstentions, the report of the Committee of 24 was approved by the General Assembly.
- 1979 The United Nations General accepted the amended version of the Committee of 24 resolution on Puerto Rico's right to independence, from which was stricken the free association clause.

APPENDIX B

Chronology of Armed Struggle  
for Puerto Rican Independence,  
1967-1980

# Chronology of Armed Struggle in Puerto Rico and the U.S. 1967 - 1980

- 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 Río Piedras, following the sentencing of a student for refusing to serve in the U.S. armed forces, students organized by the *Federacion Universitaria Pro-Independencia* (FUPI), *La Liga Socialista Puertorriqueña* (LSP), *Juventud Universitaria 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 Borinqueña*," the national anthem of Puerto Rico. This is only one of many militant protests by FUPI, before and after this date, against ROTC in Río Piedras—in protest of U.S. imperialist intervention in Vietnam and Puerto Rico.
- 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 Chéz 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

B-2

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- Jan. 9, 1970 CAL claims responsibility for fire at Barker's Store in Caparra Shopping Center in Rio 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 Roco, Río Piedras, between students organized by the LSP, FUPI, JUI, 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 Martinez.
- 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."

- 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.
- 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 to be used to transport scab labor during newspaper 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

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- 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 hae been brutally assaulted and murdered by racist cops."
- 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

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- 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.

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 Darío 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 *Organización de Voluntarios por la Revolución Puertorriqueña*, in conjunction with one another, expropriate huge quantities of explosives and other materials from Ireco, an explosives depository and explosives manufacturing company 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.

Jan. 30, 1979 The OVRP takes responsibility for bombing the U.S. Coast Guard in Ponce. They say "We want to note that Vieques is a demonstration of the military occupation of all Puerto Rico by the U.S. Army".

Feb. 2, 1979 The Movimiento Accion Revolucionaria take responsibility for bombs in the offices of the 65th Infantry and in military recruitment offices in Rio Piedras.

Feb. 9, 1979 The Soto-Rosado Comando of MAR takes responsibility for firebombs thrown at the gates of the U.S. Naval base in Sabana Seca, in support of the struggle in Vieques.

Feb. 15, 1979 The OVRP takes responsibility for bombing a Coast Guard installation in San Juan. They say: "Navy operations in Vieques must be stopped. It is the beginning of a great battle that will systematically extend throughout the national territory".

Feb. 24, 1979 Cabrera acquitted of murder of CIA agent Randall.

March 14-15, 1979 The CRP takes responsibility for bombs in San Juan, Carolina and Caguas, including such targets as RCA Global Communications in Miramar, and Sperry Univac in Hato Rey. They write that their actions are to repudiate "the presence of the U.S. Navy in Vieques".

May 21, 1979 William Guillermo Morales, accused of being a member of the FALN; sentenced to 89 years in prison on federal and New York state explosives charges when he took a Prisoner of War stance, escapes from custody in Bellevue Hospital in New York City.

June 29, 1979 U.S. flags are torn down and burned across the island just before the Pan American Games.

Aug. 3, 1979 A bombing in Rio Piedras is attributed to the MAR.

Sept. 7,9, 1979 National Moratorium on Police Crimes documents U.S. genocide in submission to United Nations.

Sept. 17, 1979 MAR attacks Campamento Tortuguero, burning a National Guard vehicle.

- Sept. 23, 1979 At the unitary celebration of the Grito de Lares in Lares, 10,000 copies of the first joint communique of Puerto Rican clandestine organizations is distributed, signed by the FALN, the FARP, the OVRP, and the PRTP (EPB-Los Macheteros). The communique analyzes the situation in the country: "There is only one alternative, which has predominated among all peoples victimized by colonialism and neo-colonialism: TO FIGHT UNTIL THE ACHIEVEMENT OF FINAL VICTORY OVER IMPERIALISM AND ALL THE TRAITORS WHO SERVE IT!"
- Oct. 4, 1979 Clandestine forces of the FARP attack a bar in Ceiba, which is a hang-out for U.S. sailors and Marines from nearby Roosevelt Roads Naval Base. Four men and a woman with weapons line up the military personnel present and tell them: "We could kill you now, but we are not going to do it. We want you to think about this the next time that you are bombing Vieques." They also state that "It will only be the ending of the Navy's attacks, and their departure from Viequense soil that will deter the escalation of our actions." The guerrilleros then retired from the scene without any losses. Police who tried to interrogate residents of the area were unable to obtain any clear identifications, descriptions, or even consistent reports of the number of people involved in the action.
- Oct. 17, 1979 The FALN, FARP, OVRP, and EPB take responsibility for bombs at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center in Illinois, the Cook County Building in Chicago, the U.S. Customs House in San Juan, a Coast Guard tower in San Juan, the site commemorating the original U.S. invasion in Guanica and a Navy installation in Isabela, Puerto Rico. They also take responsibility for simulated bombs in Democratic and Republican Party offices in New York.
- Nov. 23,24, 1979 The FALN bomb two Navy recruiting offices and the Naval Armory on Lake Michigan in Chicago.
- Dec. 3, 1979 Three organizations, the FARP, the OVRP, and the EPB take responsibility for the daylight attack on a U.S. Navy bus carrying Naval radar technicians to a base at Sabana Seca in retaliation for U.S. assassination of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, Soto and Rosado. Two Navy personnel are killed in the attack and ten wounded. The U.S. awards its wounded the Purple Heart, which

is only given to those wounded in combat: a tacit recognition of the state of war created by U.S. hostilities against the Puerto Rican people. The guerrilleros declare: "The clandestine organizations who write this communique are not playing at war. We are disposed to carry this struggle to its ultimate consequences." Despite U.S. attempts to wrap up a hysteria about the act, independence forces and others generally refuse to denounce it. Even the PSP, committed to an electoral strategy, calls the attack at Sabana Seca a "legitimate act of war". The heads of the Vieques Fishermen's Association lay responsibility for the deaths of the Navy personnel on the U.S. Navy and the courts, who he also considers responsible for the death of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal.

- Dec. 1979 Two people enter the grounds of Roosevelt Roads Naval Base and fire shots. They escape without consequence. No organization takes responsibility for the attack.
- Feb. 1980 Republican Party primaries are held in Puerto Rico. Demonstrations and protests over Vieques continue throughout January and February, interrupting U.S. Navy maneuvers. At least one Coast Guardsman is injured by rocks thrown with slingshots by Vieques fishermen.
- March, 1980 Joint communique FALN with the clandestine Dominican group M-14, supports the takeover of Dominican Embassy in Colombia.
- March 12, 1980 FARP (EPB-Los Macheteros) attack three ROTC instructors for the U.S. Army at the University of Puerto Rico. The comandos attack the Army car at a freeway ramp on Avenida Domenech. The attack, called Pitirre 1 in the communique, is seen as marking a new offensive stage of military operations by clandestine forces.
- March 15, 1980 On the eve of Democratic Party primaries in Puerto Rico, the FALN conducts armed takeovers of Carter campaign headquarters in downtown Chicago, and of Bush Republican headquarters in Manhattan, New York. They spray paint slogans denouncing statehood. Police and media later claim the receipt of threats against campaign workers and candidates.

- March 29, 1980 Two more Vieques resisters, including Carlos Zenon are sentenced to prison terms. The same day, the latest in a series of bomb threats against the Roosevelt Roads Naval Base are made by the Macheteros.
- April 4, 1980 Eleven Puerto Rican Freedom Fighters, including fugitive Carlos Alberto Torres, are arrested in Evanston, IL, charged with illegal possession of weapons, and accused of being members of the FALN. Police and media launch a campaign of attacks, attributing various crimes and actions to them, and carrying out raids on apartments in Chicago, Wisconsin, New Jersey and New York. The Eleven take a stand as prisoners of war.
- April 11, 1980 A joint communique is issued by FALN, FARP, OVRP and EPB denouncing the arrests and reassuring people that the struggle continues.
- April 14, 1980 Grupo Estrella "arrests" a top official of the electrical works in Puerto Rico, in solidarity with actions by workers there. That night a 24-hour blackout paralyzes Puerto Rico.

APPENDIX C

Communiques From the Armed Clandestine Movement  
For Puerto Rican Independence

NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

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

2-2

NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

January 24, 1975



de LIBERACIÓN NACIONAL PUERTORRIQUEÑA

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  
COMANDO GRISELIO TORRESOLA

NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

April 2, 1975



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

NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

July 12, 1976



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

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

June 14, 1975



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

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7-0  
NEW YORK CITY, U.S.A.

August 3, 1977



Our actions today are part of our campaign to dramatize and to intensify our just struggle for the Independence of Puerto Rico and the unconditional freedom of the five Puerto Rican Nationalists: 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 strangulate 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

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 this 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

## 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 yankees out of our Fatherland. Only people's war will save the people.

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

BAYAMON, PUERTO RICO and  
CAROLINA, PUERTO RICO

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 yankee 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 yankee 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 yankee 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.

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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)*



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 Darío 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)

C-10

MANATI, PUERTO RICO

October 1, 1978



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)



FIRST JOINT MESSAGE FROM THE  
CLANDESTINE ORGANIZATIONS  
TO THE PEOPLE

July 25, 1979 marked 81 years of the occupation of our nation by the forces of North American imperialism. The imperialist military aggression perpetrated since then has impeded the process of our people towards total independence. The Grito de Lares guided and concretized Puerto Rico as an independent nation, intimately linked to other Latin American nations.

Those years of domination have been characterized by ruthless repression against all manifestations of struggle for our national independence. The fact that our heroic combatents were incarcerated for more than 25 years is not only an example of the repression against them and their party, but also a threat against independentistas; as the sentences imposed on Nydia Esther Cuevas and Pablo Marcano Garcia proved so well. Repression is carried out on a daily basis in Vieques by the U.S. military as a reminder to the people of Puerto Rico that they can do it throughout our nation. In this way they repress the Independence movement and threaten the entire Caribbean. At the same time, repression against the working class and its unions has increased: its leadership and progressive unions have been harassed; weak contracts and wage ceilings have been imposed; strikes have been broken; and threats have been made to force public workers into a repressive union. The persecution against the Independence movement has resulted in three deaths in the last two years.

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The case of Cerro Maravilla is a clear indication of how far they will go to fabricate situations to annihilate the independence movements.

As part of this policy, they supported Luis Munoz Marin and the Popular Democratic Party, always infested with demogoguery, as a trampolin and mechanism of transition to assimilate our people. The name adopted, as a result of their political impositions, Free Associated State, is an example of those intentions.

Pressured by the international crisis of capitalism and the great need for natural resources, they now seek to intensify the exploitation and assimilation of the Puerto Rican nation. The New Progressive Party, under the leadership of the rich whose wealth was created by the North American system, intimately linked to it and now raised to the level of colonial administrators, seek to use this crisis to transform our nation into a state of the United States.

The crisis of capitalism, at the international level, is characterized, among other things, by the loss of absolute control over the imperialist nations' as a result of the strides made by underdeveloped nations in defense of their interests and national patrimony. The capacity of imperialism to control resources in yesteryear, such as petroleum, nickel, copper, manganese, and other strategic materials has been greatly reduced. It is for this reason that the potential existence of rich fields of petroleum and minerals in our nation are determinant factors of the aspirations of sectors of the imperialistic bourgeoisie to make our nation a new state of the

North American union.

The systematic annexationist-statehood process in our nation has covered various aspects: the military and economic control of our people and territory. Today, both reach tragic levels for our population. The political control is exercised through the colonial parties at its service. What is left is the most important of all; to destroy our identity as a people: our national consciousness. This is what constitutes the new imperialist offensive!

For this, it is necessary to ideologically capture our popular masses, something they seek to accomplish through the imposed participation of our people in the national politics of the metropolis. This is called bringing statehood through the back door. The fact that Puerto Ricans would actively participate in the party politics of imperialism is equivalent in practice to the destruction of our nationality. This demagogic and pseudo-democratic deceit is a daring and skillful maneuver that depends on the aid of the treacherous Puerto Rican leadership of the New Progressive Party and the New Democratic Party of Puerto Rico orchestrated by the CIA and directed by Franklin Delano Lopez and Juan Manuel Garcia Passalacqua. Neither can we eliminate the responsibility of the demagogues of the Popular Democratic Party in this act of deceit and treason. The PPD is worried about its loss of influence in the circles of power in the metropolis. However, they do not combat the celebration of the primaries of the North American parties and the other processes that integrate us with the party politics of the United States.

The so-called "democratic primaries" celebrated at the end of last year, the presidential vote, the announced Republican primaries, the presidential campaigns, and all the importations of the U.S. are to tighten up the political mechanisms for the execution of a well defined plan of assimilation, in the constitutional order, with the consent of a people habitually deceived.

While the elements of the colonial bourgeoisie seek to surrender our people and nation to total assimilation, Puerto Rican workers are forced to massively emigrate to the United States, where racism makes exploitation worse. In Puerto Rico, we live in conditions of uncertainty, suffering from the painful effects of inflation, unemployment, and the constant begging for food coupons and federal funds. These are the most indignant parts of this campaign. The blackmail used with these federal funds and food coupons hangs over our heads, like the sword of Democles, threatening to crush us if we refuse its pretentions.

We, the Puerto Rican workers, must make a decision of struggle against the present conditions. No leader of the bourgeoisie is capable of confronting this situation in any way. There is only one alternative. It has predominated in all the nations that have been victims of colonialism and neocolonialism: TO COMBAT IMPERIALISM AND ALL THE TRAITORS THAT SERVE IT UNTIL FINAL VICTORY.

With all our energies, we must proclaim:

NO TO STATEHOOD  
NO TO THE FREE ASSOCIATED STATE  
FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

FUERZAS ARMADAS DE LIBERACION  
NACIONAL FALN (U.S.)

FUERZAS ARMADAS DE RESISTENCIA  
POPULAR FARP

ORGANIZACION DE VOLUNTARIOS  
PARA LA REVOLUCION  
PUERTORRIQUENA OVRP

PARTIDO REVOLUCIONARIO DE  
LOS TRABAJADORES  
PUERTORRIQUENOS – EJERCITO  
POPULAR BORICUA –  
MACHETEROS PRTP-EPB



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Dated: September, 1979.

# 2nd Joint Communique of Puerto Rican Clandestine Organizations

41-2



ORGANIZACION DE  
VOLUNTARIOS POR LA  
REVOLUCION PUERTORRIQUEÑA  
(OVRP)



The struggle of the people of Vieques, Puerto Rico against the U.S. Navy has reached a point which calls for the immediate withdrawal of this military force from its lands and waters. This is the only acceptable compromise for this heroic people, in view of the atrocities and punishments committed against them by the U.S. Navy since it made its presence felt in 1941. But especially now since the U.S. Navy and Imperialism are using the threat of assassinations and incarcerations to destroy the will of the Viequense people to struggle. This threat materialized in the case of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal who, as a prisoner of war, was assassinated by the imperialists. Today, we pay tribute to this fallen comrade.

Since 1941, the Navy has had almost absolute control of the vital aspects of life in Vieques. In this island-municipality, the Navy controls over 76% of the most arable and fertile land; thus denying the residents its use for cultivation. At the same time, the Navy deprives the people of the most basic human right- the right to work and to earn a decent livelihood. This situation has forced the people either to emigrate (over 50% of the people have been forced out of Vieques since 1941), or to live under abject and sub-human economic conditions. Presently, the unemployment rate is 60%, and close to one third of the population live below the poverty level. As a consequence, social problems like drug addiction, alcoholism and prostitution are deeply affecting this

municipality. Here, it is important to point out that these problems were unheard of prior to 1941, since before that year, Vieques enjoyed a relatively stable economic base.

The Navy is directly behind the factors which limit the development of the various sectors of the Viequense economy. For example, the principal obstacle to the full enjoyment of a productive fishing industry is the restrictions imposed by the Navy, which forbids access to fishing grounds. The military maneuvers also destroy with regularity the fishing nets. Such acts create significant economic losses to the fishermen. The military bombardments and target practices destroy the natural environment of the marine life in the area, causing a tremendous unbalance to the ecological resources. Hence, the productive forces.

In essence, the U.S. Navy has brought only suffering and the ills of its decadent society to the people of Vieques, Puerto Rico. And now, with the assassination of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal, it has brought grief and sorrow to the people of Vieques, in particular, and to all of Puerto Rico in general.

But the atrocities committed by the U.S. Navy will never be able to stop the heroic struggle of the people of Vieques, Puerto Rico to recover its lands and waters. The Viequenses and those who support them are ready to sacrifice everything, including their lives, in order to secure the expulsion of the U.S. Navy from its lands and waters.

The Motherland is courage and sacrifice—Pedro Albizu Campos!

We also seize this opportunity to express our solidarity with the just claim of the Iranian people. We defend their demand that the Shah be returned to Iran now. And we firmly believe that any attempt by the U.S. government to use military force in Iran will only be met by defeat; defeat when confronted by a heroic people. We also affirm that imperialism is an illegal system which will be fought whether in Iran or in Vieques, Puerto Rico; for justice is on the side of all anti-imperialist forces.

RETURN THE CRIMINAL SHAH TO THE  
IRANIAN PEOPLE NOW!!

THE NAVY OUT OF VIEQUES NOW !!

INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM NOW !!

# Sabana Seca Communique

## Declaration by Puerto Rican fighters who ambushed U.S. naval bus

*In December a U.S. navy bus was ambushed by anti-imperialist fighters in Puerto Rico. The following is a communication issued by the revolutionary forces who carried out the attack. Translation by The Worker.*

On the morning of the 3rd of December the joint forces of the 'organizacion de Voluntarios para la Revolucion Puertorriqueña' (OVRP) (Organization of Volunteers for the Puerto Rican Revolution), the 'Ejercito Popular Boricua' (EPB — Macheteros) (Boricua Popular Army), and the 'Fuerzas Armados de Resistencia Popular' (FARP) (Armed Forces of Popular Resistance) carried out a military action against the occu-

pying Yankee military forces that operate in the "U.S. Naval Security Group Activity" in the Barrió Sabana Seca, in the town of Toa Baja.

The aggressive imperialist enemies of our people have lately massacred two young patriots at Cerro Maravilla and very recently a young farmer and patriot, Angel Rodríguez Cristóbal, in the dungeon of the Federal Prison of Tallahassee, Florida.

The assassination of Angel Rodríguez Cristóbal was perpetrated by the Yankee Intelligence to intimidate our people and their leaders in a useless attempt to make us cease our struggle. Instead of being intimidated our people have responded with shame and

indignation.

The plot by the Colonial Government, the principal hangman in the assassinations at Cerro Maravilla, the the North American (U.S.) Government, executioner of Angel Rodríguez Cristóbal is evident. Persisting in their imperialist efforts to perpetuate the control and exploitation of our people they try to paralyse the patriotic forces in their revolutionary and liberating advance by using the politics of terror and repression.

The Yankee military strategists should not deceive themselves. The blood of the Puerto Rican martyrs and patriots will be revenged with the blood of the Imperialists. The Yankee occupying forces

will be a target of the Patriotic Fire every time that the assassin hand of the Imperialist takes the life of a Puerto Rican patriot. We warn the Imperialists that they should respect the life and security of our prisoners according to the Geneva Convention, otherwise they will be responsible for the irreversible consequences that will follow as a result of our people's popular indignation.

The clandestine organizations that subscribe to this statement are not playing at war. We are prepared to take this struggle to its last consequences.

For independence and socialism!

Long Live Free Puerto Rico!

Press Release - April 9, 1980

The past April 4, 1980, forces in the service of yankee imperialism jailed eleven freedom fighters for the independence of Puerto Rico. The imperialists alleged that they had struck a heavy blow to the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) and to the struggle for the independence of our people.

We, the revolutionary organizations that are struggling from clandestinity in Puerto Rico, as well as in the very entrails of the monster, understand that any offensive of this type constitutes a blow for our people in struggle. What it does not mean, by any means, is that they have been able to weaken in the least the rising growth of our liberation struggle.

We represent a people enchained and exploited, which every day demonstrates that its liberty and independence will be won, regardless of the sacrifices which might be necessary.

We want the comrades in jail to know they can count on our militant solidarity and to know that our support and aid for our people's freedom fighters is unshakable to the ultimate consequences.

To our people and to the independence fighters we say that we, the organized revolutionary forces, will continue to strengthen ourselves with firm steps and that very soon our organized people in struggle will triumph.

Our hundred-year struggle against exploitation, colonialism, racial discrimination, corruption and all the unjust products

of capitalism will never be stopped. It will be cemented with the blood of our martyrs, the bravery of our patriots and the force of our working class.

Moreover, the government of the United States should remember that they are obliged to respect the life and the rights of the captured comrades in Chicago as Prisoners of War. They are responsible for this before the peoples of the world and also before us. The peoples of the world have the moral force to demand it, and we have the physical force and the courage to support what they demand.

LONG LIVE PUERTO RICO LIBRE!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE!

PUERTO RICO WILL WIN.

Organizacion de Voluntarios por la Revolucion Puertorriquena (OVRP)  
Ejercito Popular Boricua (Macheteros) (FRT-EPB)  
Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN)  
Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular (FARP)

APPENDIX D

The Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional's  
Position Before the United Nations'  
Committee on Decolonization; August, 1978

THE MOVIMIENTO DE LIBERACION NACIONAL'S POSITION  
BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS' COMMITTEE ON DECOLONI-  
ZATION (COMMITTEE OF 24); AUGUST, 1978.

Honorable Delegates:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you on behalf of our organization, the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (M.L.N.) for giving us the opportunity to come, before this august body, to put forth the conditions of the Puerto Ricans in the U.S. and their relationship to the question on your agenda today-- the colonial case of Puerto Rico. The M.L.N. is a Puerto Rican and Chicano-Mexicano organization founded in the United States about a year ago and which advances the principle of non-participation in the colonial electoral process, the need for clear and revolutionary politics in Puerto Rico, the need for the emergence of a National Liberation Front to build unity among independence forces, and the creation of an anti-imperialist movement in the U.S. The M.L.N. has mandated me to put into perspective before this honorable body, the dismal, wretched, and oppressive conditions which the Puerto Rican people have to daily live within the entrails of the monster, as the great apostle of Cuban freedom, José Martí, called the United States more than one hundred years ago; and how this situation has its fons origo in the very imperialist domination of our homeland.

The migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States is an unique chapter in the annals of U.S. immigration. There are several reasons for this: first, the Puerto Rican migration has to be understood in the context of an imperialist power's attempt to annihilate a subject people's national identity; second, it has to be understood as a plan

to salvage and to prolong the colonial hegemony over those peoples-- the Puerto Rican migration has served as a safety-valve for the island's chronic unemployment rate which runs as high as 45%; third, it has to be understood as a forced migration of a people in order to acquire their labor for U.S. monopoly capital (It should be noted, that hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans, excluded from their lands due to an all out attempt, during the first three decades of U.S. domination over the island, to transfer it into a sugar emporium, had no alternative but to make the journey northwards during, and, after the Second World War to fill the jobs no one else wanted. This pattern has not ceased, particularly, as far as the agricultural workers are concerned; today there are more than 50,000 Puerto Rican farm workers in the U.S. who live under semi-slavery conditions. Lured by offers to come to work in the farms of agri-business, upon arrival these workers are packed into concentration camps from which it is very difficult to leave.); and fourth, it has to be understood as a conscious colonialist plan to geographically transplant the colonized people from the colonial territory to the metropole without changing the imperialist relationships -- Puerto Ricans are forced into the urban ghettos or rural camps of this country to share their miserable lot with other oppressed peoples, but not the fortunes of the colonizer.

It is against the back-drop of these unique characteristics that the dynamics of the Puerto Rican situation in the U.S. has to be analyzed. According to a recent report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, entitled, Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An Uncertain

Future, Puerto Ricans, here, live under deplorable conditions. They are the poorest among the poor. They have the highest drop-out and illiteracy rates in the country; nearly 80% of all Puerto Rican youngsters drop out before finishing high school -- in Chicago 72.9% of all Puerto Rican students who enter high school drop-out or rather are pushed out before graduation. Therefore, Puerto Ricans have the lowest education level in this country. High infant mortality rate, high unemployment rate -- Puerto Ricans are among the last to be hired and the first to be fired, high rates of mental illness, poor housing -- a look at Bronx with nearly 300,000 Puerto Ricans suffices to give us a true picture of the housing situation among Puerto Ricans, all these are characteristics of the Puerto Rican reality in the United States; it is this situation which the advocates of statehood hope to impose on the whole of the Puerto Rican people. And, these, Honorable Delegates, are the conclusions of the U.S. government, not ours. For its agencies can only study our reality, we have to live it.

The marginalization process which Puerto Ricans are subjected to, has moved them toward waging increasingly militant struggles. With only a few artificial options available, such as the electoral process -- which the Puerto Ricans have overwhelmingly rejected, they have been forced many times to take their struggles into the streets; the story is the same in Chicago, in Gary, in Philadelphia, in Newark, in Hartford, and in New York. More so as the colonial contradictions in Puerto Rico heighten and as the independentist struggle grows quantitatively, as well as qualitatively, the Puerto Ricans, in the U.S., have begun to realize that their day to day struggles for social justice are intrinsically tied to the question of Puerto Rico's freedom (It should be noted

that the statehood party and the Popular Democratic Party had to spend thousands of dollars so as to gather a few supporters in the gallery of this chamber to hear and cheer their positions; a true reflection of how little support they enjoy among the two and a half million Puerto Ricans in this country. The independentist movement has reached the level in this country, where, since 1969 it has waged armed struggle; and the seventies has seen the mobilizing of thousands of Puerto Ricans to hundreds of mass activities throughout the country.

As Puerto Rico enters its final stage of struggle, and as repressive orders of the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. are rigorously executed in Puerto Rico by a fascist colonial regime, the repressive agencies in this country have also launched an all-out offensive against the whole of the Puerto Rican people. This offensive is launched on two levels. On the one hand, it is aimed at the independentist forces, since they are more visible due to a counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO) which has been carried forth against that movement since 1961, and which recently has been escalated (This program aims at infiltrating, dividing, disrupting, neutralizing, and finally destroying the patriotic sector of Puerto Rican society.)

This campaign has utilized the grand juries in this country on a scale hitherto unknown. Six grand juries have been convoked, thirteen people have been jailed serving up to eleven months in prison for the sole crime of wanting Puerto Rico free, hundreds of people have been subpoenaed, and thousands have been harassed by the F.B.I. At this very moment, a young Puerto Rican woman, Dylcia Pagan, who is two and a half months' pregnant, is waiting to be incarcerated for refusing to

collaborate with a grand jury which is engaging in a witch-hunt against the Puerto Rican independence movement in the Southern District of New York. This young woman is the wife of William Morales, a Puerto Rican who served as a member of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church, an organization that attempted to ameliorate the unjust conditions which Puerto Ricans face and which we enumerated earlier. William was set-up in a bomb explosion in an apartment in Queens. He was then accused of being a member of the F.A.L.N. ( a clandestine, Puerto Rican Independentist organization), two weeks before the killings of the Massacre at Maravilla in Puerto Rico. William lost his fingers and part of his face, and then framed on a series of charges.

On the other hand, the repression is waged on a wholesale basis against entire Puerto Rican communities in this country. Rascist police form a foreign occupying army in our barrios. During this past year, policemen across the land killed and maimed dozens of Puerto Rican youths; the case of Julio Osorio and Rafael Cruz, two young men assassinated by being shot in the back by a Chicago policeman for the sole crime of being Puerto Ricans, suffices to give an idea of the magnitude of this problem. Our homes and community institutions are under constant surveillance and even our phones are tapped. Several times during the past two years Puerto Rican communities, particularly in Chicago and New York, have been put under a state of seige -- homes have been broken into, road-blocks have been set up, people have been harrassed at work. All this under the pretext of investigating the bombings which have been set off over the past nine years by Puerto Rican underground organiza-

tions. Our people live under a constant state of fear.

The threat of death and incarceration are everyday realities for Puerto Ricans in this "land of the free and home of the brave." Of course, jails in this country are increasingly playing the role of internment camps. When the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, said that there were "hundreds, perhaps, thousands of political prisoners" in this country, he meant that. It is interesting to note that nearly 70% of the 300,000 prisoners in the U.S. are Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicano/Mexicanos, and Native Americans; yet all these groups constitute less than 25% of the total population. Once jailed, third world people are subject to behavior modification programs; programs aimed at destroying the individual and his identity. For more than two and a half decades four Puerto Ricans, residents of the United States, have been held illegally in this country's jails and subjected to all sorts of inhumanities, including these behavior modification programs. Oscar Collazo, who has been in jail for nearly 28 years (thus, he is the oldest political prisoner in the western hemisphere), Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Irvin Flores are Prisoners of War, and accordingly should have been treated in compliance with the Geneva Accord. Yet these patriots are treated worse than common criminals.

I should add that the repressive conditions which Puerto Ricans face in the U.S. are not limited to Puerto Ricans; even though at this time some federal agencies such as the F.B.I. and grand jury, are concentrating their efforts on the Puerto Ricans; Blacks, Chicano/Mexicanos, and Native Americans have also been and continue to be targeted by the repressive agencies. Repression in this country has to be analyzed from a broader context than just the specific case of any of these

groups. The increasing wave of repression not only by the "legal" agencies but also by extra-legal organizations as the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis, and the Minutemen, has its roots in the growing crisis of monopoly capital and its pillar, imperialism.

The victory of the Indochinese people over U.S. imperialism was a turning point for the future of imperialism. This is evident in the fact that in 1973, David Rockefeller called together the Trilateral Commission. If one studies carefully the documents of this Commission, one is amazed at how well the world has been planned by monopoly capital. While the Trilateral Commission is concerned with maintaining imperialist hegemony over the so-called free world, in actuality it has concerned itself with both domestic and foreign affairs. In one of its documents, the 1980 Project, it is stated that the purpose of the Commission is "to develop new ideas and institutions which can channel and control change in the international system." Thus, the authors of this document state: "It must therefore come to grips with strategies for modifying the behavior of all relevant factors in the international community -- individuals, governments, agencies within the governments, elite groups, industrial firms, interest groups, mass societies, and other groups and organizations at the subnational and transnational level." One of the key questions addressed by the Trilateral Commission is the question of how to minimize conflict and maximize cooperation among the nations of the imperialist block, so as to insure the growth and survival of monopoly capital. The question of governability is thus at the core of the plans of the Commission.

According to another Commission report, The crisis of Democracy, the central problem facing the capitalist countries is that of "excess

of democracy." The contention of the masterminds behind these plans is that the solution to this problem is a "greater degree of moderation in democracy."

In Crisis in Democracy, Samuel Huntington contends that while all three areas (U.S., Japan, and Western Europe) confront similar "problems of democracy," none so acutely as the U.S. He maintains that during the sixties the U.S. saw an excessive shift to society and against government. Such an occurrence posed a major problem, since there was too little authority and Huntington's thesis is that true governability can exist only where there is a balance between "power and liberty, authority and democracy, government and society."

Huntington further points out that the greatest threat to governability comes from the "previously passive or unorganized groups in the population" (Blacks, Chicano/Mexicanos, Puerto Ricans and Native Americans). The solution to this problem of governability is to restore order and the prestige of the authority of the central government. In order to achieve this it is necessary to maintain "a measure of apathy and non-involvement of certain individuals and groups." Thus, the preservation of an orderly governmental process is contingent upon the ability of forcing these "newly mobilized strata (Blacks, Chicano/Mexicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans) to return to a measure of passivity and defeatism." How is this to be accomplished?

The answer is to be found in the growing repression against third world people in this country; jailings; police, F.B.I. and Grand Jury terrorism; assassinations, frame-ups; infiltrations; COUNTER INTELLIGENCE (COINTELPRO).

It is obvious that as colonialism enters its final stages in Puerto Rico, as a people's war becomes imminent, and as the possibility of bringing the war to the very entrails of the imperialist giant, an all-out effort must be made to control the Puerto Ricans and their immediate allies the Blacks, the Native Americans and the Chicano/Mexicanos. This is to be done at all costs. The imperialists are well aware of the danger that the anti-war movement in this country posed to its continual ability to wage war in Viet Nam. However, the struggle against the Viet Nam war cannot be measured with the struggle of Puerto Rico's national liberation in the U.S.; in that, 2.5 million Puerto Ricans, living under the most wretched conditions, will serve as a standing revolutionary army within the very heart of U.S. monopoly capital.

If one adds to the Puerto Ricans, the 25 million Chicano/Mexicanos and the 35 million Blacks, the imperialist are aware of this threat and, thus, make an all-out attack upon the Puerto Rican communities, in particular, and upon third world communities, generally.

Honorable Delegates, before you is a most important question. Your decision will affect not only the liberation process of 3.3 million Puerto Ricans, on the island, but also that of 2.5 million exiled sons and daughters of our occupied paradise. If you resolve that the United States as a colonial power in Puerto Rico stop the practice of colonialism and return the powers of sovereignty and self-government to Puerto Rico, you will serve the cause of freedom, peace, and justice well. Before you lies the mandate of the Puerto Rican people who proclaim the present status colonialist. It is a very difficult mandate for in fulfilling it, you face the mightiest empire on the face of the

earth.

Let me remind you, Honorable Delegates, that we, the Puerto Ricans living in the U.S., have accepted the challenge, placed before us by history, to aid in the destruction of the greatest enemy of humanity -- yankee imperialism, regardless of the price. We, as Jose Martí, have lived within the monster and know its insides; ours is, also, the slingshot of David. Thank You.

José López

APPENDIX E

"Desde las Rejas":  
Statements by Ten Puerto Rican Prisoners of War  
in the Concentration Camp of Cook County

D E S D E   L A S   R E J A S

Statements by the Eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War  
In the Concentration Camp of Cook County

Declaraciones de los Once Prisioneros de Guerra Puertorri-  
queños en el Campo de Concentración de Cook County

Given this 28th day of  
April, 1980

Dado este 28 de abril  
de 1980

Declaraciones por // Statements By:

Carmen Valentin  
Elizam Escobar  
Lucy Rodriguez  
Dylcia Pagan  
Alfredo Mendez

Alicia Rodriguez  
Luis Rosa  
Adolfo Matos  
Ricardo Dick Jimenez  
Carlos Alberto Torres

I will assert here today, April 28, 1980, in front of my community and in front of the enemy of my people that there is a war of national liberation for the independence of Puerto Rico being waged continuously by broad sections of the Puerto Rican people since our country was first militarily conquered by the armies of the United States in 1898.

Our nationality has been intervened since 1898 by the imperialistic government of the United States, therefore, we the Puerto Rican people, must give our life to the defensive war to which we have a right.

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

The Decolonization Committee of the United Nations ruled that colonialism in all its forms and manifestations is a crime, constituting a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. This reaffirmed the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all means at their disposal against colonial powers. It also specifically provided that all freedom fighters under detention shall be treated in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention.

Our nation was officially recognized to be a colony of the United States by the United Nations as of September 12, 1978. This official recognition has granted us full recognition as Prisoners of War. It is based on this that I denounce this proceeding to be illegal. I do not recognize the jurisdiction of this court and was brought here against my will. I will not accept a public defender, if appointed on my behalf. I am more than capable to speak on my own behalf, for what it is worth this illegal court. I demand to be taken to a military camp, until it is possible for our case to be heard by an international court before a jury of our peers.

We will never negotiate our principles in the courts of our enemy which are based on deceit, as are all other laws and principles of this the land of the ENSLAVED. We are well aware that the great problem of people's lives are only resolved by force,

and that victory can only be guaranteed by the armed force of the masses, and it can only depend on INSURRECTION - not on this or that "legal and peaceful" institution.

From the time of invasion these deceitful aggressors told the Puerto Rican people that they had not come to make war but for our own protection, "and to bestow upon our people the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of their government. It has been this intolerable situation which they brought us that has driven the conscious Puerto Rican people to take actions that would expose the political masquerade that the imperialists have been trying to impose on us. It is, therefore, our duty as colonized people to show the world the true facts -- that Puerto Rico is still a colony.

As the great patriot Irvin Flores said: "It is bad enough when someone oppresses, exploits, enslaves you, but when they say your people are satisfied with this-- that is adding insult to injury!"

It is a well known fact that since our invasion many Puerto Rican patriots have fought the invading forces and have been sacrificed. The liberty of our nation must be paid for at its just price and it is written with heroism and sacrifice of the purest and most noble of our nationality.

One of the noblest victims of your vicious justice system was the great patriot, Don Pedro Albizu Campos, who was gradually murdered in your prisons. He taught us well with his heroic life and it is inevitable to use his words today to warn your government, the enemy of our people: "That independence is not made with applause. It is made with deeds. We have the support of the world in our favor, which sees in the enslavement of a people, of a man, a lesson so deep that it concerns the entire world. Puerto Rico is a slave because the United States detains our sovereignty and because there are Puerto Ricans who permit it. But already there are Puerto Ricans who do not 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."

Your press, your justice system, your repressive forces, your government has branded us as terrorists. But the word terrorist no longer means to the Puerto Rican nation what it used to. Instead of arousing fear or censure, terrorism is a call to action. To be called a terrorist by our enemy is an honor to any citizen, for this means that he is fighting with a gun in his hand, against the monstrosity of the present government, and the suffering it causes. On the road to Lares, history has absolved us.

It is well known that the terror and violence of the world has not been established and perpetuated by the captive, exploited, oppressed and colonialized people of the world, such as the Puerto Rican national and other people of the world, striving for freedom and progress, but rather it is the great political powers of the world, oppressors and exploiters of the masses of human beings, that have through the centuries of time created, supported, mastered and maintained the system, philosophy and practice of political terror and violence. Great examples of terrorism are: U.S.A., Israel, Chile, Egypt, Brazil, El Salvador, South Africa. The strategy and tactics of the status quo of the political system of the world against small nations is not changing fast enough, therefore, it is necessary for all conscious people to follow the directive of Don Pedro Albizu Campos who said, "Para que los grandes oigan a los chicos es necesario que los chicos los hagan oír con un tiro en los oídos."

These are not empty words! It is very proper to recall today the punitive and unparalleled action of Sabana Seca. This must still be ringing in their ears and will serve as a warning in the future! If your repressive forces injure us, kill us, as our comrade Angel Rodriguez Cristobal was murdered in one of your concentration camps in Tallahassee, Florida, our armed nation will retaliate and make your country pay double.

The genocide of the Afro-American people, of the Chicano-Mexicano people, of the Palestinian people, the genocide of the Puerto Rican nation will not remain without revolutionary justice!

I end today with comrade Fred Hampton's words: "You can kill the Revolutionary, but you cannot kill the Revolution".

INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM FOR PUERTO RICO!

MARINA OUT OF VIEQUES!

NO TO STATEHOOD!

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE THE IRANIAN PEOPLE'S FEDAI GUERRILLA!

Carmen Valentin  
a/k/a Antonia Martinez)

Viva la Revolución Puertorriqueña!

Se nos encarceló y se nos enjuicia. Así, pues, denunciamos este juicio como uno falso e ilegal. Esta corte, ni ninguna corte del imperialismo norteamericano, tiene la altura moral para juzgarlos. No les reconocemos jurisdicción sobre nosotros, porque éstas cortes representan la ilegalidad que usa éste gobierno para mantener nuestra patria en el colonialismo, por más de 20 años en pleno siglo XX. Estas cortes representan la ilegalidad de la ocupación militar de las fuerzas armadas de EEUU de nuestro país Puerto Rico. Esta corte representa los intereses de nuestro enemigo. Nosotros somos combatientes por la libertad e independencia de nuestra patria. Formamos parte del movimiento revolucionario puertorriqueño, que ha escogido la lucha armada como forma legítima de conseguir lo que es nuestro derecho inalienable ...la libertaion de Puerto Rico.

Ellos pretenden juzgarnos y culparnos de crímenes comunes. Se nos acusa de uso ilegal de armas, mientras éste gobierno mantiene en nuestro propio territorio nacional, el más grande arsenal de armas en la costa del Atlántico, pertenecientes a la marina de guerra yanqui en el complejo naval llamado Roosevelt Roads, donde el 13% de nuestro territorio está ocupado por las fuerzas armadas de este país donde, hasta tienen bases nucleares; haciendo de nuestro país un objetivo militar importante para ellos en caso de guerra; donde mantienen más fuerzas represivas como el CIA, FBI, policía política, agentes encubiertos, chotas, el ejército, la guardia nacional, etc. por habitantes, que ningún otro país en el mundo. Nosotros los acusamos a ellos de uso ilegal de armas para mantener a todo un pueblo, una nación, bajo su dominio. Nosotros respondemos fuego con fuego. Violencia reaccionaria con violencia revolucionaria.

A otros compañeros se les acusa de robo de vehículos, y de robo a mano armada, mientras ellos nos han robado nuestro territorio nacional, nos han robado nuestros recursos naturales, nos han robado el producto de nuestro trabajo, nos han robado nuestras playas, nos han robado nuestros derechos más elementales y nos quieren hasta robar nuestra personalidad como pueblo. Nosotros los acusamos de ser los pillos más grandes que registra la historia de la humanidad. Nosotros responderemos liberando lo que nos han robado. Nosotros no robamos, nosotros exigimos por medio de la lucha revolucionaria armada lo que nos pertenece.

A otra camarada sé le acusa de asesinato. Ellos que han asesinado nuestra libertad; que han asesinado a cientos de combatientes independentistas que han usado nuestra juventud como carne de cañón para sus guerras imperialistas; que han asesinado a una parte de nuestra juventud en el vicio de heroína; que han asesinado hasta una parte de nuestra población que no ha tenido ni la oportunidad de nacer, por medio de la esterilización de nuestras mujeres. Ellos han asesinado nuestra paz y tranquilidad con una paz falsa. Nosotros los acusamos de planear y de llevar a cabo el asesinato colectivo de los puertorriqueños, de genocidio de todo un pueblo. Nosotros no somos asesinos. Nosotros respetamos la vida humana. Nosotros a quien no respetamos es a los asesinos de nuestro pueblo. Respondemos con toda la ira y el odio revolucionario.

Nos acusan de terroristas. Están tan enojados que sé pueden reconocer ellos mismos. No reconocen sus manos manchadas de sangre inocente. No recuerdan que han creado el terror. Han olvidado que detrás de toda la abundancia y la opulencia imperialista está el terror causado a millones de seres humanos alrededor de éste planeta. Sé han olvidado de Vietnam. Sé han olvidado de sus criaturas: de Batista, de Trujillo, de los Somoza, de Pinochet, y del ex-Shah de Iran. Sé quieren olvidar que son los terroristas más grandes de la historia moderna, por quien Hitler desde su tumba sé siente celoso. Nosotros no somos terroristas. Queremos una verdadera paz. Ellos hablan de paz mientras hacen la guerra. Nosotros respondemos con la lucha revolucionaria para acabar con la guerra. Causan el terror al capitalismo, aquellos que lo combaten. Nosotros representamos la conciencia puertorriqueña en armas en los Estados Unidos.

Estas cortes son una hipocresía, un carnaval, un circo de inescrupulosos. Es la soberbia nanki vestida de "justicia". La nación que sé pinta así mismo como "The Land of the Free and Home of the Brave" que cuadro más falso, que gran mentira, que ultraje a la verdad! No puede ser libre aquel que le niega la libertad a otro. Nosotros proclamamos aquí que somos mil veces más libres, aún dentro de sus cárceles, que toda ésta porquería humana. Como nuestro padre de la patria puertorriqueña, Ramón Emeterio Betances dijera: "Querer ser libre es empezar a serlo."

Exijimos ser llevados ante una corte internacional, nosotros sabemos que éste país le pasa por encima a sus propios tratados y acuerdos. No nos hacemos de ilusiones ni somos ingenuos, pero sabemos que el clamor de nuestra gente es el único verdadero vehiculo que pueda mover la opinión mundial para que sé vea el caso nuestro, y el caso del destino de nuestro pueblo. Confiamos en los verdaderos defensores de la libertad de los pueblos. Puerto Rico está en el mapa, ya no pueden ocultarnos más. Nuestra lucha es justa.

Nuestra juventud está al frente. Nuestra lucha no es solamente por una independencia de trapo, sino por una verdadera republica libre de todo vestigio colonial o neo-colonial, de toda explotación del hombre por el hombre, de toda opresión racial. La nuestra es por la conquista de la libertad y la construcción de una nueva sociedad, la sociedad socialista revolucionaria.

Nuestra causa es más fuerte que el enemigo. El futuro está con nosotros y la verdad está de nuestra parte.

Saludos revolucionarios a todos los compañeros combatientes en el movimiento clandestino.

VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE Y SOCIALISTA!

Elizam Escobar

abril, 1980

The United States Government has viciously refused to acknowledge the political nature of our acts. Instead, it treats us as if we were criminals. But this does not matter, I remain loyal to my claim of prisoner of war, regardless of the numerous attempts of this government to isolate us from each other and from our people. Their sinister maneuvers will not break the spirit of unity of those imprisoned.

Clearly, there are historical factors which legitimize my position of Prisoner of War. For example, in 1898, Puerto Rico was militarily intervened by the United States armed forces, thus opening the way for the establishment and development of colonialism. Since that time, the Puerto Rican nation has been fighting a continuous war to end colonialism in our homeland. Obviously, U.S. colonialism has brought nothing but pain and inhuman conditions to our people. This is evident in the fact that today our nation suffers from a 40% unemployment rate in the cities, and an unemployment rate as high as 95% in the rural areas.

In addition, one half of all Puerto Rican families have been forced to migrate to this country, and while living here, about 33% of our people are forced to exist below the poverty level. And this is not all! Over 35% of Puerto Rican women of child bearing age have been sterilized in accordance with the U.S. policy of genocide against the Puerto Rican people. We are also confronted by the deadly crisis of unchecked industrial pollution which is threatening our national environment.

Another very clear example of what exactly is colonialism can be witnessed in the case of Vieques, Puerto Rico. There the United States Navy has total disregard for human life and for the delicate balance of nature. This is graphically depicted by the Navy's use of Vieques as a target practice for bombing maneuvers.

Since Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States, international law has reaffirmed our right to use any means necessary to fight for and win our national independence. This international body has also recognized our right as anti-colonial freedom fighters to be treated as prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention.

It is public knowledge that this right was savagely denied to Angel Rodriguez Cristobal who was captured while fighting alongside the people of Vieques, to expel the U.S. Navy, and who was a Prisoner of War assassinated by the CIA while imprisoned in Tallahassee, Florida. Because of the colonial status

of Puerto Rico, I reaffirm my belief that this is an illegal proceeding and this court has no jurisdiction over me. This court is part and parcel of the colonial apparatus that serves to maintain colonialism in Puerto Rico. I am here against my will, and I demand to be taken to and held in a military camp, until such time when I can be taken before an international court, or to a neutral country to be tried before a jury of my peers. Or else, I demand my unconditional release.

Again I reiterate that I am speaking on my own behalf. As a Prisoner of War I have the right to legal advisors, and I ask that Michael Deutsch, Mara Siegel and all the other attorneys from the West Town Legal Clinic and the People's Law Office be my legal advisors. This signifies that at no time do I recognize the authority of any public defender to speak for me.

At this time I demand to be taken back to my holding place.

QUE VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE Y SOCIALISTA!

QUE VIVA LA LUCHA ARMADA CLANDESTINA!

NO A LA ANEXION!

#5 Lucy Rodriguez

"WHERE TYRANNY IS LAW, REVOLUTION IS ORDER."

Don Pedro Albizu Campos

"IT IS THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF COLONIAL PEOPLE TO STRUGGLE BY ALL MEANS AT THEIR DISPOSAL AGAINST COLONIAL POWERS WHICH SUPPRESS THEIR ASPIRATIONS FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE."

The United Nations Declaration  
of the Granting of Independence  
to Colonial Countries.

I assert that there exists a war of liberation between Puerto Rico and the United States since U.S. military forces invaded my homeland in 1898. Since this time, Puerto Rico has been under colonial rule by U.S. imperialism - this fact has been recognized by numerous nations of the World, as well as International Law.

U.S. colonial rule has attempted to destroy the Puerto Rican nation. 60% of Puerto Rico's land has fallen into the hands of U.S. Corporations; 13% of the arable has been converted into military bases; 30% of all production is in the hands of American capital. The profits of production are reaped not by the Puerto Rican people but by U.S. capitalists who continue to exploit the workers on a daily basis. 40% of Puerto Rico's women are sterilized against their will. Continued attempts have been made to destroy our history, language and customs in order to assimilate us into "good and docile Americans". Since World War II, the island of Vieques, Puerto Rico, has been kept in a state of war. Bombings and military maneuvers are the rule of the day. Innocent children and hundreds of families have been killed or forced to leave Vieques, Puerto Rico. The livelihood of the fisherman of Vieques has been destroyed due to the contamination of water caused by constant military operations.

Today the present colonial governor, a puppet of U.S. imperialism, thinks he can divide the Puerto Rican people and convert us into the 51st State. I guarantee you today, that the armed clandestine forces and the Puerto Rican people will not allow this to happen to our nation, Puerto Rico.

The Puerto Rican people are a nation of warriors. We have fought armed attacks against colonial rule since the Spanish conquest and continue to do so. This armed movement is the expression of a determined nation who seeks its independence from colonial domination...it is our unalienable right.

I am a captured freedom fighter and member of the clandestine army in this war of liberation for independence and socialism for Puerto Rico.

I am a Prisoner of War and demand to be immediately taken to a military camp until such time that I can be tried in an international court or taken to a neutral country and tried before a jury of my peers, in accordance with the Geneva Convention and all its protocol for treatment of prisoners of war. This is an illegal proceeding. I do not recognize any jurisdiction of U.S. courts.

Any attempts made by this Court to assign a public defender to **speak** on my behalf is illegal and against my international rights as a Prisoner of War.

El proceso clandestino armado sigue adelante, como garantia de la lucha protectora del independentismo y del socialismo para Puerto Rico.

COMBATIR! COMBATIR! COMBATIR! HASTA LA VICTORIA!

LONG LIVE THE ARMED CLANDESTINE MOVEMENT!

Dylcia

Saludo, abrazo, y un beso revolucionario, a nuestro pueblo. We are here today addressing ourselves to our people, the oppressed, and those struggling to end this system of exploitation of man by man. We are not here voluntarily, we are Prisoners of War who were captured in our struggle to free Puerto Rico from Colonialism. As such we do not recognize the jurisdiction of any U.S. Court over us. We base this on the following principles, International Laws, and United National resolutions.

1. The Decolonization Committee, pursuant to the General Assembly Resolution 2621 October 12, 1970, developed a program of action for the full implementation of the declaration of granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Specifically, the program and solution declared that further continuation of Colonialism in all forms and manifestations is a crime, constituting a violation of the charter of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the principals of International Law. It reaffirmed the inherent right of Colonial Peoples to struggle by all means at their disposal against colonial powers which suppress their aspirations for freedom and independence.

2. Further, General Assembly Resolution 2621 (6A) specifically provided that all Freedom Fighters under detention shall be treated in accordance with the relevant provisions of the General Convention relative to the Treatment of P.O.W. of August 1949 United Nations Treaty Series, Vol. 75 1950.

3. September 12, 1973 the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations reaffirmed, without dissent, that the Puerto Rican people have the inalienable right to self-determination and independence, finding that a colonial relationship existed between the U.S. and Puerto Rico. The United Nations body condemned the persecutions, harrassment and repressive measure to which the organization and persons struggling for independence have been continuously subjected. This unequivocal international recognition of the colonial status of Puerto Rico conclusively confers the right to fight colonialism by any means necessary upon the Puerto Rican people and entails POW status for captured freedom fighters.

It is within these rights and others that we demand to be turned over to a neutral international body. Since the U.S. military invasion of Puerto Rico, there has existed a continuous war between the two nations. With the resistance by the secret guerrilla groups of the 1890's to the Nationalist Party resistance of the 1930s and 40s, to the Jayuya Revolt of the 1950's. The attack on Blair House in 1950, the March 1, 1954 attack on U.S.

Congress, the Clandestine actions of the MIRA & CAL of the 60s, the expulsion of the ROTC from the University of Puerto Rico, to the emergence of the new road towards Peoples War. As seen thru the actions of the Peoples revolutionary groups of the 70s and 80s such as the FARP, Comandos Obreros, OVRP, Macheteros, CRP, in Puerto Rico and the FALN here in the U.S.

The U.S. Policy toward Puerto Rico since 1898 has been one of genocide, rape, and exploitation of masses of Puerto Rican people. Over 13% of Puerto Rico's most farmable land is occupied by the U.S. armed forces. Vieques, a small Puerto Rican island, is used by the U.S. Navy as target practice. The Navy bombs the island daily; these bombings have resulted in the death and maiming of many Puerto Rican adults and children.

Puerto Rico's basic aspects of political, economic and social life in such areas as communication - radio, telephone and cable, postal system, currency, travel, citizenship, foreign relations, legal system, tariff; in short, all aspects of Puerto Rican society are controlled by the U.S.

The U.S. has turned Puerto Rico in a military and industrial complex, reaping billions of dollars of profit from the sweat of Puerto Rican workers and the exploitation of the Puerto Rican total society. The policy of genocide is seen thru the sterilization of 35% of Puerto Rican women, the attempt to eliminate existing Puerto Rican cultural institutions, language and physically and ideologically destroying the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. As seen by "colonial governor" Barcelo's attempt to close down the Puerto Rican Cultural Institute and his policy of murdering Arnoldo Rosado, Carlos Soto, Soler Mari Bras, Labor Leader Rafael Caballero, and the latest FBI murder of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal who was jailed because he opposed the Navy use and bombings of Vieques, Puerto Rico.

Furthermore, half of Puerto Rico's population has been forced to migrate to U.S. ghettos and slums. The majority face institutional racism, trigger happy police, as in the case of a young Puerto Rican who was gunned down in Brooklyn, New York, shot 24 times. Puerto Rican youths are subjected to drug addiction, gang violence, and are forced out of insensitive schools. We constitute the highest drop-out rate in the U.S. school system.

Our workers are the last hired, first fired. They are the lowest paid. Our communities are constantly burned down as in the case in South Bronx, New Jersey, and Chicago's West Town communities to make room for the "affluent". This is colonialism. This is genocide.

We the Eleven, as well as thousands of others, have chosen to battle against this until the end. We asserted our right as colonized people to wage a struggle against the colonializer, U.S. Imperialism, by any means necessary.

LONG LIVE PEOPLES WAR!

NAVY OUT OF VIEQUES !

FREE PUERTO RICO NOW!

PUERTO RICO WILL BE FREED THRU PEOPLES WAR!

Freddie Mendez  
a/k/a Soto Rosado #3

E-14

My position stands firm. I am a Puerto Rican prisoner of war, captured while struggling for the liberation of Puerto Rico.

It is a historical fact that in 1898 my country was militarily intervened by the U.S. armed forces. Since that time, our nation has been in a continuous state of war against the United States. A war which has been characterized by the defiant voice and actions of my people valiantly resisting imperialist oppression, repression and exploitation. Also, in this war for independence our people have been confronted with brutal reactionary violence. For example, the enemy's tactics have included imprisonment of freedom fighters (of which we are a clear example), and torture and death of those who dare challenge the imperialist aggressor (as in the case of Angel Rodriguez Cristobal).

I must interject at this time that our actions were not dictated by whims, but by a clear understanding of the colonial situation in Puerto Rico. Therefore, the conditions of my people (both in Puerto Rico and in the United States) have forced us to move against subsistence wages, extremely high inflation, mass unemployment (which forced the migration of almost half of the population of Puerto Rico), genocide (40% of Puerto Rican women of child bearing age have been sterilized), and the perpetual effort of United States colonialism to destroy our language and culture through forced assimilation and annexation.

My right to struggle for my nation's independence has been unquestionably recognized by the United Nation which reaffirmed that Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. It is so for two fundamental reasons:

1. The U.S. imperialists use Puerto Rico as a base of political penetration and military aggression against the countries of the third world; and
2. The U.S. imperialists achieve great economic benefits due to the colonial-capitalist system that rules on the island.

The General Assembly of the United Nation explicitly points out that we as a colonized people have the unquestionable right to fight for our independence through armed and violent means, and they also state that to continue the process of colonialization is a crime. It also reaffirms that I as a captured anti-colonial freedom fighter should be treated as a prisoner of war.

I demand to be tried before a jury of my peers from oppressed nations. If these measures are not taken then I demand my unconditional release.

I want to make it clear that I am here against my will. This is an illegal proceeding where my human rights are being violated. This court has no jurisdiction over me or my fellow comrades. I repeat, I am a Prisoner of War captured in the enemy camp. How can I expect to receive a just trial in the country which exploits and repeatedly masquerades its inhumane colonial control over the Puerto Rican nation. It is the imperialists who are hiding behind the court system and who treat us as criminals. They are negating our right to be tried at an International Court. These repressive acts against me and my comrades will not slow down or halt our goal toward liberation instead it will further the process.

As I have said before, I waive my right to counsel, and I choose to speak on my behalf. As a Prisoner of War, I have the right to legal advisors. I have asked Michael Deutsch, Mara Siegel and all the other attorneys from the West Town Legal Clinic and the People's Law Office to be my legal counsels.

I do not, at any moment, recognize the right of any public defender to speak for me.

At this time I demand to be taken back to my holding place.

ALICIA RODRIGUEZ,  
a/k/a MARIANNA BRACETTI

VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE Y SOCIALISTA!

FUERA LA MARINA DE VIEQUES!

QUE VIVA LA LUCHA ARMADA CLANDESTINA!

STATEMENT TO OUR "PUEBLO EN LUCHA".

Compañeros y Compañeras, Our beloved people.

We send a strong revolutionary embrace and greetings from the "Eleven Prisoners of War" - Puertorriqueños. We address ourselves towards you because 1) we were not brought here of our free will, and we refuse to take part in this illegal proceeding; 2) we do not recognize the authority of this court nor its jurisdiction over our case; 3) because we take this opportunity to speak to our national liberation movement - "Our struggle is not in the courts but in the streets".

We are clear and firm on our principles. We are Prisoners of War, captured by the authorities of the country while agitating for independence and socialism for our nation Puerto Rico, which has been at war with the U.S. since it was militarily invaded in 1898.

Since the yanki invasion, the U.S. has attempted to destroy the Puerto Rican nation with a campaign of genocidal policies. These policies have resulted in the confiscation of most of the fertile soil, forcing unemployment to 40% in urban and 95% in rural areas, creating a dependent economy where 80% of the population is on food stamps and forcing half the population of Puerto Rico to migrate, providing the U.S. with cheap labor, and also the sterilizing of 37% of the Puerto Rican women.

In the U.S. Puerto Ricans are forced to live in the most miserable ghettos and are repressed daily by the institutionalized racism of this country. This repression has manifested itself in the FBI assassinations of independentistas Caballero and Soto and Rosado in Cerro Maravilla and in the daily bombardment of Vieques, where over 10,000 people dwell and depend on the fishing industries for income - while the U.S. Navy constantly bombs it for target practice.

It is also strongly manifested in the internment camps (prisons) of this country. Tallahassee Florida Federal Prison, where one of the leaders of the independence movement and our latest P.O.W. was assassinated by the FBI - Angel Rodriguez Cristobal.

THESE ARE DEFINITELY ACTS OF WAR AGAINST OUR NATION!

But these acts do not go unanswered. These acts are retaliated with arms from the liberation movements. Dating back before 1898, with the secret societies to the nationalist party in the 30s and 50s and resisted with the acts of Fraunces Tavern and Sabana Seca. These acts are answered by - LOS MACHETEROS, LOS VOLUNTARIOS, COMANDOS REVOLUCIONARIOS DEL PUEELO, FUERZAS ARMADAS DE RESISTENCIA POPULAR EN PUERTO RICO and in the U.S. LAS FUER AS ARMADA DE LIBERACION NACIONAL - FALN. We are prisoners of war and representatives of the Puerto Rican consciousness in arms. Under the United Nations Decolonization Committee Resolution 2621, any person captured in the process of a national liberation struggle is a prisoner of war and must be transferred to a neutral country, held in a military P.O.W. camp and tried in an international tribunal. Puerto Rico is a direct colony of the United States and has the right to wage war for their national liberation with whatever means necessary - WE HAVE CHOSEN THE ARMS.

Today this government attempts to divide or destroy the independence movement of Puerto Rico in order to annex our nation through the statehood process. We have accepted this challenge and will meet it with ARMS and REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE.

Our incarceration will only nourish our struggle and educate future freedom fighters. LAS SEMILLAS DE LA LIBERTAD. We have sowed the seeds of liberation. We are prisoners of war.

We do not recognize these courts - they are illegal.

They have violated international laws.

We must take our struggles to the streets and bring death upon the imperialist monster.

HASTA LA VICTORIA SIEMPRE!

QUE VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE Y SOCIALISTA!

UNCONDITIONAL FREEDOM FOR PABLO MARCANO Y NYDIA CUEVAS  
Y LOS ONCE PRISONERS DE GUERRA!

DEATH TO U.S. IMPERIALISM, STATEHOOD AND ANNEXATION!

LONG LIVE THE FUERZAS ARMADA DE LIBERACION NACIONAL (FALN)  
FUERZAS ARMADAS DE RESISTENCIA POPULAR (FARP)  
LOS COMANDOS REVOLUCIONARIO DEL PUEBLO (CRP)  
LOS MCHETEROS - EJERCITO POPULAR BORICUA - (EPB)  
ORGANIZACION DE VOLUNTARIOS DE RESISTENCIA POPULAR (OVRP)

LONG LIVE THE ARMED STRUGGLE!

Luis Rosa P.O.W. #3  
a/k/a Cristobal Caballero

E-19

martes, 26 de marzo, 1980

ADOLFO MATOS  
#8010873, Div. 1, Tier 2  
Cook County Jail  
2600 California Avenue  
Chicago, IL

Companeros y Companeras:

Mi presencia ante esta corte es contra mi voluntad. Soy Prisionero de Guerra Puertorriqueño. Como Prisionero de Guerra soy defensor de lo que nos corresponde - "Nuestra Patria" invadida militarmente por el imperio norteamericano en 1898, capturado en campo de batalla en la lucha de retaguardia contra el dominio de Puerto Rico. Tenemos el derecho a ser tratados de acuerdo a la Convencion de Ginebra, sobre el trato para los Prisioneros de Guerra. Nosotros demandamos que nos retengan en un campo militar, hasta que nos puedan transferir a un país neutral. Es un crimen la continuacion del colonialismo en todas formas y manifestaciones. Constituye una violation al documento de las Naciones Unidas (Comité de Descolonizacion) en su declaracion de darle la independencia a pueblos y países coloniales; y constituye una violación a la ley internacional.

Me niego en su totalidad; a ser representado por ningun abogado, en cuanto a que no doy el menor reconocimiento de jurisdiccion a esta corte sobre Puerto Rico o los Puertorriquenos. Todos estos procedimientos son ilegales. Así como fueron ilegales el tratado de París, la presencia y relación de los Estados Unidos sobre Puerto Rico, basada militarmente para suprimir y rehusar reconocer el derecho de Puerto Rico a su soberanía, es tambien ilegal la ciudadanía norteamericana impuesta forzosamente a nosotros sin nuestro consentimiento. Puerto Rico nunca podra ejercer su propio "status" politico, mientras los yanquis mantengan el control económico social y político militar sobre nuestro suelo. Allí hay elecciones coloniales que es un instrumento para mantener el estado de cosas prevalecer, no para cambiarlas. Las elecciones de Puerto Rico son usadas simplemente para cambiar una administración a otra. No hay garantía de nada. El Congreso de los Estados Unidos tiene la ultima palabra. En realidad ellos son los que deciden, tomando en cuenta sus propios intereses y beneficios y no los nuestros.

Por eso nos parece ridiculo carnaval las primarias presidenciales en Puerto Rico. Estan dando los pasos hacia convertir a Puerto Rico en un estado. En la presente situacion internacional van a tratar de mantener la posesion de Puerto Rico. A ellos no les conviene perder a Puerto Rico ahora. El imperialismo yanki esta claramente en decadencia. Ya no son el poder numero uno como se consideraban.

QUE VIVA LA REVOLUCION!

FUERA LA MARINA ESTADOUNIDENSE DE VIEQUES!

QUE VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE Y SOCIALISTA!

LIBERTAD PARA PABLO MARCANO Y NYDIA ESTHER CUEVAS!

QUE VIVA LA LUCHA ARMADA

Hola mis Companeros y Companeras:

I send you all my warmest revolutionary embraces and love. I am Prisoner of War, Ricardo D. Jimenez.

On July 25, 1898, Puerto Rico was militarily invaded by the United States. Ever since, Puerto Rico has been a colony of the United States. To provide the framework for a developed and dependent colony, "Organic laws" such as the Foraker Act and the Jones Act were imposed on us, stripping us of our sovereignty and imposing U.S. citizenship (and if any one dared deny it, they became aliens in their own country).

Since then Puerto Rico has been at war with the U.S. This is exemplified by the many struggles throughout our history, such as the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist movement led by the great Don Pedro Albizu Campos, the attack on Blair House, to denounce the colonial status of Puerto Rico, and the heroic acts of the four nationalists, Rafael Cancel Miaanda, Lolita Lebron, Irvin Flores and Andres Figueroa Cordero, to show the world that Puerto Rico is a colony, although the U.S. tries to hide it. And today we have the Armed Clandestine struggle.

American colonization of Puerto Rico for the last 81 years has been oppressed internationally. This fact is recognized by first the United Nations General Assembly's declaration that colonialism is a crime. This position was further strengthened when in September, 1978 the United Nations Decolonization Committee reaffirmed the fact that Puerto Rico was and still is a United States colony. As such Puerto Rico has the right to seek its independence through whatever means necessary, including armed struggle. This leads us to the fact as stated in international law, that any captured freedom fighter is entitled to Prisoner of War status and is to be treated as such under the Geneva Convention, Chapter and Resolution of the General Assembly for Prisoners of War.

In light of this, we do not recognize the existence, legality or jurisdiction of this or any other court. You have no power over us. This court has no right to try or treat us as common criminals. We are Freedom Fighters. We demand to be tried before an international court as Prisoners of War and to be held in a neutral country until our independence is won.

All this should be very familiar to the U.S. To refresh their memories, they were once a colony of Britain. U.S. forefathers, in the mid 1770's, took up arms against the nation that colonized them. When U.S. forefathers were captured by the enemy,

were they called criminals, terrorists, lunatics, and fanatics? NO! They were freedom fighters. They were people who gave their lives for liberty. In the words of Judge Knapp, "I guess we would have hung George Washington if he hadn't won the War!"

How contradictory for the U.S. to have a colony in their possession for the last 81 years. They were "liberators", but we are terrorists! Ha! I defy this system! How funny that these laws change in their (U.S.) favor and interests.

¡PUERTO RICO LIBRE Y SOCIALISTA!

U.S. MARINES OUT OF VIEQUES!

¡ESTA LUCHA VA A LLEGAR A LA GUERRA POPULAR!

¡NO A LA ESTATIDAD!

Ricardo Dick Jimenez

Queridos Compañeros, Compañeras y todo Compatriota:

Mi voz y palabras son reflexión de mi alma que llama a mi pueblo a luchar por la libertad. Estoy, hoy, frente a ustedes, prisionero de guerra, pero prisionero de nadie. Soy un hombre libre, mi mente no la encadena nadie. Ni el ogro que es el imperio yanqui, ni estos infelices que pretenden jugar su ridiculo juego de la legitimidad. Su hipocresía es sólo superada por su odio a todo justo

Nuestro derecho, como nación intervenida, como pueblo colonizado bajo el ruido de los cañones del ejército norteamericano en el 1898, nos da la autoridad moral, todo el derecho humano a sacudirnos de estas garrapatas malditas yanquis, que cada día nos chupan la sangre.

Se engordan en Puerto Rico explotando nuestros recursos humanos, nuestras riquezas naturales. Se engordan en las comunidades boricuas aquí en las entrañas del monstruo. Se engordan con las riquezas que nuestro pueblo trabajador produce.

Estos yanquis, como toda garrapata que sigue chupando sangre, reventarán y si no revientan las fuerzas revolucionarias y el pueblo boricua lo hará. No descansaremos hasta que los expulsemos de nuestra tierra. Ese es nuestro propósito y en lugar de opresión, el pueblo puertorriqueño creará una sociedad justa, donde todo el pueblo pueda disfrutar de sus riquezas y su labor.

Las leyes internacionales, en parte, tratan sobre el derecho que nosotros tenemos a usar toda forma de lucha que sea necesaria para combatir a nuestro enemigo. Este enemigo que mantiene a nuestro país como nación esclava, como colonia. Nosotros los puertorriqueños tenemos el derecho a luchar a lanzar nuestra ofensiva armada. No porque el pueblo puertorriqueño sea un pueblo violento, sino porque es con armas que se combate las armas. En ningún momento en la historia de Borinquen, desde la invasión yanqui, ni en ningún momento desde que llegamos los puertorriqueños a los EEUU a trabajar, ha desaparecido la constante amenaza de un cañón sobre nuestras cabezas. El número de policías, hoy, en la corte es buen ejemplo de lo que hablo.

En Vieques, Puerto Rico, la marina yanqui persiste en sus bombardeos. Poco les importa a ellos que en esa pequenita islita viven miles de puertorriqueños. Pero cuando hemos visto al gobierno yanqui derramar sus lagrimas en uno de los velorios, cada vez que muere un viequense o un puertorriqueño a manos de las bombas norteamericanas? "Uncle Sam" no se viste de luto cuando ellos matan a un boricua.

Y esos traidores pitiyankis, que sirven sólo para vender la patria, bajo el disfraz de la estadoidad y cuya unica motivación es entregarle nuestra patria a este país a cambio de un bolsillo hondo y no para el bienestar de nuestro pueblo. Pero através de las mentiras y los dólares yanqui logran confundir a un sector del pueblo boricia, convenciendolos de la falsedad conocida como la estadoidad. El tal estado 51 es un disparate, aún más es una traición.

Es nuestro más profundo deseo de que todos ustedes, los familiares de los compañeros en lucha, todos los que nos apoyan, a que continuen la lucha, que expandan sus compromisos, no solo a nosotros, sino a la lucha libertadora. Que sus esfuerzos sean máximos; que muestren su compromiso en la práctica, porque hay mucho que hacer.

Y aunque hoy nuestras manos estan encadenadas, no lo estarán así siempre; y un día estas manos estarán libres, libres para levantar de nuevo el fusil, y ese fusil jamás lo soltaremos, hasta que nuestra patria sea libre, o hasta la muerte.

Carlos A. Torres,  
a/k/a POW #1

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APPENDIX F

Transcript of Arraignment of  
Puerto Rican POW Haydee Beltran Torres  
before the U.S. District Court  
for the Southern District of New York  
April 16, 1980

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA :

v. : 77 Cr. 680

MARIE HAYDEE BELTRAN TORRES, :

Defendant. :

-----X

Before:

HON. WHITMAN KNAPP,

District Judge.

New York, New York  
April 16, 1980 - 4:30 p.m.

Appearances:

WILLIAM M. TENDY, Esq.,  
United States Attorney for the  
Southern District of New York,  
ROBERT N. SHWARTZ, Esq.,  
Assistant United States Attorney.

ELIZABETH FINK, Esq.,  
MARILYN SIEGAL, Esq.,  
Consultants to the Defendant.

(Case called)

MR. SHWARTZ: Ready for the government, your Honor.

Your Honor, Ms. Torres is present in court. At the defense table seated behind her are two attorneys, Ms. Elizabeth Fink, to my right nearest to your Honor, and to her right is Ms. Marilyn Siegal. They are attorneys. I believe they may wish to address your Honor with respect to their position vis-a-vis the defendant in this case.

THE COURT: Ms. Fink, do you wish to say anything?

MS. FINK: No, your Honor.

THE COURT: Ms. Siegal, do you wish to say anything?

MS. SIEGAL: No, Judge.

THE COURT: Ms. Torres, do you wish to say anything?

THE DEFENDANT: Yes. I'm here representing myself and I don't need attorneys. I don't need Court-appointed attorneys. I don't need to hire any attorneys. I can very well represent myself in this so-called court, which I consider an illegal court, illegal proceeding.

I would like to say that the continuance of

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this little charade of yours is a violation of my most basic right, and that is the right for me to struggle for the liberation of my people, the true liberation and the freedom for my country, Puerto Rico.

Now, this court is illegal because it has no jurisdiction over Puerto Rican freedom fighters. They are captured in this country because this country is my enemy. We have been fighting against the colonialism that was imposed on us in 1898 by brutal force, by military force with arms. We have every right to defend ourselves against this force and we have been defending ourselves ever since and we will continue to do so until every single last Yankee oppressor is out of Puerto Rico.

Now, I am declaring myself a prisoner of war, a Puerto Rican prisoner of war. I demand to be taken to a military camp where I can be -- my case can truly be heard in front of an international court, a court of my true peers, because this game here, this is not true justice. This country and this court cannot stand here and judge me against what they call crimes because there are no crimes. There have been no crimes committed.

There is a war. Now, in a war there is battle. I was captured in battle. I demand that I be taken to the

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2 military -- to a military camp until I can be judged  
3 by a true court of my peers, an international court.  
4 The Geneva Convention gives me this right.

5 Now, my country, Puerto Rico, is a colony,  
6 declared so by the United Nations. There is no denying  
7 we are a colony. Colonialism is a crime. Every day,  
8 every day that the United States is in Puerto Rico they  
9 are perpetuating this crime. They are violating the  
10 charter of the United Nations. So they cannot sit here  
11 in judgment of any freedom fighter, any Puerto Rican  
12 freedom fighter, and choose to judge them against something  
13 that they say has happened.

14 Now, I will be speaking in this court on my  
15 behalf. I have absolutely nothing, nothing to defend  
16 myself against because I have committed no crimes.

17 My legal advisers, and that is what they are,  
18 they are advisers, and when I choose to speak to them, that  
19 is when I want their advice.

20 THE COURT: You mean Ms. Fink and Ms. Siegal?

21 THE DEFENDANT: I do not want any appointed  
22 lawyers. I do not want anyone defending me. I don't  
23 have anything to defend myself against.

24 I will repeat myself. I will not continue  
25 to participate. I refuse to participate in anything,

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anything in this country that appears to be to you justice because this is an illegal proceeding and I demand again -- I repeat and I reaffirm demand to be taken to a military camp. This is illegal.

Long live the movement. (In Spanish)

THE COURT: Ms. Torres, I gather from what you said that you have discussed this with your legal consultants.

THE DEFENDANT: Yes.

THE COURT: And I assume they made you aware that you have a right to a lawyer if you wish one. You have told me you don't wish one. I assume they made you aware that you have the right --

THE DEFENDANT: Yes.

THE COURT: -- and if you ask for the assignment of a lawyer, I will assign you one.

THE DEFENDANT: I do not want a lawyer.

THE COURT: I understand that.

You do know that you have the right to it?

THE DEFENDANT: I have been told.

THE COURT: I assume that they have told you that generally it is deemed advisable by defendants to be represented by counsel and that there are risks involved.

If I decide to rule against the demand you have

2 just made, then there will be a trial.

3 THE DEFENDANT: Illegal trial.

4 THE COURT: And you would consider it illegal,  
5 but it would probably be advisable for you to have a  
6 lawyer who would be able to put your claims in the best  
7 legal light available.

8 THE DEFENDANT: Perhaps you didn't understand  
9 me.

10 THE COURT: I understood you very well.

11 I want to make sure --

12 THE DEFENDANT: I will repeat myself.

13 I don't need lawyers. I don't need Court-  
14 appointed lawyers. I don't need to hire lawyers. I have  
15 nothing, nothing to defend myself against. I'm not going  
16 to participate in your so-called trial or, you know,  
17 circus, charade, whatever you want to call it.

18 THE COURT: Of course, it is your right to  
19 do whatever you wish in that respect.

20 THE DEFENDANT: That is what I have chosen to  
21 do.

22 THE COURT: You have discussed with your  
23 advisers the risks involved in that decision?

24 THE DEFENDANT: Yes, I have.

25 THE COURT: All right.

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2 The clerk will read the indictment.

3 THE CLERK: United States of America versus  
4 Marie Haydee Beltran Torres.

5 "Count 1. The Grand Jury charges on or  
6 about the 3rd day of August, 1977, in the Southern  
7 District of New York, Marie Haydee Beltran Torres, also  
8 known as Sandra Peters, the defendant, unlawfully,  
9 wilfully, knowingly and maliciously did damage and  
10 destroy and attempt to damage and destroy by means of  
11 an explosive, to wit, dynamite, a building and/or real  
12 and personal property, to wit, the Mobil Oil Building,  
13 150 East 42nd Street, New York, New York, and real and  
14 personal property located therein and in the vicinity  
15 thereof, which building and property was then used in  
16 interstate and foreign commerce, and in activity  
17 affecting interstate and foreign commerce, resulting in  
18 the death of one Charles Steinberg. Title 18, United  
19 States Code, Section 844(i)."

20 Signed, Robert B. Fiske, Jr., United States  
21 Attorney.

22 THE COURT: I take it you heard that, Ms.  
23 Torres?

24 THE DEFENDANT: Yes.

25 THE COURT: Do you wish to plead guilty or

2 not guilty?

3 THE DEFENDANT: I have already stated my  
4 position. I have nothing to plead.

5 THE COURT: I will direct the clerk to enter  
6 a plea of not guilty.

7 Do you wish to add anything to what you said?  
8 Do you wish to submit any papers?

9 THE DEFENDANT: No.

10 THE COURT: I rule that your position is not  
11 legally tenable and I find that this Court does have  
12 jurisdiction, and we shall proceed.

13 Do Ms. Fink or Ms. Siegal wish to say  
14 anything?

15 MS. SIEGAL: No, Judge.

16 THE COURT: I notice Ms. Siegal has given you  
17 a note.

18 Do you wish to say anything?

19 THE DEFENDANT: No. The only thing that I  
20 repeat is that I am a Puerto Rican prisoner of war, fighting  
21 for the freedom of my country. If ever I can be guilty of  
22 anything --

23 THE COURT: I'm sorry?

24 THE DEFENDANT: If I can ever be guilty of  
25 anything, it is of fighting for the freedom of my people

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M. Torres

2 and my country. That is the only thing I will ever be  
3 guilty of, in the eyes of my people.

4 THE COURT: I understand that is your position.

5 MR. SHWARTZ: That being the case, your Honor,  
6 I would request that the Court fix bail in this case  
7 and order the defendant to be photographed and fingerprinted  
8 pursuant to the usual practice of this Court.

9 The government's request on bail is that the  
10 bail which Judge Duffy recommended at the time of the  
11 bench warrant being issued on this indictment in September  
12 of 1977 be instated, which is \$1 million cash bail.

13 I think, in light of the defendant's statement  
14 as well as the fugitivity which goes well past two years  
15 now, there is ample basis for such a bail in this case.

16 THE COURT: Ms. Torres, can you make any bail?  
17 Do you have any views as to what bail should be fixed  
18 for you?

19 THE DEFENDANT: I have already stated that I  
20 am not going to participate.

21 THE COURT: Do Ms. Fink or Ms. Siegal wish to  
22 say anything in that respect?

23 MS. SIEGAL: No, Judge.

24 THE COURT: I understand that the defendant  
25 has been a fugitive for two years.

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2 MR. SHWARTZ: Since the indictment was filed,  
3 your Honor, in September of 1977 until she was arrested  
4 by local police officers in the Greater Chicago area  
5 on April 4th of this year.

6 THE COURT: I assume the fact of her  
7 indictment was publicly known?

8 MR. SHWARTZ: Yes, your Honor. There was an  
9 extensive search for the defendant by law enforcement  
10 agencies across this country. That fact was made public.

11 THE COURT: My recollection is that it was not  
12 in the press, but you so represent?

13 MR. SHWARTZ: I am so representing, your  
14 Honor.

15 THE COURT: It seems to me that I should follow  
16 Judge Duffy's recommendation, there being nothing to  
17 indicate the contrary.

18 I so order it.

19 MR. SHWARTZ: The only other request the  
20 government would make at this time, your Honor, is that  
21 the defendant be ordered and the marshals be instructed  
22 to photograph and fingerprint her in the usual fashion.

23 THE COURT: So ordered.

24 When can the government be ready for trial?

25 MR. SHWARTZ: Your Honor, the government is in

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the process of preparing the case for trial at this point.

I will endeavor, within the course of the next week or two, to submit directly to the defendant, since she has decided to go pro se in this case, the various material to which she would normally be entitled were she to make a motion for discovery under Rule 16 and the other provisions, including Brady v. Maryland.

I expect that the discovery will be completed within the next week to two.

The Speedy Trial Act provides for a trial within seventy days from this date.

THE COURT: Could we have a trial in May?

MR. SHWARTZ: The government would be prepared for a trial within a month of this date, your Honor.

THE COURT: How many days do you anticipate the trial will take?

MR. SHWARTZ: Assuming some inevitable delays as a result of Ms. Torres' determination to represent herself, I would estimate a week to ten days to try this case.

(Pause)

THE COURT: We will put it down for the 19th of May, Monday, the 19th of May.

Ms. Fink or Ms. Siegal, do you wish to say

2 anything?

3 MS. SIEGAL: No, Judge, we have nothing to say.

4 THE COURT: Is Ms. Siegal admitted to the  
5 bar in this court?

6 MS. SIEGAL: Judge, in answer to your question,  
7 no, but it is not relevant because neither Ms. Fink or  
8 myself intend --

9 THE COURT: I did ask a question. Could it  
10 be answered?

11 MS. SIEGAL: I am not admitted.

12 THE COURT: I will admit you for the proceedings  
13 in this case.

14 MS. SIEGAL: I decline your appointing me.  
15 I think it is Ms. Torres' wish --

16 THE COURT: I can't hear you.

17 MS. SIEGAL: It is Ms. Torres' wish that we be  
18 able to consult with her. We do not want to participate  
19 in the court proceeding in any way.

20 THE COURT: I understand that. To the extent  
21 you are sitting in counsel's place, I would admit you to  
22 the bar of this court for that purpose. There is no need  
23 to represent Ms. Torres if you don't want to.

24 MS. SIEGAL: All right. Can I just have a  
25 moment?

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2 THE COURT: Yes.

3 (Pause)

4 MS. SIEGAL: Judge, if this is in any way a  
5 form of acting as counsel, neither Ms. Fink nor myself  
6 would sit here. If this is to be construed as acting  
7 as counsel, neither Ms. Fink nor myself nor any of the  
8 legal consultants will sit in this area, so as to not  
9 be construed --

10 THE COURT: It is not construed as anything.  
11 It is just construed that sitting in the courtroom, you  
12 are responsible to act as an attorney. If you are going  
13 to come in this court and sit at counsel's position,  
14 you have to be a member of the bar of this court. I am  
15 admitting you for that purpose.

16 MS. SIEGAL: Judge, just so that nothing  
17 can be construed, if we are to be considered --

18 THE COURT: Ms. Fink is already a member of  
19 the bar of this court. Her being here doesn't make her  
20 counsel for Ms. Torres any more than your being here  
21 makes you counsel for Ms. Torres, any more than you being  
22 admitted to the bar of this court makes you counsel for  
23 Ms. Torres.

24 MS. SIEGAL: There are attorneys in this  
25 room that are sitting in the audience that are not acting

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2 in counsel's capacity.

3 THE COURT: They are in the audience. I'm  
4 not concerned with them. You are here.

5 MS. SIEGAL: Then perhaps we should sit over  
6 there.

7 THE COURT: You can sit anywhere you want.  
8 I'm admitting you to sit where you are. I'm admitting  
9 you to the bar of this court for that purpose. You don't  
10 have to sit here. You are permitted to.

11 MS. SIEGAL: One second, Judge.

12 (Pause)

13 MS. SIEGAL: As long as it is clear that we are  
14 not speaking on her behalf.

15 THE COURT: You have made that quite clear.

16 MS. SIEGAL: Very well, then, Judge.

17 THE COURT: The marshals will carry out the  
18 directions of the Court.

19 The United States Attorney will provide  
20 Ms. Torres with all the materials to which she would be  
21 entitled were she to make a motion, and they will also  
22 make those materials available to Ms. Fink and Ms. Siegal,  
23 and Ms. Fink and Ms. Siegal will have opportunity to look  
24 at those materials without in any way representing to  
25 you that they represent the defendant.

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MR. SHWARTZ: Your Honor, I have already offered to do that.

I should further state that I have shown a copy of the indictment to Ms. Siegal and Ms. Fink and given a copy of the indictment to the defendant.

THE COURT: All right.

You can give a copy to Ms. Fink --

MR. SHWARTZ: I offered to. My offer was turned down.

THE COURT: I see.

You could have a copy of the indictment without in any way giving away any rights you pretend you haven't got.

(Adjourned.)

APPENDIX G

Complaint to Illinois State Judicial Inquiry Board  
Re: Judge James Bailey

May 8, 1980

Judicial Inquiry Board  
205 W. Wacker Room 1615  
Chicago, Illinois 60606

To The Judicial Inquiry Board:

Please consider the following as a formal complaint against Judge James Bailey (Cook County Circuit Court Judge, Criminal Division, 2600 South California, Chicago, Illinois) for illegal, unconstitutional and outrageous conduct which was totally unwarranted, unprecedented and placed the entire administration of justice in disrepute.

On April 28 and April 29, 1980, Judge Bailey, acting in a wholly arbitrary and unlawful manner:

- (1) Denied two prisoners their right to a public hearing;
- (2) Encouraged sheriff's deputies to use excessive and brutal force against those two prisoners and approved the deputies' use of such force;
- (3) Ordered one of the two prisoners brought into court with her mouth taped shut, painfully gagged;
- (4) Ordered deputies to physically restrain attorneys, acting as legal consultants to the prisoners; held one attorney in contempt and jailed her and physically threatened another in his chambers;
- (5) Abused and disrespected friends and relatives of the two prisoners, primarily from Chicago's Latin community, when they attended, or tried to attend, these proceedings.

FACTUAL STATEMENT

On April 15, 1980, Judge Bailey was assigned the case of Alicia Rodriguez (Indicated as Mary Rodriguez) and Luis Rosa (Indictment Number: 80-24-79) at an arraignment proceeding held before Chief Criminal Division Judge Richard Fitzgerald. Ms. Rodriguez and Mr. Rosa were among 11 Puerto Ricans who were arrested in Evanston, Illinois on April 4, 1980 and accused of being members of the F.A.L.N. (The Armed Forces for National

Liberation) a clandestine armed group which fights for the independence of Puerto Rico from U.S. domination. Immediately upon their capture, the 11 asserted that they were "Prisoners of War," pursuant to the Resolutions of the United Nations concerning the elimination of colonialism\*, the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the additional Protocol of 1976, and demanded that the U.S. Government treat them as such. This claim was made to the Evanston authorities, including Judge Kelley, who set their bonds, and reiterated before Chief Judge Fitzgerald at their arraignments. The U.S. authorities refused to consider the Prisoner of War claim or respect the 11 prisoners' principled refusal to participate in the domestic criminal court proceedings. Judge Fitzgerald set a date of April 28, 1980 for further criminal proceedings for Ms. Rodriguez and Mr. Rosa before Judge Bailey.

On April 25, 1980, Judge Bailey's courtroom was filled with the family and supporters of the two Puerto Rican prisoners. The courtroom spectators were composed almost entirely of people from the Puerto Rican community of Chicago, who were not normally accustomed to being present in a U.S. courtroom. Immediately upon taking the Bench, Judge Bailey assumed a provocative and disrespectful posture towards the spectators from Chicago's Latin community. Judge Bailey threatened to clear the courtroom, ignoring the constitutional right to a public hearing, if the spectators did not stand at attention until he gave them permission to be seated.

As Ms. Rodriguez and Mr. Rosa entered the courtroom they acknowledged the people from their community stating in Spanish: "Viva Puerto Rico Libre" (Long Live a Free Puerto Rico). No sooner had they finished this greeting when they were jumped upon by Judge Bailey's courtroom sheriffs. Ms. Rodriguez was grabbed by the chin and neck, her head pushed back and dragged out of the courtroom. Mr. Rosa was brutalized in front of the bench, being repeatedly punched and kicked by court sheriffs.

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\*See United Nations Resolutions 2621 (XXV), 2708, 3307, 2852 (XXVI) and 3103 (XXVIII).

Rather than order that this brutality cease, Judge Bailey, screaming and waving his hands, ordered the spectators be forced out of the courtroom and ultimately out of the court building. He further ordered that two attorneys, who were acting as legal consultants for Mr. Rosa and Ms. Rodriguez, be physically removed from the court, directing one of the attorneys, Mr. Brian Glick,\* be placed under arrest for trying verbally to stop the brutalization of Ms. Rodriguez and Mrs. Rosa.

After the courtroom was cleared Mr. Rosa, who had been dragged out of the court and beaten up in the back room, was ordered by Judge Bailey back before the Court. The Judge refused to recognize Mr. Rosa's POW claims and his right to speak to the Court. He ordered a public defender to represent Mr. Rosa despite his knowing waiver and strenuous objection. When another legal consultant, Mr. Michael Deutsch, attempted to address the Court concerning Mr. Rosa's right to speak, he was threatened with contempt and physically prevented from approaching the Bench. Mr. Rosa was then sentenced to six months for contempt.

The following day, April 29, 1980, without notice to Ms. Rodriguez, her legal consultants or her family, prisoner Rodriguez was ordered back before the Court. Through a jail employee Ms. Rodriguez learned of her court appearance and notified her legal consultants and family. When Ms. Rodriguez's family and supporters, about 40 in number, appeared before the courtroom, their entry was barred by the order of Judge Bailey, and court sheriffs forced them to leave the building. Legal consultants, Mr. Deutsch and Ms. Mara Siegel, attempted to see Judge Bailey about his arbitrary denial of a public hearing, but he refused to speak to them and court personnel even barred Mr. Deutsch from entering Judge Bailey's courtroom.

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\*Mr. Glick was later released by Judge Bailey without being charged.

Mr. Deutsch went to speak to Chief Judge Fitzgerald and Ms. Siegel entered Judge Bailey's courtroom. While Ms. Siegel was in the courtroom, deputies brought Ms. Rodriguez in with her mouth gagged and taped. As Ms. Rodriguez struggled to be heard through the gag in order to tell the Court of her position as a POW, Ms. Siegel, who Judge Bailey had previous knowledge of as being one of Ms. Rodriguez' legal consultants, approached the Bench to object on the record to this outrageous cruelty and injustice.

Judge Bailey immediately ordered Ms. Siegel arrested for contempt, fined her One Thousand Dollars (\$1,000.00) or remanded to the custody of Cook County Jail until said amount was paid. Meanwhile, enraged that Ms. Rodriguez was able to be heard through her gag, Judge Bailey ordered her out of the courtroom to be re-gagged. When Ms. Rodriguez was brought back into the courtroom her mouth was securely taped and she was physically restrained by two women sheriffs. As a result of this gagging and the removal of the tape, Ms. Rodriguez's mouth was red and bruised.

While Attorney Deutsch was in the back of Judge Bailey's courtroom seeing about Ms. Siegel and Ms. Rodriguez, he was told by Judge Bailey's female sheriff, Rita Geoghegan, the one who had gagged Ms. Rodriguez, that Ms. Rodriguez is "nothing but a communist terrorist and should be shot." Mr. Deutsch requested the sheriff's name and wrote it down.

About an hour later, Mr. Deutsch, having filed an appearance on behalf of Ms. Siegel, entered Judge Bailey's chambers to request a stay of her contempt sentence or at least a denial of such stay for purposes of appeal. In the presence of the state's attorneys and other lawyers, Judge Bailey refused to respond to Mr. Deutsch's request. Rather he shouted at Mr. Deutsch that if he threatened his court sheriff again he would "throw him out of the fucking window." When Mr. Deutsch insisted he did not threaten any sheriff, Judge Bailey left his seat, walked around his desk and began moving towards Mr. Deutsch, continuing to

threaten to throw him out of the window. Only being physically restrained by several attorneys stopped the Judge from physically attacking Mr. Deutsch. Judge Bailey then told Mr. Deutsch: "Get the fuck out of my courtroom and don't come back."

Mr. Deutsch then approached his law partner, Mr. Jeffrey Haas, and another attorney, Leo Holt, informed them of the threat by Judge Bailey and asked them to obtain a stay or a denial of a stay from Judge Bailey. They agreed and entered Judge Bailey's courtroom, but Judge Bailey, who was in his chambers, refused to come out or let them in.

Mr. Deutsch, Mr. Holt and Mr. Haas then went to Chief Judge Fitzgerald to inform him of Judge Bailey's actions. Judge Fitzgerald indicated that counsel should go directly to the Appellate Court to request a bond pending appeal, in that Judge Bailey's actions clearly constituted a denial of a stay. Mr. Deutsch and other counsel then filed an emergency motion for a bond pending appeal, which was granted by the Appellate Court. (See attached.)

Later that day it was reported to one of the legal consultants for the Puerto Rican prisoners, that Judge Bailey had stated that Mr. Deutsch "was not man enough to come into my courtroom himself, but instead sent that woman in to get arrested." Judge Bailey was also to have stated that "these people should be treated as POWs; we should take them out and shoot them."

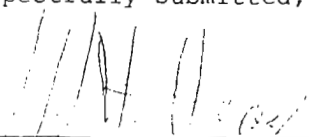
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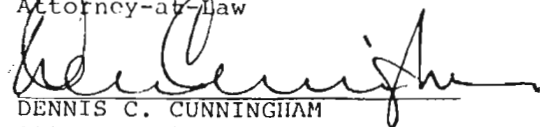
The following actions of Judge Bailey constituted illegal, unconstitutional and grossly improper conduct which violated his judicial oath of office (Ill. Rev. Stat, 110-A, Stat. 61) as well as the canons of ethics:

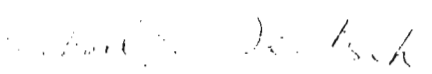
- (1) The arbitrary denial of a public hearing.
- (2) The display of utter disrespect and lack of courtesy to members Chicago's Latin community who attended, or tried to attend, proceedings of his courtroom.
- (3) The approval and encouragement of the use of excessive force and brutality by the courtroom sheriffs against Mr. Rosa and Ms. Rodriguez.
- (4) The scheduling of an unnecessary court date for Ms. Rodriguez, to knowingly force her to court against her will in violation of her stated position as a POW, and create an opportunity to further brutalize Ms. Rodriguez by gagging and taping her mouth and physically restraining her in the courtroom.

- (5) The refusal to recognize Ms. Rodriguez and Mr. Rosa's right to legal consultants, the arbitrary arrest and jailing of Attorney Mara Siegel and the physical restraint of legal consultants attempting to address the Court.
- (6) The refusal to rule on a request for a stay of his contempt order on Ms. Seigel and the physical threats directed at Mr. Deutsch, Ms. Siegel's attorney of record.
- (7) The cumulative vicious attack by the court and its sheriff's personnel on Mr. Rosa and Ms. Rodriguez's right to refuse to participate in the court proceedings based upon their principled position, supported by International Law, that the US must treat them as Prisoners of War.

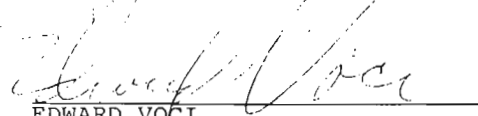
Respectfully submitted,

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
JEFFREY H. HAAS  
Attorney-at-Law


  
\_\_\_\_\_  
DENNIS C. CUNNINGHAM  
Attorney-at-Law

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
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\_\_\_\_\_  
BRIAN GLICK  
Member of California Bar

\_\_\_\_\_  
MARA SIEGEL  
Attorney-at-Law

Westtown Community Law Office  
2403 W. North Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60647

APPENDIX H

FBI Documents on the Counterintelligence  
Program (COINTELPRO) Against "Groups Seeking  
Independence for Puerto Rico"

SAC, San Juan (105-3353)

August 4, 1960

Director, FBI (105-66754)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE  
FOR PUERTO RICO  
(SUBVERSIVE CONTROL)

The Bureau is considering the feasibility of instituting a program of disruption to be directed against organizations which seek independence for Puerto Rico through other than lawful, peaceful means.

Because of the increasing boldness apparent in the activities of such organizations, their utter disregard of the will of the majority, the inevitable communist and/or Soviet effort to embarrass the United States, and the courage given to their cause by Castro's Cuba, we must make a more positive effort, not only to curtail, but to disrupt their activities.

San Juan and New York should give this matter studied consideration and thereafter furnish the Bureau observations, suggestions and recommendations relative to the institution of such a program to reach the Bureau no later than 8/25/60.

In considering this matter, you should bear in mind the Bureau desires to disrupt the activities of these organizations and is not interested in mere harassment. No action should be taken in this program without Bureau authority, at any time.

A copy of this communication is designated for the Chicago Office and a copy for the Washington Field Office for information.

- 2 - New York (105-32872)
  - 1 - Chicago (105-5581)
  - 1 - Washington Field
  - 1 - 62-7721 (NPPR)
- EX 109  
105-93124-1  
AUG 10 1960

TC/baw  
(9)

34 AUG 10 1960

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

H-1

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 8/22/60

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353-Sub 1)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO (DISRUPTION PROGRAM) (CONFIDENTIAL INTELLIGENCE SECTION) SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION

ReBulet 8/4/60.

It would appear that a program on disruption might have beneficial results and it is felt that the Bureau, based upon experience with subversive groups in the Continental United States, might have in mind certain disruptive techniques which would be applicable to the situation in Puerto Rico.

Experience thus far in Puerto Rico has demonstrated that a certain amount of travel control at the San Juan International Airport, usually on the part of Customs and/or Immigration officials, has appeared to be useful in connection with disrupting travel between Puerto Rico and Cuba. The seizing of propaganda likewise appears to have been a useful technique from the standpoint of disruption.

The suggestion has been made in this office that the Bureau might capitalize upon the issue of whether or not affiliates of local subversive groups should vote in forthcoming island elections. It will be recalled that there is a divergence of opinions on the part of members of these groups concerning the use of the vote.

Another suggestion has been made that it might be possible to capitalize upon declarations made by subversives either in New York City or in Puerto Rico where the individual appears to be making inconsistent statements in two different localities. It has occurred that an individual while in Puerto Rico would engage in certain activities and statements, and thereafter in New York give a report which was at variance.

The suggestion has also been made that through tested local newspaper sources we might give greater circulation and publicity to data pertaining to local affiliates of subversive groups, where such data would be embarrassing to the individual as well as the group.

CONFIDENTIAL

①

REC-31

105-93124-2

EX 109

15 AUG 23 1960

7-15

TC

RUC

- 2 - Bureau
- 1 - Chicago (105-5581)(Info)
- 1 - New York (105-32872)(Info)
- 1 - Washington Field
- 1 - San Juan

51 AUG 29 1960

(6) H-2

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-66754)

DATE: 11/15/60

*FAD*

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-32872)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO (COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM) SUBVERSIVE CONTROL  
(OO: San Juan)

Re Bureau letter dated 9/13/60.

A review of the files of the NYO has been made concerning the activities of Puerto Rican pro-independence groups which seek independence by other than peaceful means, as well as the files on the counterintelligence program as it relates to the Communist Party. It is believed that upon instituting a counterintelligence program in this field, efforts should be directed with the following aims in mind:

- I. Disruption and discord.
- II. Creating doubts as to the wisdom of remaining in the independence movement.
- III. Causing defections from the independence movement.

The suggested means of obtaining these desired ends are as follows:

- 1) Exploiting factionalism within an organization.

Factionalism is a common fault within pro-independence groups and it is believed that this existing element can be developed, enlarged and exploited. As an example, after the demise of the Accion Patriotica

- P -

- 2 - Bureau (105-66754) (RM)
- 2 - San Juan (105-3353) (RM)
- 1 - New York (105-32872) (#413)

JJT:vcb  
(5)

*Handwritten notes and signatures:*  
T. ...  
2- ...  
10/21/60

*cc: ...*

*105-93124-*  
11  
15 NOV 17 1960

**RECEIVED**

SAC, San Juan (105-3353 Sub. 1)

June 12, 1961

Director, FBI (105-23124)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO  
(COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)  
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION

In order to appraise the caliber of leadership in the Puerto Rican independence movement, particularly as it pertains to our efforts to disrupt their activities and compromise their effectiveness, we should have an intimate detailed knowledge of the more influential leaders as individuals.

The names of each of the leaders listed below are maintained in the Security Index.

SAN JUAN

NEW YORK

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] na

Your files will contain descriptive information appropriate to our investigative reporting. We should, however, for the purposes of this program, delve deeply into that part of their lives which do not show on the surface; for example, we must determine their capabilities of influencing others, capabilities of real leadership, why the intense desire for Puerto Rico's independence, what they expect to gain from independence, and the support they have from other leaders and rank-and-file members. We must have information concerning their weaknesses, morals, criminal records, spouses, children, family life, educational qualifications and personal activities other than independence activities.

2 - New York (105-32872)

DECLASSIFIED BY 6080 [signature] 1977

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAREC-23

105-93124-25 [signature]

TC:djw

JUN 13 1961

TELETYPE UNIT

March 9, 1962

IRTEL

To: SAC, San Juan (105-3353)

From: Director, FBI (105-93124)

GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO  
(COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)  
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL

The results of the distribution of the anticommunist leaflet at the University of Puerto Rico have been favorable. These leaflets were to disrupt the activities and diminish the influence of the Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI). The FUPI leadership has attributed the preparation of the leaflet to a number of sources, none of which are connected with the U. S. Government or to law enforcement. Distribution of the anonymous leaflet has been directed solely against FUPI.

The Bureau believes that we should consider at this time the preparation of another anonymous leaflet for distribution at an appropriate time in the future which will not only concern FUPI but include other Puerto Rican independence groups which are in anyway related to communism. The effect of this leaflet should be not only to exercise the purposes of this program but to add confusion as to the possible source of this counterintelligence activity.

As previously pointed out, timing in this program is of great importance. In this regard, it is noted that on March 21 of each year the Puerto Rican independence factions celebrate the so-called "Ponce Massacre" by placing wreaths in homage to deceased nationalists and attending masses for the dead at the church in Ponce, in addition to other celebration.

1 - New York (105-32872)

105-93124-63

NOTE ON YELLOW: WARRICK being utilized because of short period of time before March 21 when leaflet may possibly be distributed.

MAR 15 1962

TC:mtb  
(5)

Handwritten signatures and initials: "Wed get off" and "7".

- Wilson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

H-5

MAR 9 - 1962

rtel to San Juan  
: Groups Seeking Independence for Puerto Rico  
(Counterintelligence Program)  
Subversive Control  
05-93124

San Juan should have in its possession a completed leaflet for anonymous distribution at the most appropriate time. The appropriate time is being left to the discretion of your office. The Bureau does not desire indiscriminate volume distribution which might detract from the effectiveness of this technique.

Each operation of this program must remain anonymous and be conducted in a manner so that the counterintelligence activities can never be traced back to the FBI.

Your observations relative to distribution of an anonymous leaflet around the period of the "Ponce Massacre" celebrations should be furnished to the Bureau. Furnish also the identities of possible sources to which such a leaflet could be anonymously mailed who would normally be expected to give the leaflet wide distribution. In this regard, you should consider anti-Castro groups in Puerto Rico, the local American Legion organization and others. If you consider the March 21 celebration a propitious occasion and time for distribution, you should advise the Bureau the number of copies desired.

San Juan should promptly furnish the Bureau its proposed anonymous leaflet in the English language and the Spanish language exactly as it should be prepared for distribution.

The following is furnished as a proposed anonymous leaflet for your consideration:

**BETRAYED?**

**[REDACTED]** supreme leader for many years in the nationalist movement in Puerto Rico, often disavowed communist influences in the nationalist movement. During the United States war against communism in Korea, **[REDACTED]** specifically stated that the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico must avoid being considered in anyway communistic in its views.

Airtel to San Juan  
Re: Groups Seeking Independence for Puerto Rico  
(Counterintelligence Program)  
- Subversive Control  
105-93124

Whatever his relationship may have been with communist individuals and regardless of how wrong or right he was, [REDACTED] was against Soviet communist ideology.

Suppose [REDACTED] could see his wife, [REDACTED] and so-called friends, [REDACTED] together clinging to Fidel Castro's Soviet-type communism like leeches.

Suppose [REDACTED] knew of the Federation of University Students for Independence joining with international communism, which, if we are indifferent, can eventually destroy the Americas which [REDACTED] loves.

Suppose [REDACTED] learns that Juan Mari Bras is attempting to unite nationalists and communists under the banner of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia. Always opposites, the nationalists desire a republic and the communists a socialist state like Soviet Russia.

Suppose [REDACTED] knew that the Accion Patriotica Unitaria, contemporary descendant of his Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, is almost completely dominated and controlled by the communist [REDACTED] who directs but never leads.

[REDACTED] is being betrayed, but more important is the fact that Puerto Rico is being betrayed.

The destiny of Puerto Rico must not include subservience to an atheistic ideology.

Puerto Rico, yes; communism, no!

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (105-32872) (P)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE  
FOR PUERTO RICO  
(COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)  
SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION  
(OO:SAN JUAN)

DATE: 1/8/63

ReBullets 11/21/62 and 12/14/62.

Careful consideration has been given to the suggested ways and means of disrupting the Accion Patriotica Unitaria (APU) from the viewpoint of how these suggestions can be best utilized in regard to the situation in NYC. In arriving at the following conclusions, it has been borne in mind that any aggressive plans made in this matter would have to be formulated so as to conform with the philosophy and dedication of the Puerto Rican independentista mind, and what would be acceptable to this mind.

It is felt that the Marxist background of [REDACTED] is no longer a liability in independence circles of NYC, because of the similar philosophy of FIDEL CASTRO, an idol of the majority of independentistas. Due to this hero worship, there is no dissension within the APU in NYC, because of [REDACTED] support of the Cuban Revolution.

In regard to the split in the Lares Board between the APU and other groups and the rift between [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] it is noted that the independence groups in NYC, are not connected with this Board and the APU in NYC, believes [REDACTED] to be of little importance. The APU in NYC, considers [REDACTED] to be the actual leader.

The NYO feels that [REDACTED] desire to push the

- 2 - Bureau (105-93124) (RM)  
2 - San Juan (105-3353 Sub. 1) (RM)  
1 - New York (105-32872)

JJT:ckm  
(5)

older element out of the APU in favor of the younger element has not been applied in NYC. This is due primarily to the dedication of [redacted] an older member who has been in the independence movement for a number of years. However, in this same vein, it is recalled that when the rift between [redacted] and [redacted] came to a peak, [redacted] the younger member, was thrown out in favor of [redacted]. Therein lies the possibility of the counterintelligence program utilizing the ill feeling existing between [redacted] and the APU. As of late, nearly all of the prominent APU members in NYC, have found handprinted signs in the Spanish language in their apartment houses. Messages such as "Gamay-OCP", "Be alert", "Walk alone", and "Viva Puerto Rico Libre". The meaning of the word "Gamay", or the initials "OCP" is not known to the NYO, nor to the APU members. There is little doubt in the minds of the APU members, however, but what these messages have originated with [redacted]. In addition to the handprinted signs, there also appears a symbol in the form of a vertical arrow, pointing upward, enclosed in a circle. No information has been received indicating the meaning of this symbol. However, the NYO suggests that this could be the symbol of a new group which [redacted] may be starting and the initials OCP may be the abbreviation of the name of the organization.

Inasmuch as the tactic of leaving these messages at the apartment houses of APU members has already been started and the ground work of suspicion already formed, it is felt that the NYO can capitalize on this move by sending handprinted letters to some 15 or 20 prominent APU members. The letters would contain the above-mentioned sayings in Spanish as well as the symbol described above. In addition, the following saying would be added: "A Cada Santo Le Llega Su Dia" (loosely translated: "Every saint has his day".) It is understood that to Spanish speaking people, this saying carries the connotation, "You'll get yours".

The letters would be mailed from the vicinity of [redacted] residence so as to throw more suspicion in his direction and thereby create a greater degree of ill will between [redacted] his followers, and the APU. The paper and envelopes

NY 105-32872

would be unmarked and of a cheap variety so that they could in no way be traced back to the actual source. Every precaution would be taken by the NYO to insure that the FBI was not suspected in this matter.

San Juan is requested to advise the NYO if the saying set forth in Spanish above would be appropriate in their opinion, or suggest an alternative.

The Bureau is requested to advise the NYO of its opinion concerning this suggestion.

H-10

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. DeLoa
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland

Wick  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 6/20/67

FROM :

[REDACTED]

- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (SUBVERSIVE CONTROL SECTION)

*Handwritten initials and date: D/S 6/20/67*

PURPOSE:

To recommend the preparation of a cartoon by the Exhibits Section of the Administrative Division depicting an attack by members of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena (LSP) on a Mission of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPIPR). The LSP and the MPIPR are militant Puerto Rican independence groups. The cartoon is designed to cause discord between these two organizations and will be sent anonymously to members of various independence groups in Puerto Rico.

ST-104

BACKGROUND:

REC-75 105 35124-223

San Juan Office has received information that [REDACTED], has accused [REDACTED] of being a coward. [REDACTED] and other members of the LSP have entered an MPIPR Mission and threatened [REDACTED] with bodily harm unless he proved or retracted his statement about [REDACTED]. On one recent occasion members of the MPIPR Mission were armed with firearms and knives when [REDACTED] and other LSP members came to the Mission and blows were exchanged between the two groups. San Juan Office has suggested that a cartoon be drawn up showing [REDACTED] standing in the doorway of the Mission with indistinct figures standing behind him. Confronting [REDACTED] would be a caricature of [REDACTED] with a machete bearing a Red Chinese slogan. The LSP is known for

105-93124

"ENCL. BEHIND FILE"

JJD:sjs  
(8)

ENCLOSURE  
379

CONTINUED - OVER

JUL 6 1967  
*Handwritten initials and date*

Memorandum from Mr. J.F. Bland to Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
RE: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO  
105,93124

its pro-Red Chinese views. [redacted] the LSP leader, would be shown behind [redacted] pushing him towards [redacted]. Under the cartoon there would be printed in Spanish the slogan "[redacted], You Have Two Weeks to Prove or Retract Your Statement That [redacted] is a Coward."

OBSERVATIONS:

It is believed that this cartoon will be of great assistance as a disruptive tactic in the Puerto Rican independence groups. This is most important at the present time since these groups are attempting to unite against a plebiscite which is to be held in Puerto Rico on 7/23/67. At that time the Puerto Rican people will vote for statehood, independence, or a continuation of the present commonwealth form of government.

The preparation of a suitable Red Chinese slogan such as "Down with Imperialism" has already been discussed with the Cryptanalysis-Translation Section of the Laboratory. The Exhibits Section should coordinate the preparation of the cartoon with the Cryptanalysis-Translation Section. Since the plebiscite is to be held on 7/23/67, it is believed most important that the cartoon be prepared as soon as possible to allow for mailing prior to the time of the plebiscite.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the preparation of the above-mentioned cartoon by the Exhibits Section be approved for mailing to members of the Puerto Rican independence groups in Puerto Rico or to persons sympathetic to these organizations. If approved, 250 copies of the cartoon on unwatermarked commercial grade paper should be prepared. Photographs of [redacted] and [redacted] have been forwarded by San Juan for utilization in preparation of the cartoon.

*with [redacted] 7/5/67*

*OK. ✓*  
*[Signature]*  
*[Signature]*

*H-12*  
*[Signature]*  
*NW 4/3*

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-93124)

DATE: - 11/21/69

FROM : SAC, SAN JUAN (105-3353 Sub I) (P)

SUBJECT: GROUPS SEEKING INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
(LATIN AMERICAN SECTION)  
IS - PRN

Re Bureau airtel to San Juan, 10/28/69.

During early October, 1969, sixteen (16) members of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena (Puerto Rican Socialist League) (LSP) were arrested by the Police of Puerto Rico (POPR) on various firearms violations. On 11/12/69, [redacted] POPR, advised that [redacted] [redacted] about due to the work of [redacted] who for approximately the past [redacted] and one-half years has worked in an undercover capacity for [redacted] POPR, as an LSP member. Subsequent to the arrests, during normal legal proceedings, it was made known to the LSP that [redacted] had been an undercover agent for [redacted] POPR, inasmuch as [redacted] signed the complaints for the arrests. Thus, [redacted] was voluntarily uncovered by [redacted] POPR in effecting these arrests. Prosecutive action is still pending in all of these cases.

On October 16, 1969, [redacted] advised that he had received information from [redacted] source that [redacted]

According to [redacted] informant [redacted]

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- (2) - New York (105-32872) (RM)
- 1 - San Juan

105-93124-270  
10 NOV 25 1969



EGS:wtl  
(5)

*Handwritten notes:*  
7/11/3/69  
[unclear signature]

LATIN AMERICAN

SJ 105-3353 Sub I

According to [redacted] informant [redacted]

Previous review of OI, POPR files reflected that [redacted]

On 11/3/69, Agent [redacted] POPR, advised that on 11/2/69, [redacted] boarded Pan American Flight 272 at San Juan, en route to New York City. On 11/7/69, Agent [redacted] advised that on 11/5/69, [redacted] returned to Puerto Rico from New York City aboard Pan American Flight 293. Agent [redacted] did not know the purpose of [redacted] trip to New York. It is possible that [redacted]

Available information also indicates [redacted] has in private conversations made the statement that he feels that [redacted]

In view of the above, it appears that [redacted]

San Juan proposes that an anonymous letter, prepared in the Spanish language on plain unwatermarked paper, be sent to various LSP members in Puerto Rico and to [redacted] President of the PLP in New York City, pointing out the shortcomings of [redacted] as leader of the LSP. The letter may be worded as follows:

H-14

"Comrades of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena:

"A few facts for your consideration:

"In 1964 our organization was formed with the idea of having a close-knit group of militant young men to advance the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and to lead in the fight for the independence of our beloved country.

"Since that time much has been written but nothing has been accomplished by us. The sad truth is that while our "leader" sits in his ivory tower writing "poetry," Mari Bras gains hundreds of followers by acting and leads in our struggle for independence. While we talk, others act. While our old men discuss theories, our young men are carrying the struggle into the streets and onto the campuses. While our young men travel to other countries to establish ties with other peoples who think as we do, our "leader" indiscriminately tells the police of our plans and actions.

"While our young men gain publicity by bombing stores and destroying the ROTC building, the only thing the newspapers can publish about us is the fact that we managed to get ourselves arrested for carrying weapons, while all other independentistas carry guns unmolested.

"Thanks to the indiscretion of our "leader" the police have been in our very midst reporting our every move. Who knows how many other informants attend our meetings!

"The time to press for our independence is now. The people to do it are our young men.

"What do you think? Is it time for a change???"

"An Activist"

The San Juan Office feels that the sending of this letter should create dissension within the LSP and possibly result in splitting the LSP into various splinter groups. It is also felt that this letter would weaken the prominence

of [redacted] and would lessen the weight of his suspicions against [redacted]

The comments in the proposed letter refer to the arrests of the LSP members, the recent firebombings of American stores in the San Juan area, and the attack on the ROTC building at the Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) on September 26, 1969. One of the leaders in the attack on the ROTC building on 9/26/69, was 29 year old LSP member, [redacted], who received a great deal of publicity in San Juan newspapers. [redacted] is listed as being "Sub-Director" of the LSP. It is felt that the militant language of the proposed letter is characteristic of [redacted] and might cause [redacted] to suspect [redacted] his close lieutenant, of being the author of the proposed letter and vying for leadership of the LSP.

San Juan proposed sending this letter to the following LSP members in Puerto Rico:

[redacted]

[redacted] is a [redacted] in the Southern Committee of the LSP at [redacted] and [redacted] is a close friend of the [redacted] at San Juan. It is felt that by sending copies of the letter to these two individuals, the letter will surely be brought to the attention of [redacted]

New York's comments are requested, particularly concerning whether or not this letter should be sent to [redacted] suggestions as to additional individuals in New York City to whom the letter should be sent, and the impact that a letter of this type might have within the PLP.

Bureau's comments are also solicited.

H-16



APPENDIX I

Statement of the Civic Committee to Support  
The Rights of Puerto Rican Prisoners of War



**CIVIC COMMITTEE TO SUPPORT THE RIGHTS OF THE PUERTO RICAN  
PRISONERS OF WAR**

PRESS CONFERENCE: Wednesday, May 14, 1980

The United Nations General Assembly in its Resolution 1514 (XV), of December 14, 1960, reconized the inalienable right of all peoples to independence and sel-determination, and "Solemnly proclaims the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations." Other Resolutions on the same issue have been adpoted, namely Resolution 1654 (XVI), of November 27, 1961, creating a special Committee later known as the "Committee of 2a" or the "Decolonization Committee" to identify all the colonial Territories and to implement all the United Nations declarations on colonialism.

The Programme of Action of this Committee (Resolution 2521 - XXV of 12 October, 1970, clearly reaffirms: "...the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial Powers which supress their aspiration for freedom and independence", and that "6 (a) All freedom-fighters under detention shall be treated in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War of 12 August, 1949".

Specifically, in the case of Puerto Rico, the Committee of 24, in August 25, 1972 reconized "...the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self determination and independence..." (A/AC.109/L.837) The following year, the Committee adopted another resolution calling upon the United States Government to refrain from adopting any measure likely to impede the full and free exercise by the people of its inalienable right to self determination and independence (Aug. 30,1973).

Finally, the Special Committee od 24 on 12 September, 1978, affirmed: "...that self determination by the people of Puerto Rico in a democratic process should be exercised through mechanisms freely selected by the Puerto Rican people in complete and full sovereignty, in accordance with Resolution 1514 (XV) which inter alia provided for the full transfer of all powers to the people of the Territory and that all determinations concerning status should have the approval of the Puerto Rican people." (A/AC.109/574).

A MORAL THEOLOGICAL POSITION

In light of the United Nations Resolutions, we as Clergy and other Christian people from different denominational church bodies, recognize the rights of colonized people to strive towards freedom. We affirm that these Resolutions report the principles inherent in the Judeo-Christian Tradition.

The God of the Old and New Testaments acts in history to set human-kind free. The people of the Judeo-Christian tradition have in their roots the act of God which freed the Israelite People from slavery in Egypt. God is a God who acts in history, in the lives of the people,

and in the events of nations. God acts for freedom, that no people may set themselves as masters over another people, and thereby deny inherent human rights.

From the beginning of time civilization and cultures strived to enjoy their ownness. That is, the right to be free from foreign domination, the right to address on es own destiny, and the right to become intertwined with one's own culture free of cultural domination by another

As members of the Body of Christ we are mandated to address issues in a moral fashion based in our belief and call to freedom. At this point, and at this time, we are especially called to support those who have dedicated their lives to struggle for freedom in defense of nationalistic and patriotic principles. The 11 Puerto Ricans Prisoners of War arrested in Evanston, Illinois are fighting for the freedom of their country from colonial rule. The United States has an obligation to recognize these 11 Prisoners as people struggling for their country's freedom, and to treat them as freedom fighters. These 11 are Prisoners of War and where judicial process are involved they should be treated as such. The United States Criminal Courts, therefore, do not have any jurisdiction over the fate of the freedom fighters. They must be treated according to the Articles of the Geneva Convention for Prisoners of War.

#### TREATMENT TO THE 11 PUERTO RICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

Ever since their arrest, the 11 have been receiving a different and "special" treatment:

1. A bond of 2 million dollars to each Prisoner compare with the nature of their charges.
2. Most of them have been locked up 23 hours a day.
3. They have been denied their right to a public hearing.
4. Sheriff's deputies have used excessive and brutal force against two of the Prisoners, and have also used verbal abuse.
5. One of the Prisoners was brought into court with her mouth taped shut, painfully gagged.
6. They have had difficulties in receiving medical attention and in meeting with their Para-Legals.
7. Visitors have been intimidated by the requirement of having their picture taken before visiting the Prisoners(not a normative procedure).
8. Their Legal Consultants have been physically restrained, arrested, and physically threatened by Judge James Bailey (cook County Circuit Court Judge).

THE COMMITTEE STATEMENT

In view of all that factual statement, we, the Civic Committee to Support the Rights of the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War:

1. Wholeheartedly support the people of Puerto Rico who are devoting their lives to free the country they love from the death which is the inevitable consequence of colonialism.
2. Declare that the United States is defying international law and the inherent rights of the people in its refusal to allow the independence of Puerto Rico.
3. Support the formal complaint that the Legal Consultants to the 11 are presenting to the Judicial Inquiry Board regarding the illegal, unconstitutional and outrageous conduct of Judge James Bailey in relation to the treatment of the Prisoners.
4. Fully support and recognize as a right to the 11 Prisoners, their intention to present their case in front of the United Nations

APPENDIX J

Maps Showing the U.S. Military  
Presence in Puerto Rico

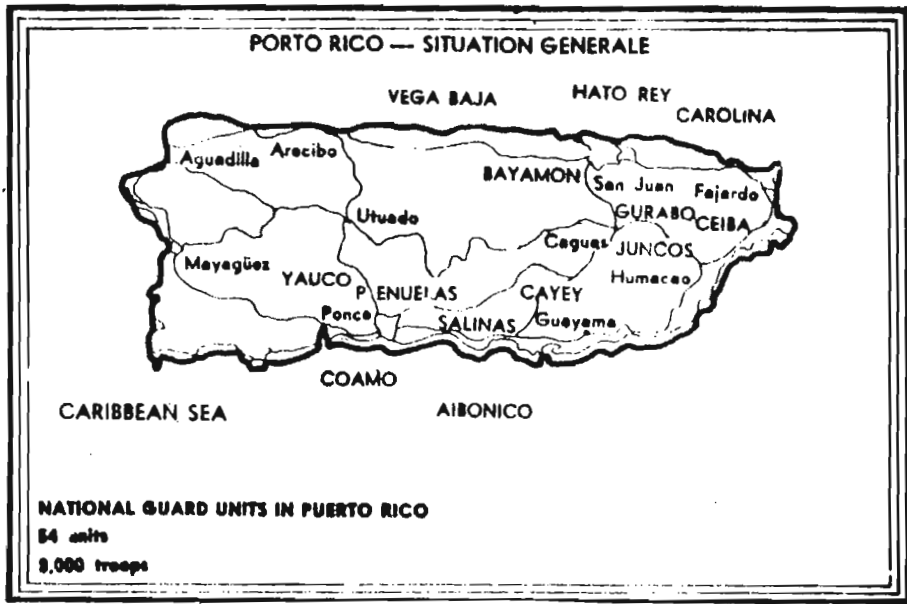
**PUERTO RICO — GENERAL LOCATION**



**UNITED STATES ARMY RESERVE UNITS IN PUERTO RICO**

**9 units sites**

**2,000 troops**



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