

Special Report:

Exporting Puerto Rico's Terror

The United States does not maintain a very hospitable climate for terrorism, and the City of London's intelligence networks know it. The healthy gut reaction of the U.S. population to terrorists, the professional actions of uncorrupted police departments and the widely circulated U.S. Labor Party exposés of the monetarist control of international terrorist networks have created a highly aversive environment for bombers and assassins, regardless of the supposed political rationale.

The lack of any indigenous sympathy for terrorism in the country has presented a serious problem to the British and their U.S. accomplices. A terror capability is integral to their broader assault on the U.S. as a productive industrial nation; terror eliminates political opponents, and it spreads fear and confusion through the population under attack.

To fill the bill, the monetarists have turned to Puerto Rico — an island that has served as both looting and testing ground for the New York banks for decades. Critical to control and manipulation of the island population over the years has been the synthetic creation of a Puerto Rican independence movement. Through the FBI, the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Treasury Department, key island media, local political machines, and terrorist support and control networks in the U.S., the violence potential of Puerto Rico is now being tapped for export to the mainland.

The model for the island operation is Northern Ireland, as leading participants in the plan have frequently made clear. Instead of Catholic-Protestant warfare, the population is being corralled and terrorized into armed camps of the "independentistas" and the pro-statehood forces. A murderous vendetta has existed for years, but in the last two months the death toll has climbed and the climate has been prepared for a much more extensive and bloody reign of terror.

On the independence, or "left," side of the gun barrels are the agents encysted within the leadership of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). Through their increasing control over the party leadership in recent months, Anglo-American intelligence agents in the PSP have fueled the spreading violence and succeeded in placing a large section of the PSP's trade union base in the deadly crossfire.

The assassins operating under a "right" or pro-statehood cover have been collected from a large pool of

fascist gunmen and well-trained spooks. These include terrorist networks culled from the Cuban exile community and death squads maintained within the island's police departments. Political protection is provided by high officials within the island government apparatus.

A simultaneous operation channels the terror war from the island spawning ground into the U.S., and the initial phases of this export enterprise have already been accomplished. The so-called Fuerzas Armadas para la Liberacion Nacional (FALN) has claimed credit over the last two years for over 50 bombings that have wounded scores and taken 5 lives, primarily in New York. With the victory in this week's New York mayoralty race of Edward Koch — the candidate of the Lazard Freres banking and intelligence networks — the intensity of the FALN's declared "war of nerves" can be expected to dramatically increase.

The problem of credibility for the terrorists and their controllers still persists, however. To solve that difficulty, leading directors and apologists of the Washington, D.C. Institute for Policy Studies and allied networks have been mobilized to provide the necessary cover. At the apex of the pro-terrorist support structure is fascist linguist Noam Chomsky. With a collection of fellow agents and assorted dupes, Chomsky has formed the U.S. Committee for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalists. The nationalists in question are four Puerto Rican gangsters who have been jailed since the early fifties for armed attacks on President Truman and the U.S. Congress. The job of the committee, under Chomsky's guiding hand, is to provide legitimacy to the cause of Puerto Rican independence and to terrorism in the service of that cause. Already the Chomsky Committee's "human rights" campaign for the nationalists' release has blended into demands that government authorities put a halt to grand jury investigations of the FALN.

Complementing Chomsky inside Puerto Rico is the leader of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), Ruben Berrios. While going to great lengths to paint himself as the "clean" alternative to the PSP, Berrios serves a function analogous to the role of Willy Brandt in West Germany. Just as Brandt publicly rationalizes the murders and kidnappings of the Baader-Meinhof gang, Berrios — like Brandt a member of the Second International — justifies pro-independence terrorism on both the island and the mainland.

The following is a selection from the article "Independence for Puerto Rico: The Only Solution" by Ruben Berrios Martinez in the April 1977 issue of Foreign Affairs. Berrios is the President and ex-Senator of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP).

Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Quebec, although not in the same historical and political circumstances as Puerto Rico, underline the impossibility of repressing a nationality. The question is not if or when the theoretical State of Puerto Rico would be placed on such a roster. The question is how destructive the fight to restore us to freedom would be.

By now it should be clear to the U.S. government that nationalist processes rarely follow a linear development...Quebec...is only the most recent example...In Puerto Rico an accelerated process is going on which can

lead either to a sudden explosion or to an orderly channeling of nationalism.

Statehood is not a real alternative for the United States or for Puerto Rico...Among those opposing statehood, there are thousands of Puerto Ricans determined to impede assimilation by any and all means. A great number of these are to be found among the two million Puerto Ricans now living in the United States. Any serious attempt at incorporating Puerto Rico as a state would unquestionably precipitate a wave of violence, not only in Puerto Rico but also in the United States. We all know that in the past, without the threat of impeding statehood, grave acts of violence have taken place. Violence will undoubtedly breed repression and might involve minorities within the United States in a destructive conflict to assert by force the right to self-preservation, equality and dignity.

From the Mainland

Creating a Northern Ireland scenario in Puerto Rico and utilizing the island as a launching pad for terrorist activity in the U.S. requires a sophisticated apparatus capable of sustaining and protecting the active networks. Central to this command and control is the Institute for Policy Studies, an institution originally set up in 1963 to run terrorism and other political operations. At the top of the command stands the financial community of Wall Street and the City of London, whose foundations and legal services are employed to support and maintain the terror.

Funding of the Institute for Policy Studies comes from New York investment bank-linked foundations such as the Ford Foundation, the Samuel Rubin Foundation, the Fund for the City of New York, the New York Foundation, and the New York Community Trust (a consortium of the countries' 10 largest banks, which also directly fund the legal defense of the Puerto Rican terrorists), the Center for Constitutional Rights and the National Lawyers Guild. Heading these legal networks are William Kunstler, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Peter Weiss, the founder and funder of IPS, and the National Lawyers Guild's Arthur Kinoy.

The crucial activity of the handful of political controllers depends on various synthetic belief structures imposed on the actual terrorist units. The role of MIT professor of linguistics Noam Chomsky is key in this. Chomsky's involvement points to the next phase. Through an umbrella organization known as the United Committee for the Defense of the Puerto Rican Nationalists, Chomsky is able to organize "political support for terrorists, and use the whole gaggle of left-wing counter-gangs to create an environment whereby terrorism is accepted as an "inevitable," even "lawful" sociological phenomena. On Oct. 30, Chomsky and his networks held a demonstration in Washington, D.C. drawing roughly around 1,000 supporters of terror.

A few "political activists" are selected to become hard-core terrorists themselves. This involves an entire selection process starting at various "community control" schools and hospitals. In the case of the FALN, the Lincoln Detoxification Center — a methadone clinic in the South Bronx —, the Rafael Cancel Miranda alternative school, and the El Rincon methadone center in Chicago function as a pool through which addicts, drop-outs, and youth gangs are recruited to terrorism.

These centers, which are funded through the National Council of Churches, or the Hispanic Commission of the Episcopal Church of New York (which receives its money from the cited foundations), provide intensive "political education" programming around an independence-for-Puerto Rico belief structure to create the terrorists.

It was during the highly publicized Grand Jury investigation into the FALN that the Lincoln Detox connection was made explicit. Two former Young Lord leaders in New York City, David Perez and Vincent Alba, were arrested by New York police in August. Both Alba, a counselor at Lincoln Detox, and Perez were found with rifles and FALN literature in an apartment in the South Bronx. Their legal defense was taken up by the Center of Constitutional Rights and the National Lawyers Guild's special project "to stop grand jury abuse." The last Lincoln Detox counselor tried for terrorist activity was Carlos Feliciano, formerly head of the now defunct Puerto Rican Nationalist Party; his attorney was terrorist lawyer William Kunstler.

Intersecting the activities at Lincoln Detox is the organizing of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party in the U.S. The PSP, which is under the direct control of the Institute for Policy Studies, is central in running both the Puerto Rican and U.S. end of terrorism. Key individuals who had been in the PSP have been recycled into the various Puerto Rican organization directly involved in terror.

One key example is the case of Narciso Rabell. Rabell, formerly an organizer of the Movimiento Independista Revolucionario Armado (MIRA), a defunct terrorist organization and a former member of the PSP, is now the leader of the so-called Revolutionary Socialist Party of Puerto Rico. He came to the U.S. in Oct. 1974 to recruit for the FALN operations in the U.S. One of Rabell's closest compatriots is the individual arrested by New York police, David Perez. Perez was known to be attending special recruiting meetings for the FALN in the Greenwich Village area of New York City. Perez and Alba, one week after their release from prison, participated in a takeover of the Statue of Liberty as a political ploy designed to draw attention to the terrorists remaining in jail.

Direct IPS control over the PSP involves the combined activity of IPS staffer Roberta Salper, who used her position as editor of *Claridad*, the PSP newspaper, to establish the terror apparatus within the PSP, and Florencio Merced and Alberto Torres. This aspect of the terror operation is crucial from two standpoints. First, the PSP is officially recognized by Cuba, and serves as a key penetration point for IPS into Cuba where so-called "leftists" gain credibility as bona fide communists, and are then redeployed to carry out acts of terror with "cuban backing." Second, the whole plethora of Cuban exile networks operating on the island and in the U.S. can be stirred up to launch operations against the PSP and Cuba — the whole Northern Ireland "left"-"right" scenario.

EXCLUSIVE

Chomsky: We're Just For Human Rights

The following are excerpts from an interview with Massachusetts Institute of Technology Linguistics Professor Noam Chomsky concerning the U.S. Committee for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalists, of which Chomsky is a leading member.

Q: Historically, the nationalists have been known in Puerto Rico and the U.S. for their violence. Will that hurt the work of your committee?

A: Yes, I think it will. I've already gotten letters from people who have been quite active in civil liberties issues who have received copies (of the Committee letter) because we had expected that they would be interested in supporting this. One letter from a quite well-known leftist said that he thought this was a terrible thing to get involved in, because it amounted to support for terrorism, and in these days when terrorism is such a big problem, we shouldn't be supporting terrorism.

Q: Is this committee supporting the independence of Puerto Rico?

A: Well, that was a complicated problem. Actually, the members of the committee do support it individually, but

I think there was a decision not to bring the independence issue into this campaign but rather to separate it and just make this particular campaign relate just to sort of a human rights-type thing.

Q: Among the independence organization in Puerto Rico, do you have any personal leanings?

A: The only group that could get any support in the U.S. would be one that does not talk about armed struggle. I think that talk about armed struggle at this point would lose virtually all support in the United States.

Q: When there is talk about the violence of the nationalists, there is very little talk about the type of institutional violence...

A: Yeah, sure. Well that's always the case. When people talk about violence, they always mean something by the weak or the oppressed. They don't mean anything done by the strong or the powerful. That's standard.

A: Since this committee is going to talk about human rights, are they going to play up the institutional violence?

A: I think they should. I think they certainly should. I hope they will.

EXCLUSIVE

Pacifist: Terrorists Shouldn't Be In Jail

David McReynolds, head of the "pacifist" War Resisters League, is one of the organizers of the committee to Free the Nationalists. The following are excerpts from a recent interview on the Committee's activities.

Q: Do you look at the case of the nationalists as a case of human rights?

A: Yes, in our view it is a very clear case of them being political prisoners.

Q: The nationalists historically have been associated with violence, but you do not think that is the issue?

A: These people have served longer than if they had gone out and shot someone for the Mafia. They have served more than 20 years in prison. They should therefore be released.

Q: On the one hand you say that you are pacifists, but you are fighting to liberate people who not only committed crimes but who are now inspiring more violence. Isn't that a contradiction?

A: No — I think you may not understand what a pacifist is. The four people who are in jail are political prisoners. They are political prisoners because they will not sign the conditions of parole. We have had long experience with conditional parole. We understand why they will not sign those statements. They have served their time. They should be released. Whether they are violent or non-violent makes no difference.

'Political Prisoner': Next Time We Will Kill 25 Apiece

Andres Figueroa Cordero, one of the nationalists convicted of an armed assault on the U.S. House of Representatives in 1954, was released from federal prison during the first week of October. President Carter granted him a "humanitarian amnesty" when it was learned that Cordero was suffering from terminal cancer. Upon his arrival on the island, Cordero spoke from his wheelchair to a crowd of several thousand "independentistas," urging them to press forward with armed struggle to "liberate" Puerto Rico and win the release of the four nationalists still in jail. The following

is excerpted from a lengthy interview published in the October 14 issue of the PSP weekly *Claridad*.

Cordero: We were not well organized, ...otherwise we would have carried three grenades each, and buried at least 25 Congressmen apiece. A good guerrilla should always be prepared ahead of time.

Claridad: But weren't you satisfied with what you were able to do?

Cordero: Christ, no! As a matter of course, each guerrilla should kill at least 25, because we are a minority, and we made them tremble with fear. What would have happened? Well, they would have buried four (people), and we would have mopped up the Capitol. Of this, there is no doubt!

The Island Reign of Terror

A critical turning point in the political climate of Puerto Rico came with the November 1976 elections. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) was awarded a miserably low vote — a vote probably drastically reduced by fraud. In the same election, Romero Barcelo, candidate of the New Progressive Party, was elected governor of the island.

The PSP electoral campaign had been conducted on the basis of mass educational work and headed up by those PSP leaders closest to the island trade unions. When the rout at the polls went largely uncontested by the party leadership, the electoral organizing strategy was seriously discredited, and demoralization set in within the PSP rank and file. This provided a tremendous opportunity to the terrorist agents who have constituted a significant minority faction within the organization for some time.

Since the beginning of this year, the propaganda of the PSP has shifted strongly toward justification of terrorism and armed struggle in the pursuit of island independence. General Secretary Juan Mari Bras has sought to legitimize the violent acts of the FALN. Galliza has recently called for the armed struggle to begin. And the party newspaper, *Claridad*, has given prominent coverage to the nationalists' past attacks and printed in full the communiqué of the so-called "Labor Commandos" who claimed responsibility for the assassination of antiunion lawyer Alan Randall in September.

The key personnel pushing the party toward terrorism are those grouped around Ramon Arbona and Florencio Merced. They have succeeded not only in reorienting the party perspectives but in setting up the PSP-affiliated trade unions for destruction.

The murder of Randall was the signal for a fresh offensive against the labor unions, particularly the island

Teamsters since one of Randall's bitterest fights had been with the Teamsters union. One Teamster leader has already been killed — in apparent retaliation for the Randall killing — others have disappeared, and the union as a whole has been branded terrorist. The object is clearly to drive the island's militant labor movement completely into the arms of the terrorists, who have, predictably, leaped immediately to the unionists' defense.

The election of Barcelo established the complement to the terrorists in the PSP. Barcelo is committed to imposing on the Puerto Rican population the drastic austerity measures demanded by the island's New York creditors. Even before Barcelo began his campaign for food import cutbacks and other budget slashing steps, Puerto Rico's unemployment rate was officially higher than 20 percent, and half the population depended on food stamps. The spreading emiseration is a fertile ground for recruiting the desperate bodies needed to spark a self-feeding terror war across the island.

Barcelo's complicity extends beyond his loyal steps to service Puerto Rico's \$11 billion plus debt. He has been known for some time in Puerto Rico as an intimate of the "right-wing" terror apparatus in the Cuban exile community and extending into the island's official law enforcement agencies.

The initial training ground for these networks was the defense of military training (ROTC) at the University of Puerto Rico against "leftist" students, and the U.S. involvement in the war of Vietnam. Four main groups were used: the Association of Pro-Statehood Students (AUPE), Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), the University Anti-Communist Front (FAU), and the pro-statehood youth, Progressive Action (AP). Leaders of these groups are presently occupying high positions in the Puerto Rican Senate and House of Representatives in

behalf of Romero's ruling pro-statehood party, the PNP, including Sen. Oreste Ramos, Jr., and Edison Misla Aldarondo, and Rep. Jose Granados.

According to a confidential memorandum of the island's police dated July 6, 1972, leading individuals from the PNP, AP, and YAF were deployed during the first half of the 1970s to carry out terrorist actions and armed assaults against the property and key personnel of "leftist" organizations in the island. The police memo identified the following as active "terrorists": Jose Diaz Olmo (prominent member of the PNP and AP), Manuel J. Camacho, Papo Rivera (son of a prominent leader of the PNP and veteran of the Vietnam war), and Elias Torres Martinez (former agent of the Drugs and Narcotics Division in Puerto Rico.) These terrorists received their military training from circles within the police and the National Guard, and special agents of the FBI. According to reliable sources, these terrorists often met at the house of Ruben Acosta, a colonel of the National Guard — reportedly one of the key supplier of arms for terrorists training and actions. An example of how these operations are carried out is illustrated in Caguas, Puerto Rico. Here, the terrorist youth of the ruling PNP receive communication equipment and automatic weapons from the municipal police of Caguas, who get

the arms from the Civil Defense through an official transfer between the Air National Guard and the island Police.

The Cuban exile terrorist networks (controlled by the Buckley family) received their military training at "military academies" on the island, and almost all their members belong to Cuban exile terrorist organizations such as ABDALA, and the National Front for the Liberation of Cuba.

During the second half of the 1970s, particularly after Gov. Romero took power in 1977, the "right-wing" groups have been deployed as hit squads to assassinate "leftist" trade unionists and politicians. Even the semi-official daily of the PNP, *El Nuevo Dia*, acknowledged recently the formation of a death squad unit within the police. These death squad hit teams had taken credit publicly for the assassination of one top leader of the PSP and the Teamsters, and recently threatened to execute top leaders of the Puerto Rican labor movement, the PSP, and the FALN in retaliation for any further action of "leftist" terrorists. According to top labor leaders in the island, the police hit squad which allegedly killed a Teamster leader about two weeks ago is composed of four members of Gov. Romero's secret police, the Bureau of Criminal Investigations.

A Chronology of the Terror Wave

- Sept. 22 — The bullet-ridden body of Allan Randall, a prominent antilabor San Juan lawyer who gained fame for his specific targetting of the island branch of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, is located by police in the vicinity of San Juan. A new terrorist grouping calling itself the Puerto Rican "Labor Commandos" issues the first of a series of communiqués taking credit for the assassination.
- Sept. 23 — Juan Antonio Corretjer, head of Liga Socialista Puerto Rico, speaking before a thousand-strong independence rally in Lares, calls for the defense of the FALN and five members of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party imprisoned in the U.S. since 1954 for their armed attack on the U.S. Congress that same year. "We need to defend them on both Puerto Rican and imperialist soil. It's indispensable to create an apparatus especially for that purpose."
- Sept. 29 — Luis Enrique Pagan, president of the Puerto Rican branch of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, denounces a wave of police and FBI repression and harrassment of prominent island labor leaders in the wake of the Randall assassination. Pagan further charged that the leading Puerto Rican daily, *El Mundo*, had falsely linked several labor leaders to the Randall assassination with the intention of fomenting an atmosphere of violence and repression.
- Sept. 30 — Puerto Rican Socialist Party leader Juan Mari Bras condones the Randall assassination because Randall was a "CIA agent." Writing for the PSP weekly *Claridad*, Mari Bras also hails the 1971 assassins of two policemen as "heroes" and "revolutionary fighters."
- Oct. 3 — Island Governor Romero Barcelo, responding to the Randall killing, tells the international and local news media: "They have declared war against us. We are going to war (against the left)."
- Oct. 4 — Island daily *El Nuevo Dia* discloses the formation of a right-wing death-squad within the Puerto Rican Police Department. The PSP weekly *Claridad* further reveals information from within the police detailing right-wing terrorist "gangs" will be activated "in the coming days" for acts of violence against pro-independence forces.
- Oct. 7 — Convicted "nationalist" terrorist Cordero is released from a U.S. prison.
- Oct. 12 — Ruben Berrios, president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, tells a group of UPI correspondents in San Juan that any attempt to turn Puerto Rico into a state will "unleash a wave of violence not only in Puerto Rico but in the U.S."
- Oct. 15 — Puerto Rican Bar Association discloses the findings of three-month-old investigation into the disappearance of long-time "nationalist" hero Pinto

Gandia. According to the final findings, the body of Gandia is believed to be buried in the San Juan Cemetery, presumably victim of a right-wing terrorist execution.

Oct. 22 — Puerto Rico's "Labor Commandos" issue a communiqué saying that the manhunt for their apprehension is useless: "The action was carried out in a professional and efficient form, without leaving any trace."

Oct. 23 — Teamster local leader Juan Rafael Caraballo is reported missing by relatives. Caraballo, according to the island press, had been briefly detained one day prior to his disappearance by the island's secret police. His detention, according to the same sources, was related to the killing of Allan Randall.

Oct. 24 — Teamster national leader Pagan warns that unless Caraballo reappears, dead or alive, there will be a general strike.

Oct. 26 — Doctors identify body of Juan Caraballo, found in the vicinity of San Juan Oct. 26 with several bullets in the head. According to police sources, the execution of Caraballo was similar to that of Randall. Labor leaders blame police for Caraballo's murder. They demand an explanation by police.

Hernan Padilla, mayor of San Juan, says crime and violence have instilled fear in the Puerto Rican population, who are living as if they were "in a state of war... People in this country have had to bar their houses, because there is no security anywhere, not even inside our own homes."

Oct. 27 — Teamster national leader Pagan calls on the Puerto Rican labor movement to "cover the earth with the blood of the gorillas" (fascists —ed.)

Island police sources disclose that they have identified the Randall assassin, who they say is closely linked to the island's labor movement.

The Labor Committee Against Repression, a newly formed coalition of labor and "left" leaders, accuses four members of Governor Barcelo's secret police, the Bureau of Criminal Investigations, of having murdered Caraballo. Named are Alejo Maldonado, chief of the NIC in the residential town of Caguas; Angel Torres, chief of NIC Division of Homicide in

the San Juan Metropolitan Area, and Julio Andrade, also of the NIC.

Oct. 28 — Deputy Police Superintendent Desiderio Cartagena discloses that the "Labor Commandos" have threatened to "execute" the four alleged assassins of Caraballo.

Oct. 29 — PSP-affiliated labor leader Pedro Grant denounces a "conspiracy" to kill him and three other labor leaders. Grant revealed that on the morning of Oct. 28, he had received two anonymous calls warning him that "you will be next," AP reports.

Puerto Rican police forces are placed in a "state of alert" following threats of "police executions" by the Labor Commandos.

Oct. 30 — PSP Deputy Secretary General Carlos Galliza calls for "armed struggle" to liberate Puerto Rico in a keynote speech at a rally to commemorate the 1950 Jayuga "nationalist" uprising.

Oct. 31 — A letter is mailed to Vicente Alba and New York Police Commissioner Michael Codd by the United Puerto Rican Front (Pro-Statehood). The letter warns Alba that beginning Dec. 1 of this year, the Front will begin retaliatory assassinations and bombings against members of the FALN in New York and of the PSP in Puerto Rico. The Cuban Ambassador to the United Nations, Ricardo Alarcon, is also mentioned as being "on the top of the list."

Nov. 1 — Three Teamster leaders are subpoenaed to appear before a Puerto Rican Grand Jury in connection with the Randall and Caraballo investigation. According to the island press, the leaders, who have refused to comply, will be held in contempt of court if they do not appear.

Nov. 3 — The PSP weekly *Claridad* publishes in full a communiqué signed by the Labor Commandos, announcing further violent actions and executions, and the continuation of their armed struggle. The commandoes also implicitly warn that anybody who denounces terrorism within the labor movement or the left on the island will be subject to assassination. It concludes that their struggle will not only include physical violence but psychological violence — "the war of nerves" — against the enemy.

— Paul Goldstein, Ivan Gutierrez

— Daniel Méndez Taylor, Fernando Oliver