

EPILOGUE

On December 11, 1964, shortly before Pedro Albizu Campos's death, Ernesto "Che" Guevara spoke before the United Nations General Assembly on his behalf. He said, "Albizu Campos is a symbol of the as yet unfree but indomitable Latin America. Years and years of prison, almost unbearable pressures in jail, mental torture, solitude, total isolation from his people and his family, the insolence of the conqueror and its lackeys in the land of his birth—nothing broke his will."¹

Albizu Campos died on April 21, 1965. His family received hundreds of telegrams, cables, and letters from around the world. Both the Senate and House of Representatives of Puerto Rico commemorated him, and the Venezuelan parliament observed five minutes of silence in his memory. Government officials, journalists, and friends from every country in Latin America arrived to attend the funeral services. For three days before Albizu's burial on April 25, over 100,000 people passed his open casket, and 75,000 black mourning ribbons were distributed throughout the island.²



The life, torture, and death of Albizu Campos were the direct, nearly inevitable result of American foreign policy and an ongoing flaw in the American character. The broken body of Albizu throws a spotlight on the fault lines that run through our national psyche.

These fault lines had long been apparent. Centuries of slavery and Native American genocide contradicted the bromide "All men are

created equal." After the annexation of most of Mexico's territory, President Theodore Roosevelt baldly declared, "It was inevitable and in the highest degree desirable, for the good of humanity at large, that Americans ultimately crowd out the Mexicans. It was out of the question to expect Texans to submit to the mastery of the weaker race."³ Applying this "weaker race" philosophy to Latin America, Roosevelt added, "It is Manifest Destiny for a nation to own the islands which border its shores. . . . [I]f any South American country misbehaves it should be spanked."⁴

Much like the British imperial doctrine of the white man's burden, the American notion of a Manifest Destiny rested on a belief in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race and its right to rule the Western Hemisphere. President William Howard Taft candidly proclaimed this right in 1912: "The whole hemisphere will be ours in fact as, by virtue of our superiority of race, it already is ours morally."⁵ This theme of racial superiority reached ludicrous heights on the floor of the US Senate, in April 1900, when a legislator warned that Puerto Ricans were savages "hostile to Christianity," "incapable of self-government," and "addicted to head-hunting and cannibalism."⁶ As late as 1940, *Scribner's Commentator* stated, "All Puerto Ricans are totally lacking in moral values, which is why none of them seem to mind wallowing in the most abject moral degradation." Naturally, this US moral superiority served as a prelude to plunder.

In 1912 the Cayumel Banana Company (a US corporation) orchestrated the military invasion of Honduras to obtain hundreds of thousands of acres of Honduran land and tax-free export of its entire banana crop. By 1928 the United Fruit Company (also a US corporation) owned over 200,000 acres of prime Colombian farmland. In December of that year, its officials savagely ended a labor strike in what became known as the Banana Massacre, resulting in the deaths of 1,000 men, women, and children. By 1930 United Fruit owned over 1 million acres of land in Guatemala, Honduras, Colombia, Panama, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Cuba. By 1940, United Fruit owned 50 percent of all private land in Honduras. By 1942, it owned 75 percent of all private land in Guatemala, plus most of Guatemala's roads, power stations, and phone lines, the only Pacific seaport, and every mile of

railroad. By 1950, US banks owned over half the arable land in Puerto Rico, plus the insular postal system, the entire coastal railroad, and San Juan's international seaport. The Pentagon controlled another 13 percent of the island.



Throughout the twentieth century, the US installed authoritarian regimes devoted to US interests and supported by local armed forces. Being a “good neighbor,” in fact, meant supporting dictators: Rafael Leónidas Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, Juan Vicente Gómez in Venezuela, Jorge Ubico in Guatemala, Tiburcio Carias in Honduras, Fulgencio Batista in Cuba, Augusto Pinochet in Chile, and the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua. The US government financed all these regimes, providing military support whenever necessary. Any dissent or discussion of national sovereignty was viewed as “rebellion” and crushed bloodily—not for “democracy” or “civilization” but for the benefit of vested interests.

General Smedley Butler confirmed this with shocking clarity and detail in his 1935 article “I Was a Gangster for Capitalism”: “I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909–1912. I helped make Mexico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916.”⁷

American exceptionalism—the sense of racial superiority and national destiny—psychically undergirded this international plunder. In the case of Puerto Rico, the very first civilian governor, Charles Herbert Allen, saw the opportunities for immediate exploitation: “With American capital and American energies, the labor of the natives can be utilized to the lasting benefit of all parties. . . . [T]he introduction of fresh blood is needed.”⁸ With justification granted by Manifest Destiny, Allen resigned his governorship and assumed control over the entire Puerto Rican economy through a company that eventually became known as Domino Sugar.

Exceptionalism worked well for Allen, US investment bankers, and other members of the American elite. Ironically, though the vested

interests remain to this day, the exceptionalism proved a myth. In 2007, China became the world's top exporter. As of 2010 it is the world's leading manufacturer and the greatest producer of patents. In 2012 it unveiled the world's most powerful computer and also became the world's primary source of global trade. Also in 2012, for the second time in a row, Chinese school children led the world in the Program for International Student Assessment scores for reading, math, and science. South Korea and Japan ranked second and third. The United States came in thirty-sixth, behind Vietnam, Taiwan, New Zealand, the Slovak Republic, and nearly every country in eastern and western Europe. The American Century had ended—with a whimper rather than a bang.

Albizu Campos understood the fraudulence of American exceptionalism. As the first Puerto Rican to attend Harvard College and Harvard Law School, he witnessed power and privilege in its nascent stages and willingly forewent its suasions—rejecting judgeships, corporate sinecures, and outright bribes and devoting himself obsessively and single-mindedly to the cause of Puerto Rican independence.

He was rewarded with twenty-five years in prison. His family received constant death threats. His homes were attacked in Ponce, Aguas Buenas, and San Juan. His law license was revoked. His neighbors were investigated. His phone was tapped. His mail was intercepted. FBI vehicles parked outside his house, and dozens of FBI agents followed him seven days a week all over the island. Public Law 53 (the Gag Law) was passed specifically to thwart him—to eliminate his freedom of speech. Finally, strong evidence indicates that after being condemned to life imprisonment, Albizu was irradiated until a stroke paralyzed half of his body and left him unable to speak. His only crime was to remind the American republic of its own founding principles: that every man is created equal and that government requires the consent of the governed.

The story of Albizu Campos is the story of Puerto Rico. It is also the story of empire. It starts a hundred years ago, when America was a rising power, and continues to this day. The theologian Reinhold Niebuhr once wrote, "One of the most pathetic aspects of human history is that every civilization expresses itself most pretentiously, compounds its partial and universal values most convincingly, and claims immortality for its finite existence, at the very moment when the decay which leads to

death has already begun.”⁹ Albizu Campos understood this. He tried to warn the world and to save a tiny island from the ensuing chaos.

FIFTY YEARS OF CHAOS

Following Albizu’s death, the next fifty years saw a descent into the maelstrom—a downward spiral of chaos and corruption that turned the island into a punch-drunk fighter, unsure of its whereabouts, wobbling on its feet, pawing at empty air. Even its leadership is seeing triple and trying to “hit the one in the middle.” A corporate red carpet stretches from San Juan to Wall Street. Every year, a new wave of entrepreneurs (aka carpetbaggers) rolls in from El Norte with fast-money schemes disguised as “economic development projects.” For fifty years, this charade has drained the island’s economy and, more tragically, its spirit.

The Caribe Hilton Hotel provides an early example of this predatory capitalism, disguised as “economic aid” to Puerto Rico. Through the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company (PRIDCO), Governor Luis Muñoz Marín built the three-hundred-room complex at a cost of \$7 million (\$69 million in current dollars), then handed the entire resort—the building, casino and swimming pools—to Conrad Hilton on a twenty-year lease.¹⁰ One year after the hotel opened, in 1950, the people of Puerto Rico and even Congressman Vito Marcantonio (D-NY) were still waiting for the governor to disclose the terms of that lease. The congressman called it a part of the governor’s “Operation Booby Trap” economic plan for the island.¹¹

Everything used in the hotel, including the furniture and even the sugar, was purchased and flown in from the United States. Nearly every management employee was from the American mainland. PRIDCO paid half of the hotel’s advertising costs (\$150,000 in 1950), but all the hotel profits (except a slush fund for local politicians) were repatriated to the Hilton International Corporation. Nothing was reinvested in the island.¹² Puerto Ricans have a phrase for this: “Monda la china pa’quel otro la chupe” (Peel the orange so that someone else can suck it).

This glaring abuse of Puerto Rican land, taxes, and labor was repeated throughout the entire island during “Operation Bootstrap.” By 1965 over 1,000 “bootstrap” factories dotted the island, lured by cheap

labor and ten-year corporate tax exemptions. Instead of growing fruit, coffee, and sugar cane, Puerto Ricans now manufactured bras and razors behind concrete walls. Unfortunately, once Playtex and Schick found cheaper labor in Asia, the factories all disappeared. In the end, rather than providing a real economic base and self-sustaining growth, Operation Bootstrap produced only more dependency on the United States and more unemployment.¹³

In 1965, Congress created special tax exemptions for the petrochemical industry, and Phillips Petroleum, Union Carbide, and Sun Oil rushed down to build facilities on the island. When the OPEC oil embargo hit in 1973, they canceled all plans and shut down their Puerto Rican operations.¹⁴

In 1976, Congress passed 26 US Code § 936, a tax credit for businesses operating in Puerto Rico, commonly known on the island as “La 936.” As a result, a pharmaceutical industry exploded on the island: Johnson & Johnson saved \$1 billion in federal taxes between 1980 and 1990; Smith-Kline Beecham saved \$987 million; Merck & Co., \$749 million; Bristol-Myers Squibb, \$627 million. Puerto Rico became the offshore tax haven for the entire US drug industry and the world’s largest producer of pharmaceuticals, accounting for nearly 25 percent of total shipments. All of this ended in 2006 when Congress eliminated the tax credit, and 100,000 Puerto Ricans were rapidly unemployed.¹⁵

A 6 percent economic growth rate in the 1950s slowed to 5 percent in the 1960s, 4 percent in the 1970s, and 0 percent in the 1980s. From 1972 to 1986, the number of Puerto Ricans employed in manufacturing dropped by 2,000, and the government payroll rose by 49,000. In 2015, the unemployment rate is over 15 percent, and the government is teetering on bankruptcy.¹⁶ Operation Bootstrap, with its corporate giveaways and trickle-down economics, was a complete failure in Puerto Rico.¹⁷

In all of this chaos, there clearly is no “economic development plan” for Puerto Rico—just a series of tax shelters for well-connected corporations. As noted by historian and journalist Eduardo Galeano, this pattern is common throughout Latin America: “There are always politicians and technocrats ready to show that the invasion of ‘industrializing’ foreign capital benefits the area invaded. In this version, the new-model imperialism comes on a genuinely civilizing mission, as a blessing to the

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dominated countries . . . [but] it spreads poverty even more widely and concentrates wealth even more narrowly. . . . [I]t assumes proprietary rights." With great wisdom, Galeano concluded, "Aid' works like the philanthropist who put a wooden leg on his piglet because he was eating it bit by bit."¹⁸

For several decades the piglet fought back. In 1954, Lolita Lebrón and two Nationalists opened fire on the US House floor, wounding five congressmen. In 1971 the Hilton Hotel, a Selective Services center, and a GE office building were all bombed in San Juan. A revolutionary group called Los Macheteros stole \$7.1 million from a West Hartford, Connecticut, branch of Wells Fargo on September 12, 1983, the anniversary of Pedro Albizu Campos's birthdate.¹⁹

CHAOS THEORY

Today, fifty years after Albizu's death, the piglet is tired, and the chaos is full-blown. Unemployment (15.4 percent) is higher than anywhere in the United States,²⁰ and the poverty rate (45 percent) is nearly twice that of Mississippi, the poorest state in the Union.²¹ The per capita income of \$15,200 is barely over one-third (36 percent) of US per capita income.²²

In 2006, the government shut down for two weeks because it lacked the cash to meet expenses. Since 2010, the island has eliminated 33,000 government jobs, rolled back pensions, raised the retirement age, hiked university tuitions, and increased sales and business taxes. Utility rates are now 300 percent higher than the US average. Throughout San Juan and in smaller cities, shuttered houses and empty storefronts line the streets.²³

Puerto Rico owes \$70 billion in public debt and \$13 billion in unfunded pension liabilities, totaling over \$22,000 for every man, woman, and child on the island. This debt is more than that of New York City and nearly four times that of Detroit. On February 4, 2014, Standard & Poor's (S&P) lowered Puerto Rico's credit rating to junk bond status, and Moody's Investor Service lowered it to "Ba2," one step lower than the S&P score.²⁴

The turmoil doesn't end there. The crime rate has soared, with a per capita murder rate six times (600 percent) higher than that of the

United States. In 2011, Puerto Rico broke its own record, with 1,136 homicides—putting it on par with civil war zones like Congo and Sudan. Of these murders, 70 percent are drug-related, and 80 percent of those drugs flow into the US mainland.²⁵ Just as in El Norte, the most accessible career for many young Puerto Ricans is to sell drugs, get shot, go to jail, and become a *reggaetón* rap artist. The entire island has become that cynical.

The police aren't helping much. In 2001, one of the largest police corruption cases in US history saw twenty-eight police officers arrested for drug dealing, protecting cocaine dealers, and transporting drugs through and off the island.²⁶ Between 2005 and 2010, over 1,700 Puerto Rico Police Department (PRPD) officers were arrested on charges ranging from theft and assault to drug trafficking and murder.²⁷ In 2011 the Department of Justice issued a report citing “the staggering level of crime and corruption involving PRPD officers,” including drug dealing, gun running, and murder.²⁸ A 2012 American Civil Liberties Union investigation determined that the PRPD is “a dysfunctional and recalcitrant police department that has run amok for years.”²⁹

People are fleeing the island. In 2011 alone, it lost a net 54,000 residents, or nearly 1.5 percent of its population. In both 2012 and 2013, it lost another 1 percent. Puerto Ricans are pouring into Florida, New York, and Texas to escape the gunfire tearing through their homeland. More than 5 million now live in the mainland United States—over 2 million of them in New York and Florida alone. Puerto Rico is on pace to lose 40 percent of its population by 2050.³⁰ They're leaving because the Puerto Rico they once knew is gone.

Is there a solution to all this? Of course. But the complicated ones rarely work. Those that have been tried include corporate tax subsidies to giant pharmaceutical companies, a fraudulent war on drugs, government subsidies, austerity programs, and real estate speculation. These “solutions” breed government fraud, police corruption, absentee ownership, junk bonds, media spin, and rampant hotels, shopping malls, and parking lots.

The answer may be much simpler. It starts with an honest self-appraisal. It acknowledges the eviction of an entire people—literally and systematically—from their own land. It recognizes that predatory

economics is a raging parasite that will destroy its host. It sees that Puerto Rico is a harbinger of cultural and political consequences that are imminent, global, and unavoidable.

Too many people have been converted into debtors, renters, consumers, gullible voters, abused taxpayers, ill-paid laborers, and passive audiences, all for the benefit of a privileged few. The notion of floating an American way of life at the expense of the entire planet is no longer sustainable—particularly when that life consists of little more than Black Fridays, widescreen TVs, Internet chat rooms, comic book films, and corporate and political fraud.

A positive future for Puerto Rico and other comparable republics will require less greed and more humility. Across the social order, from the 1 percent to the 99 percent, we might listen a little more to our artists and less to our corporations. Here is a good place to start:

*They paved paradise
And put up a parking lot
With a pink hotel, a boutique
And a swinging hot spot*

*Don't it always seem to go
That you don't know what you've got
'Til it's gone*

*They paved paradise
And put up a parking lot
They paved paradise
And put up a parking lot*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

“A heterogenous mass of mongrels.”

“Savages addicted to head-hunting and cannibalism.”

This was the early view of Puerto Ricans, as expressed on the floor of the US Senate. It has been a long road from that perception to the publication of this book.

I am deeply indebted to the Nationalists who risked their lives and livelihood in defense of a human principle called freedom. They took further risks by confiding in me. This book would have been impossible without them.

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Finally I thank Harvard, Yale, and the New York State Legislature for teaching me, through many painful lessons, that established truths are often a convenient narrative and nothing more.

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

The voices in this book remained unheard for a hundred years. The events were hidden, misrepresented, or ignored. The major participants are dead. This book has a responsibility to represent people and events fairly and accurately, for the first time, after a century of official suppression and neglect.

I used over 6,000 public records, many of them obtained under the US Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), from agencies including the FBI, the CIA, the Puerto Rico Insular Police, the Puerto Rico Department of Public Instruction, the Puerto Rico Department of Labor, the US Department of Justice, the US Department of Defense, the Office of Naval Intelligence, federal courts, public hospitals, morgues, and police precincts. These documents served two critical roles. They confirmed, in great detail, the events related to me by dozens of Puerto Rican Nationalists. They also revealed the means by which government corruption and indifference can erase from the public record the experiences of a colonized people.

Throughout the book, the thoughts of individuals were not divined—they were ascertained through diaries, personal correspondence, autobiographies, monographs, and interviews. The interviewees included the direct participants themselves, as well as observers, family members, friends, and on-the-scene reporters. In several key areas those interviews were longitudinal: I repeated them for years and, in some cases, over several decades. Whenever I sought to grasp, retrospectively, a person's thinking at a given moment, or when I sought to retrace the

complexity of someone's views, the interviewing, document review, and fact-checking intensified before any paraphrase was employed.

The prison conversations were relayed by several Nationalists, by inmates from La Princesa and El Oso Blanco prisons, and by survivors from the Aguadilla safe house (near Ramey Air Force Base). One medical assistant from the Aguadilla safe house was especially specific with regard to Captain Rolf, Dr. Hebb, and their sessions with Vidal Santiago Díaz.

Customers, barbers, and several members of the 65th Infantry Regiment (the Borinqueneers) who frequented the shop reported the conversations in Salón Boricua. WIAC journalists Miguel Ángel Álvarez and Luis "El Bibí" Marrero described to me events and discussions at the battle of Salón Boricua; both men were present at the scene throughout the entire battle and reported it live via radio.

Borinqueneers and other customers confirmed the events in the Club with No Name. Three Borinqueneers who served under Waller Booth in Operation Portrex heard the details about his Camp X training and World War II experiences behind enemy lines. They were kind enough to share these details with me.

The information about Luis Muñoz Marín's early years in New York (about Collegiate, Georgie Yee's, Greenwich Village, and Joe Gould) stems from several Cuban Socialists who lived with Muñoz Marín on Thirty-Ninth Street and Broadway, knew Joe Gould, lent money to both of them, and grew tired of buying them drinks.

My mother, Sarah Rabassa, and my maternal grandmother, Salome Rodriguez, both attended Central Grammar School and reported to me the conditions and classroom events at the school. Chief Justice José Trías Monge confirmed island-wide conditions in *Puerto Rico: The Trials of the Oldest Colony in the World*.

Julio Feliciano Colón was a sugarcane cutter (*machetero*) in Santa Isabel for forty years. He supported his mother and younger brother, then his own wife and children, with two worn hands and a crooked spine. I met him in Santa Isabel, where he recounted a lifetime of struggle, dreams, and despair. As a Cadet of the Republic he was present at the Ponce Massacre on Palm Sunday, March 21, 1937.

Juan Emilio Viguíé related to me his experiences and conversations after a screening of his film *Vecinos (Neighbors)*, a propaganda film sponsored by the Puerto Rico Department of Education. In a private home before a small, invited audience, of which I was member, Viguíé screened both versions of that film (Governor Muñoz Marín had censored the original, deeming it “Communistic”), as well as his Ponce Massacre film and footage from the battle of Salón Boricua. Viguíé also discussed the repressive climate in the aftermath of the Ponce Massacre, the prevailing sense of terror throughout the island, the visit of Pedro Rodríguez-Serra from the district attorney’s office, and the making of *The Life of General Villa*. A subsequent interview with his son, Juan Emilio Viguíé Jr., confirmed all of these events. A meeting with actor Juano Hernández additionally confirmed the discussions and events relating to *The Life of General Villa*.

Interviews with dozens of Nationalists over a period of forty years have substantiated the research in this book. These individuals had all lived in a world where selfishness was a great asset, a world owned by strangers and governed by corruption, a world so threatening and capricious that to tell the truth was to risk one’s livelihood, one’s freedom, and sometimes one’s life. It took a long time (in some cases years) to earn their trust, but it was worth every moment. I extend to them my deepest appreciation and respect. Their testimony was consistent with the historical record—yet subtler, more granular, more detailed. Their personal recollections—with respect to the Ponce Massacre, the Río Piedras Massacre, the trial of Albizu Campos, the Gag Law arrests, the 1934 sugar cane strike, the police terror of Governor Blanton Winship, the haplessness of Moncho Reyes, and the conditions at La Princesa and El Oso Blanco prisons—all closely parallel the newspaper accounts, congressional testimony, and FBI files from 1930 to 1965.

In addition, the sheer volume of people who disappeared (*los desaparecidos*) throughout the island, the murder of seventeen unarmed Puerto Ricans in broad daylight during the Ponce Massacre of 1937, the bombing of Jayuya and Utuado by the US Air Force, the machine-gun execution of four men in Utuado, the mass arrest of 3,000 US citizens without evidence or probable cause, and the 100,000 secret and

illegal *carpetas* all affirm the experiences related by these brave men and women, who fought a lonely battle against the most powerful empire in history.

During every interview, I saw a melancholy in the eyes of these Nationalists. They reminded me of something my grandmother once told me: "Puerto Rican eyes are all dark, with lots of yesterdays in them."

NOTES

CHAPTER I: LA PRINCESA

1. The personal sources for this chapter were five Nationalist prisoners from La Princesa. These five were tried, convicted, and incarcerated at the same time as Albizu Campos. Nearly 400 more Nationalist prisoners accompanied them to La Princesa, and 350 inmates had to be moved in order to accommodate this tidal wave of Nationalists.

The five Nationalists provided testimony during repeated interviews conducted longitudinally over the course of forty years, from 1974 to 2014. The same interview pattern was followed with Nationalist prisoners from El Oso Blanco penitentiary and from a safe house near the Ramey Air Force Base in Aguadilla.

Some of these prisoners lived into the twenty-first century; few lived until 2014. I compared and cross-referenced all of the interview information from every Nationalist for chronology, consistency, and accuracy. As the years progressed their testimony held up: no vagueness and very few inconsistencies emerged. In addition, their testimony correlated strongly with the press accounts of the era and with the many boxes of FBI reports.

2. Eventually, an official record of the conditions at La Princesa was finally written. On February 18, 1976, the US District Court for the District of Puerto Rico found that La Princesa was operating in violation of the US Constitution. After a hearing on the merits and an inspection of the prison, the district court entered a twenty-paragraph order concerning the administration of La Princesa and ordered that the defendants cease using the jail as a correctional institution as of August 1, 1976. *Martinez Rodriguez v. Jimenez*, 409 F.Supp. 582 (1976).

Specifically, the court found that La Princesa was operating at 240 to 347 percent of capacity (par. 17), that at least 22 inmates were without beds, and that 130 to 163 inmates were sleeping on the floor. Prisoners were not issued a toothbrush, soap, towel,

comb, brush, or underwear (par. 12, 28). The court found that “the quality of incarceration at La Princesa is punishment of such a nature and degree that it cannot be justified by the Commonwealth’s interest in holding defendants for trial, and therefore it violates the due process clause of the Fifth or the Fourteenth Amendment” (par. 7).

The conditions faced by Albizu Campos and the Nationalist prisoners had been much worse. La Princesa operated twice as many dungeons in 1950. It conducted medical experiments on the inmates and subjected the Nationalists to physical and psychological torture that will be discussed (and documented) throughout this book.

3. The Insular Police, as it was called in the first half of the twentieth century, is the island-wide Puerto Rico Police Department, known today as the PRPD.

4. For additional information regarding the Nationalist prisoners at La Princesa and the brutal treatment they received, see Heriberto Marín Torres, *Eran Ellos* (Río Piedras, PR: Ediciones Ciba, 2000). See also Letter to David Helfeld, Esq., Counsel to Human Rights Commission, “Information on Discrimination and Persecution for Political Purposes,” 1989, 49, as cited in Marisa Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos: Las Llamas de la Aurora*, 5th ed. (San Juan: Ediciones Puerto, 2008), 364.

For information regarding the treatment of female prisoners in La Princesa, the Arecibo presidio, and the Alderson Federal Prison Camp in West Virginia, see Margaret Pour, “Puerto Rican Women Nationalists vs. US Colonialism: An Exploration of Their Conditions and Struggles in Jail and Court,” *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 87, no. 2 (2012): 463–479. The article includes reports of radiation experienced by the women at La Princesa, which is also discussed in a memoir written by the wife of Albizu Campos. See Laura Meneses de Albizu Campos, *Albizu Campos y la Independencia de Puerto Rico* (Hato Rey, PR: Publicaciones Puertorriqueñas, 2007), 126–128.

For information regarding the arrest and imprisonment of Puerto Rican university students, see Ruth Mary Reynolds, *Campus in Bondage* (New York: Research Foundation of the City of New York, 1989). See also the Ruth Reynolds Papers in the Archives of the Puerto Rican Diaspora, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, CUNY.

5. Albizu Campos was consulted to draft what would ultimately become the constitution of the Irish Free State. See Aoife Rivera Serrano, *Ireland and Puerto Rico: The Untold Story* (New York: Ausubo Press, 2012). In an interview, Ms. Rivera Serrano stated that Albizu’s battle against US colonialism was “entirely modeled on the Irish struggle against Britain.” See William Cadiz, “Ausubo Press Will Publish Ireland and Puerto Rico: The Untold Story,” PR Web, September 23, 2009. See also Federico Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos: Puerto Rican Revolutionary* (New York: Plus Ultra Publishers, 1971), 22–23; Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos*, 70–72.

CHAPTER 2: FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF SOLITUDE

1. El Yunque National Forest, US Forest Service, US Department of Agriculture, site maintained at <http://www.fs.usda.gov/elyunque>. See also Víctor Manuel Nieves, *El Yunque* (Guaynabo, PR: Impressive Publications, 2010); Alan Mowbray Jr., *The*

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Animals of El Yunque (Charleston, SC: Create Space, 2012); Zain Deane, *San Juan, Vieques and Culebra* (Woodstock, VT: Countryman Press, 2011), 154.

2. Kassim Bacchus, *Utilization, Misuse and Development of Human Resources in the Early West Indian Colonies* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2000), 6–7. See also Kari Lydersen, “Dental Studies Give Clues About Christopher Columbus’s Crew,” *Washington Post*, May 18, 2009.

3. Irving Rouse, *The Tainos: The Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 150–161.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Olga Jimenez de Wagenheim, *Puerto Rico’s Revolt for Independence: El Grito de Lares* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publications, 1993).

6. Manuel Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico: A Socio-historic Interpretation* (New York: Random House, 1972), 48–49. See also Pedro Albizu Campos, *La Conciencia Nacional Puertorriqueña*, ed. Manuel Maldonado-Denis (Cerro del Agua, Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1972), 14, 59.

7. Declared by US Congress on April 25, 1898, the Spanish-American War lasted until August 12 of that same year. When the Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10, 1898, it formalized Cuban independence from Spain and ceded the Spanish territories of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands to the United States. Héctor Andrés Negroni, *Historia Militar de Puerto Rico* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenaria, 1992). See also Ángel Rivero Méndez, *Crónica de la Guerra Hispanoamericana en Puerto Rico* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1922), 59–106; “Chronology of Puerto Rico in the Spanish-American War,” in *The World of 1898: The Spanish-American War*, Hispanic Division, US Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/chronpr.html>; Edwin J. Emerson Jr., “Alone in Porto Rico,” *Century Magazine* 56, no. 5 (September 1898): 668–669 (an extremely vivid account of the aftermath of the bombardment of San Juan).

8. “Our Flag Raised in Puerto Rico,” *New York Times*, July 27, 1898.

9. Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico*, 57–58. See also Thomas Aitken Jr., *Poet in the Fortress* (New York: New American Library, 1993), 35.

10. Charles F. Redmond, *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884–1918* (New York: Scribner’s, 1925), 1:299.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *New York Journal of Commerce*, May 11, 1898.

13. Amos K. Fiske, *New York Times*, July 11, 1898, 6.

14. Carl Sandburg, *Always the Young Strangers* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1953), 403.

15. *New York Times*, July 4, 1898, 4.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico*, 56.

18. “Diary of the War,” *Harper’s Weekly*, July 30, 1898, 754.

19. *Speech of Hon. J. B. Foraker of Ohio in the Senate of the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900), 6.

20. Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 297–301. See also Howard K. Beale, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1984).

21. Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico*, 67–70. See also Walter La Feber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1963), viii, 91, 110.

22. Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico*, 61.

23. Méndez, *Crónica de la Guerra Hispanoamericana en Puerto Rico*, 16.

24. S. S. Harvey, "Americanizing Puerto Rico," *New York Times*, February 22, 1899.

25. Charles E. Hewitt Jr., "Welcome Paupers and Crime: Puerto Rico's Shocking Gift to the US," *Scribner's Commentator* 7–8 (March 1940): 11.

26. Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer, *New York Confidential: The Low-Down on the Big Town* (Chicago: Ziff Davis, 1948), 126.

27. *Congressional Record*, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., April 2, 1900, 3612.

28. Journalist Juan Gonzalez provides an eclectic review of the "incompetent Latino" stereotype: "Whenever conflict erupted with a recalcitrant nationalist leader, the foreign companies simply called on Washington to intervene. The pretext was usually to save U.S. citizens or to prevent anarchy near our borders. To justify those interventions, our diplomats told people back home the Latin Americans were incapable of responsible government.

"Journalists, novelists, and film producers reinforced that message. They fashioned and perpetuated the image of El Jefe, the swarthy, ruthless dictator with slick black hair, broken-English accent, dark sunglasses, and sadistic personality, who ruled by fiat over a banana republic. Yet even as they propagated that image, our bankers and politicians kept peddling unsound loans at usurious rates to those very dictators." Juan Gonzalez, *Harvest of Empire: A History of Latinos in America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 59.

CHAPTER 3: OUR CHILDREN SPEAK ENGLISH AND SPANISH

1. A recollection of Central Grammar School appears in Jesus Colón's *A Puerto Rican in New York and Other Sketches* (New York: International Publishers, 1982). Chief Justice José Trías Monge detailed island-wide educational conditions in his book *Puerto Rico: The Trials of the Oldest Colony in the World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997) and in his Spanish-language memoir *Como Fue: Memorias* (San Juan: Editorial Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2005).

2. The school conditions, classroom events, English and math lessons, and classroom discussions in this chapter were reported by my mother, Sarah Rabassa, and maternal grandmother, Salome Rodriguez, both of whom attended the Central Grammar School. My traditional research supports their testimony.

3. *American Progress*, painted by John Gast in 1872, captured the prevailing view of Americans at the time. Dubbed "Spirit of the Frontier" and widely sold, the painting portrayed settlers moving west—guided and protected by the goddess-like figure of

Columbia and aided by technology (railways, telegraphs), driving bison and Native Americans into obscurity. Note that the angel is bringing "light" to the continent. It emanates from the eastern side of the painting as she travels toward the "darkened" west.

4. M. Annette Jaimes and Ward Churchill, "Behind the Rhetoric: English-Only as Counterinsurgency Warfare," *Issues in Radical Therapy: New Studies on the Left* 13, nos. 1-2 (spring-summer 1989). See also Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Penguin Books, 1996).

5. Manuel Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico: A Socio-historic Interpretation* (New York: Random House, 1972), 60-61.

6. Cayetano Coll y Cuchí's article "Ireland in America?" first appeared in Spanish in *Repertorio Americano*, a Costa Rican political weekly, on March 27 and April 3, 1922; it later appeared in English translation under the title "American Rule in Puerto Rico," in *Living Age* 27 (1922): 262-266.

7. Pedro Salinas, *Aprecio y Defensa del Lenguaje* (San Juan: Editorial Universitaria, 1974), 40-78. See also Solsiree de Moral, *Negotiating Empire: The Culture and Politics of Schools in Puerto Rico, 1898-1952* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013).

8. James Crawford, ed., *Language Loyalties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

9. Cayetano Coll y Cuchí, "American Rule in Puerto Rico," 262-266.

10. The imposition of English did not end in 1915. As stated by José Trías Monge, a former attorney general and chief justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico,

The policy of Americanizing Puerto Rico (began) as fast as possible. . . . [T]he Commissioners of Education ordered all schoolchildren to start the school day by saluting the American flag, declaiming the Pledge of Allegiance, and singing the national anthem and other patriotic songs. The teachers, often in broken English, would lead the exercise while the children mouthed words that most did not understand.

The teaching in English of the whole public school curriculum started as soon as the teachers became available. The situation was deeply resented by most segments of the population. (*Puerto Rico*, 55)

11. Over thirty years later, the battle was still raging on the island, in Washington, DC, and in New York publishing circles with a vested interest in textbook sales. The following letter to President Harry Truman from Representative Vito Marcantonio (D-NY), dated May 22, 1946, discusses a bill favoring the classroom use of Spanish:

Hon. Harry S. Truman
President of the United States
The White House, Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I hereby respectfully urge the approval of Senate Bill 51 passed by the Legislature of Puerto Rico at its last session, over the veto of the Governor of the Island, providing

for the use of the Spanish language as the means of instruction in the public schools of Puerto Rico.

Spanish is the vernacular language of the 2,100,000 inhabitants of Puerto Rico. They possess a rich literature of their own, and Spanish is their intellectual vehicle of expression. They have made substantial contributions to the literature of Spain and Spanish-America. In Puerto Rico, Spanish is the language of the home, the courts, the legislature, the churches, the government offices, and everyday life. Nevertheless, and contrary to established pedagogical principles, teaching is conducted in English in the public schools of the island.

By so doing, the fundamental educational principle that instruction should be transmitted in the vernacular language of the students has been violated.

The language question has been a burning issue in Puerto Rico ever since the occupation of the island by the United States forces in 1898. At the time of the invasion, our soldiers found in Puerto Rico a Spanish-speaking community of nearly 1,000,000 people, endowed with a common Spanish heritage and homogeneous in character as far as language, customs, and traditions are concerned, more so than a large number of the old Spanish provinces. Spanish was, of course, at that time the means of instruction in all levels of education. Foreign languages were taught as special subjects at the Provincial Institute and in some of the then existing private secondary schools.

Let me say right now that the situation was quite different from the one prevailing in the Philippine Islands. These had 87 dialects, none of which was spoken by even one-tenth of the population. On the other hand, as I have heretofore said, Puerto Ricans had a common language, spoken by 100 percent of the population, perfectly suitable as a means of social intercourse, not only among the inhabitants of the island but between these and the inhabitants of Spain and all the Latin-American Republics, with the exception of Brazil and Haiti. Puerto Rico had its own literature and also the rich heritage of the literature of all Spanish-speaking countries.

Since 1898 to date, Puerto Rico has unfortunately been taken as a field of experimentation in the language realm. The result has been confusion, misuse of the monies appropriated for education, suffering on the part of the student, excessive time given to language study, and inability to master either Spanish or the English language.

But these policies of confusion have not been pursued without the utmost protest on the part of the Puerto Rican people. Every civic association, including the powerful and influential Puerto Rico Teachers' Association, have repudiated these language policies and have advocated the teaching in Spanish in all levels of education.

May I add that the problem here involved is a pedagogical, and not a political one, and that it should be solved according to the historic experience of all peoples throughout the world, that is, by the use of the vernacular. There are very few exceptions the world over to the established practice of teaching in the vernacular. The only exceptions known to me are to be found in Egypt and in the African French Colonies. In Egypt, an effort is being made to popularize the classical Arabic language, and it

is used in place of the vernacular. France insists on the use of French in her colonial schools, yet this policy is now being changed.

The use of a foreign language as the means of instruction is justified only in cases like that of the Philippines, or when the vernacular cannot be used as an effective means of social communication.

Law 51 passed by the Legislature of Puerto Rico over the veto of the Governor, and which provides for the use of Spanish as the means of instruction in the public schools of the island, is now before you for consideration.

In the name of the children of Puerto Rico who are being tortured by the prevailing system; in the name of the people of Puerto Rico, who have spoken through their elected representatives and their civic and professional organizations, and in the name of an enlightened educational policy at a time when we are trying to fight cultural chauvinism and to correct past errors, I respectfully urge you, Mr. President, to sign the above-mentioned bill of the Puerto Rican Legislature.

Respectfully yours,
Vito Marcantonio

CHAPTER 4: THE GREEN POPE

1. Sidney W. Mintz, *Worker in the Cane: A Puerto Rican Life History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1974), 256. See also César J. Ayala, *American Sugar Kingdom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Gillian McGillivray, *Blazing Cane* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

2. Julio Feliciano Colón was a sugar cane cutter in Santa Isabel for forty years. He supported his mother and younger brother, then his own wife and children, with two worn hands and a crooked spine. I met him in Santa Isabel, and he recounted a lifetime of struggle, dreams, and despair. For further information about life and work on a sugar cane plantation in early-twentieth-century Puerto Rico, see Sidney W. Mintz, "The Culture History of a Puerto Rican Sugar Cane Plantation: 1876–1949," *Hispanic-American Historical Review* 33, no. 2 (May 1953): 224–251. See also Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985); Ayala, *American Sugar Kingdom*.

3. *Congressional Record*, 74th Cong., 1st Sess., May 6, 1936, Representative Vito Marcantonio (D-NY). Specifically, Representative Marcantonio stated the following:

Puerto Rico, taken as the booty of war from Spain in 1898, has been successively ruined. Four large American sugar corporations own over half the good sugar land and produce over half the total crop. Sugar now composes about 75 percent of the exports of the island, whereas tobacco and coffee have been relegated to the background. The once landowning farmers, dispossessed by the huge sugar plantations, today work the unfertile mountain soil or are landless. Only 7 percent of the native dwellers in the rural regions are landowners in Puerto Rico, an agrarian

country. Over the heads of these small farmers hangs a total mortgage debt of about \$25,000,000. For years they have been unable to pay taxes.

The landless peasants have been converted into a great army of colonial slaves in the sugar plantations, or are unemployed. The reports of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor for 1935 show an average wage for male workers in the sugar fields of \$3.34 per week, and for female workers of \$1.96 per week. This same wage scale runs through the other island industries, and in tobacco and coffee they are much worse.

4. *Congressional Record*, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., May 11, 1939, Representative Vito Marcantonio (D-NY). Specifically, Representative Marcantonio stated the following:

The needletrade industry in Puerto Rico is the most disgraceful situation ever permitted under the American flag. You have down there 15,000 workers who work in factories, needletrade factories, and the factory workers receive all the way from 12 1/2 cents an hour down to as low as 2 cents an hour. In one case—and I quote from Claiborne's memorandum to me—a 13 year old child was receiving 25 cents a week.

So much for the factory workers. Let me explain the system they have for home workers; that is, those who work at home. These chiselers from New York, my own home town, the worst type of labor exploiters, who ran away because in New York they had to pay decent wages, because we forced them to clean up their sweatshops and establish decent working conditions, brought their work to Puerto Rico. Then they gave the work to a contractor. Then the contractor gave it to a subcontractor, and the subcontractor gave it to another sub-subcontractor, and it goes all the way down the line through many subcontractors, each of them receiving a profit from the toil of poor women and children. The poor woman at home receives the following pay: She gets as low as 3 to 5 cents a dozen for hand-rolled handkerchiefs of the best type. They retail for \$3 a dozen in Macy's in New York. This means they are paid from 8 to 15 cents a day, and no more. It means a total income of about \$30 a year.

5. Julio Feliciano Colón recounted this conversation in the sugar cane field with Don Tomás and the other macheteros.

6. Juan Antonio Corretjer, *Albizu Campos and the Ponce Massacre* (New York: World View Publishers, 1965), 2-4.

7. Charles H. Allen, *First Annual Report of Governor of Porto Rico* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 65.

8. Corretjer, *Albizu Campos and the Ponce Massacre*, 2-4.

9. Allen, *First Annual Report*, 149-187.

10. Corretjer, *Albizu Campos and the Ponce Massacre*, 2-4. See also Manuel Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico: A Socio-historic Interpretation* (New York: Random House, 1972), 74; Truman R. Clark, *Puerto Rico and the United States, 1917-1933* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1975), 107.

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11. Ayala, *American Sugar Kingdom*, 45–47. See also “Federal Attack on Sugar Trust,” *New York Times*, November 29, 1910; Leonard J. Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West, 1891–1966* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), 54–55; “Charles Allen Resigns,” *New York Times*, June 15, 1915; “Sold Beet Sugar Stock: President Allen Says Sugar Trust Tried to Conform to the Law,” *New York Times*, April 1, 1914.

12. *Balzac v. Porto Rico*, 258 US 298 (1922). The US Supreme Court held that Sixth Amendment protections (i.e., trial by jury) and, in fact, the entirety of the US Constitution did not apply to Puerto Rico since the island was an unincorporated territory (a possession); Puerto Ricans therefore did not have standing to assert privileges and immunities or to claim constitutional protections.

13. Calvin Coolidge to Vincent M. Cutter, President of United Fruit Company, February 16, 1926; Everett Sanders (secretary of Coolidge) to Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis, February 16, 1926; Davis to Coolidge, February 25, 1926, Calvin Coolidge Papers, File 400ZB, Series 1, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

14. Ayala, *American Sugar Kingdom*, 139, 140, 185, 187, 225.

15. Thomas Aitken, *Poet in the Fortress: The Story of Luis Muñoz Marín* (New York: Signet Books, 1964), 60–62.

16. Memorandum by General Frank D. McIntyre, chief of US Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA), on large landholdings in Puerto Rico, October 20, 1927, BIA Files, File 94–70.

17. Aitken, *Poet in the Fortress*, 60–62.

18. Bailey W. Diffie and Justine Whitfield Diffie, *Porto Rico: A Broken Pledge* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1931), 199–200.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. “The Sad Case of Porto Rico,” *American Mercury* 16, no. 62 (February 1929); reprinted in Kal Wagenheim and Olga Jiménez de Wagenheim, *The Puerto Ricans: A Documentary History* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publications, 1973), 153–161.

22. Rich Cohen, in *The Fish That Ate the Whale: The Life and Times of America's Banana King* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012), 14–67, documents the pattern of Central and South American expropriation of farmland:

In 1912 the Cayumel Banana company, a United States corporation, orchestrated the military invasion of Honduras in order to obtain hundreds of thousands of acres of Honduran land and tax-free export of its entire banana crop.

By 1928 the United Fruit Company (also a United States corporation) owned over 200,000 acres of prime Colombian farmland. In December of that year, its officials savagely ended a labor strike in what was called the Banana Massacre, resulting in the deaths of 1,000 persons, including women and children.

By 1930 United Fruit owned over 1,000,000 acres of land in Guatemala, Honduras, Colombia, Panama, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Mexico and Cuba.

By 1940, in Honduras alone, United Fruit owned 50 percent of all private land.

By 1942, United Fruit owned 75 percent of all private land in Guatemala—plus most of Guatemala's roads, power stations and phone lines, the only Pacific seaport, and every mile of railroad. (See "United States expansion in Latin America" at "Pedro Albizu Campos," Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedro_Albizu_Campos; Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* [New York: HarperCollins, 2005], 439; Oliver Stone and Peter Kuznick, *The Untold History of the United States* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012], xxviii, xxix, xxx, 262–265, 279.)

Historian Manuel Maldonado-Denis provided a similar, highly detailed study of Puerto Rican economic development during the first half of the twentieth century:

The first four decades of U.S. foreign domination in Puerto Rico (1898–1940) mark a period during which inch by inch our country gradually fell into the hands of U.S. industrial and financial capitalists. Consequently, all the elements indicating the exploitation of a colony occurred here during this period: the captive market; an increase in the values of goods due to an abundant work force and the payment of subsistence-level salaries; the exploitation of native natural resources by a handful of foreign investors; the predominance of finance capital from the colonial power; latifundism and monoculture; the military occupation of the territory; the superimposition of an administrative structure responsible only to the colonial power; the systematic attempt to bring about the cultural assimilation of the colony . . . and the devaluation of money by the North American authorities. (*Puerto Rico*, 72–73)

CHAPTER 5: A GOOD CAREER MOVE

1. Ray Quintanilla, "Welcome to the Town Viagra Built," *Orlando Sentinel*, December 19, 2004. See also Matt Wells, "Puerto Rico's Viagra Town," BBC, February 17, 2005.
2. "Manufacturing at a Crossroads," *Caribbean Business*, December 22, 2013. See also "Puerto Rico: A Hotspot for Pharmaceutical Manufacturing," *Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company*, December 2013.
3. Quintanilla, "Welcome to the Town Viagra Built."
4. Harriet B. Presser, "The Role of Sterilization in Controlling Puerto Rican Fertility," *Population Studies* 23, no. 3 (November 1969): 343–361.
5. Kathryn Krase, "Sterilization Abuse: The Policies Behind the Practice," National Women's Health Network, January/February 1996.
6. Claude M. Fuess, *Creed of a Schoolmaster* (1939; rpt. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 192–193.
7. "Birth Rate Fall Held Dangerous," *Kitchener Daily Record*, January 19, 1934, 16.
8. *Buck v. Bell*, 274 US 200 (1927). Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. wrote the majority opinion.
9. Kent C. Earnhardt, *Development Planning and Population Policy in Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1982), 28.

10. *New York Times*, April 13, 1928, 3.

11. Truman R. Clark, *Puerto Rico and the United States, 1917–1933* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1975), 152–153.

12. “Service for Dr. Rhoads: Memorial for Sloan-Kettering Director Here Tomorrow,” *New York Times*, August 24, 1959. See also US Department of Defense, *Report on Search for Human Radiation Experiment Records, 1944–1994*, 1:211. As director of the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research, and with his name appearing in all the contract documentation, Dr. Cornelius Rhoads bore professional responsibility for the protocols and results of this postirradiation syndrome study. However, a summary report for this project seems a model of deceit and denial.

The report stated it was funded by US Army contracts DA-49-007-MD-533 and DA-49-007-MD-669, then by Armed Forces Special Weapons Project contract DA-49-146-XZ-037. The report then states that patients “received total body irradiation” at dosages up to 4,000 roentgens. According to the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), humans exposed to 500 roentgens of radiation will likely die without medical treatment.

The report makes it clear that medical treatment was not provided and flatly states, “There is no record of clinical follow-up beyond the 75 day post-exposure period.”

As if anticipating raised eyebrows, the report adds an odd disclaimer: “Since the primary intent of the study was to treat cancer and provide a direct benefit to the subjects, apparently the Nuremberg Code and the Declaration of Helsinki were complied with.”

Even sixty years later, the hypocrisy of this report is chilling. Since lethal levels of radiation were used (800 percent higher than the NRC fatality threshold), and since there was “no clinical follow-up” with the irradiated victims, there was clearly no “intent to benefit the subjects,” who most likely died.

It is apparent that this study, funded by the US Army and the Armed Forces Special Weapons Project, was a radiological warfare project that needed several human lab rats on which to perform target practice.

On a final chilling note, the report stated, “Certain records are missing.”

CHAPTER 6: CADETS OF THE REPUBLIC

1. Federico Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos: Puerto Rican Revolutionary* (New York: Plus Ultra Publishers, 1971), 49.

2. FBI Files, Subject: Pedro Albizu Campos, File Number 105-11898, Section 2, 43. See also Marisa Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos: Las Llamas de la Aurora*, 5th ed. (San Juan: Ediciones Puerto, 2008), 182–190. The strikingly high enrollment of cadets—roughly 10,000 by 1936—may have contributed to a sense of general alarm on the part of the United States and to the rapid militarization of the Insular Police under General Blanton Winship. Ironically, the early popularity and visibility of the Cadets of the Republic contributed to their surveillance and infiltration by the FBI, which compromised their ultimate effectiveness.

3. Through his contact with Éamon de Valera and his organizing efforts on behalf of Irish liberation while at Harvard, Albizu became aware of Irish resistance efforts and Sinn Féin party history. Albizu recognized the symbolic value of the 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland: though not successful per se, it set the moral tone for ongoing dissent and ultimate independence of the Irish Republic. See John F. Boyle, *The Irish Rebellion of 1916: A Brief History of the Revolt and Its Suppression* (n.p.: HardPress Publishers, 2012); Francis X. Martin, *Leaders and Men of the Easter Rising: Dublin 1916* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967). Albizu prepared for his own uprising by establishing the Cadets of the Republic. See Osvaldo Torres Santiago, *El Evangelio de Don Pedro Albizu Campos* (Lexington, KY: Letras de America, 2013), 35–41.

The US government was also aware of the Easter Rising and took steps to suppress a corresponding movement in Puerto Rico. After Albizu's imprisonment in 1936 and the shock of the Ponce Massacre in 1937, cadet enrollment dropped precipitously. Later, eleven years after the Ponce Massacre, several hundred policemen surrounded the main campus of the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) in Río Piedras from April 15, 1948, until early November. During those seven months they used tear gas, clubbing, and mass arrests to overcome the University Crusade, a student movement protesting the university administration. On September 23, 1948, the Insular Police blocked the passage of several hundred students, then clubbed them fiercely until two were beaten unconscious and had to be hospitalized. At this point it became evident that the police violence was politically motivated. The Insular Police had been instructed to prevent any contact between the university students and the Nationalist Party. This included a prohibition against Albizu's speaking anywhere, to anyone, on the UPR campus. See Ruth Mary Reynolds, *Campus in Bondage* (New York: Research Foundation of the City of New York, 1989), 1, 97–158, 235–240.

The police shooting of cadets and the clubbing and harassment of college students had a chilling effect on youth involvement in the independence movement. On October 12, 1948, in a public speech in Ponce broadcast over WORP (Ponce) and WCMN (Arecibo), Albizu stated that he could no longer find youths "capable of defying the Yankee empire." See FBI Files, Subject: Pedro Albizu Campos, File Number 105-11898, Section 12.

4. FBI Files, Subject: Pedro Albizu Campos, File Number 105-11898, Section 1, 20.

5. *Ibid.*, 107–110.

6. *Ibid.*, 113.

7. A. W. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín: Puerto Rico's Democratic Revolution* (San Juan: Editorial Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2006), 138.

8. Ramón Bosque Pérez, *Puerto Rico Under Colonial Rule* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006), 71.

9. FBI Files, Subject: Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, File Number SJ 100-3, Vol. 23, 128–129.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, 24, 101, 103.

CHAPTER 7: THE PONCE MASSACRE

1. Marisa Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos: Las Llamas de la Aurora*, 5th ed. (San Juan: Ediciones Puerto, 2008), 210–215.

2. Federico Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos: Puerto Rican Revolutionary* (New York: Plus Ultra Publishers, 1971), 56–64.

3. Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos*, 227–228.

4. A. W. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín: Puerto Rico's Democratic Revolution* (San Juan: Editorial Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2006), 152. See also Mifflin Seijo Bruno, *La Insurrección Nacionalista en Puerto Rico, 1950* (Río Piedras, PR: Editorial Edil, 1989), 14; Stephen Hunter and John Bainbridge Jr., *American Gunfight: The Plot to Kill Harry Truman—and the Shoot-Out That Stopped It* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 109.

5. Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos*, 56–64. See also Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos*, 227–228.

6. “La Borinqueña” is the official anthem of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The title refers to the aboriginal Taíno name for the island of Puerto Rico: Borinkén or Borinquén. The music was originally credited to Félix Astol Artés in 1867. The following year, Lola Rodríguez de Tió wrote a poem in support of the Puerto Rican revolution of 1868, known as El Grito de Lares. The poem was set to the Astol Artés music and called La Borinqueña. Here is an excerpt of the original 1868 revolutionary lyrics:

¡Despierta, Borinqueño	Arise, Boricua
que han dado la señal!	The call to arms has sounded!
¡Despierta de ese sueño	Awake from the slumber
que es hora de luchar!	it is time to fight!

El Grito de Lares	The Cry of Lares
se ha de repetir	must be repeated
y entonces sabremos:	and then we will know:
vencer o morir.	victory or death.

After US occupation in 1898, the popular revolutionary lyrics were deemed too subversive, and nonconfrontational lyrics were written in 1903. The tune was officially adopted as the commonwealth's anthem in 1952, using the softer lyrics. However, until that time, the singing of “La Borinqueña” was suppressed in Puerto Rico. In 1937 it enraged the police and helped to provoke the Ponce Massacre. From 1948 until 1957 (under Public Law 53), the singing of “La Borinqueña” was a felony and grounds for several years' imprisonment.

7. Photographer Ángel Lebrón Robles; published in *El Mundo*, March 22, 1937, 5.

8. “Puerto Rico Case Speeded,” *New York Times*, February 9, 1938, 10.

9. Photographer Carlos (Aguilita) Torres Morales; published in *El Imparcial*, April 1, 1937, 1.

10. A. Castro Jr., "Once Muertos y Mas de Ciento Cincuenta Heridos en Ponce," *El Mundo*, March 22, 1937, 1, 5. See also Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos*, 84.
11. Manuel de Catalan, *Florete*, March 27, 1937, 11.
12. Carlos Torres Morales, "Lo Que Vi en Ponce," *El Imparcial*, April 2, 1937, 28, 29.
13. Juan Antonio Corretjer, *Albizu Campos and the Ponce Massacre* (New York: World View Publishers, 1965), 16–23; Juan Ortiz Jimenez, *Nacimiento del Cine Puer- torriqueño* (San Juan: Editorial Tiempo Nuevo, 2007), 43–58.
14. Rafael V. Pérez-Marchand, *Reminiscencia Histórica de la Masacre de Ponce* (San Lorenz, PR: Partido Nacionalista de Puerto Rico, Movimiento Libertador de Puerto Rico, 1972), 24.
15. Juan Antonio Corretjer, *Albizu Campos and the Ponce Massacre* (New York: World View Publishers, 1965), 23; Carmelo Rosario Natal, "Luis Muñoz Marín, Arthur Garfield Hays y la Masacre de Ponce: Una Revelación Documental Inedita," in *Kálathos— Revista Transdisciplinaria* (San Jose: Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico, Recinto Metro, 2007), 10; Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos*, 278–279; Katherine Rodríguez-Pérez, *Reports on the Ponce Massacre: How the U.S. Press Protected U.S. Government Interests in the Wake of Tragedy* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University, 2010), 86–93.
16. Photographer Carlos (Aguilita) Torres Morales; published in *El Imparcial*, April 4, 1937, 7.
17. "7 Die in Puerto Rico Riot, 50 Injured as Police Fire on Fighting Nationalists," *New York Times*, March 22, 1937, 1, 11.
18. "Puerto Rico Riot Toll Reaches 10; Others Near Death," *Washington Post*, March 23, 1937, 14.
19. "Puerto Ricans Riot, 7 Killed," *Detroit News*, March 22, 1937, 1.
20. Rodríguez-Pérez, *Reports on the Ponce Massacre*, 66.
21. "Puerto Rican Riot Seen as Planned," *New York Times*, March 23, 1937, 9; R. Menendez Ramos, "From Puerto Rico," *Washington Post*, May 1, 1937, 8.
22. "Puerto Rico Riot Toll Reaches 10; Others Near Death," 14; "First Photograph of Fatal Riot in Puerto Rico," *New York Times*, March 24, 1937, 5; Harwood Hull, "Clash Rekindles Puerto Rico Feud," *New York Times*, March 28, 1937, 63; "A. G. Hays at Puerto Rico," *New York Times*, May 14, 1937, 7.
23. "A. G. Hays at Puerto Rico," 7.
24. "Lets in Plot Evidence at Puerto Rican Trial," *New York Times*, September 18, 1937, 8.
25. *Ibid.*
26. "Puerto Rico: Guns Blaze Afresh," *Washington Post*, March 28, 1937, 3.
27. "Puerto Rico Fears New Liberty Riots," *Washington Post*, March 28, 1937, 13.
28. J. M. Clark, "What Destiny?," *Washington Post*, November 3, 1937, 9.
29. Arthur Garfield Hays and the Commission of Inquiry on Civil Rights in Puerto Rico, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Civil Rights in Puerto Rico*, New York, 1937, 41.

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30. Castro, "Once Muertos y Más de Ciento Cincuenta Heridos en Ponce," 1, 5; José E. Pujals and Castro-Combas, "Aumentan a Quince los Muertos en Ponce," *El Mundo*, March 23, 1937, 1, 5; "Gruening Pide Informe por Cable Sobre los Sucesos de Ponce," *El Mundo*, March 23 1937, 1; "Para Que las Investigaciones se Hagan con Prontitud y Energía," *El Mundo*, March 23, 1937, 1,10; "¡Al Gesto Altivo, la Tracción a Teral," *El Imparcial*, April 1, 1937, 1; Cayetano Coll y Cuchí, "Falsa Leyenda de una Foto," *El Imparcial*, April 1, 1937, 1, 2; "El Pueblo Relata los Crímenes de Ponce," *El Imparcial*, April, 1, 1937, 3, 25; "Ejercite Su Juicio en Bien de la Justicia," *El Imparcial*, April 2, 1937, 2; Torres Morales, "Lo Que Vi en Ponce," 28, 29.

31. *El Imparcial*, April 4, 1937, 19.

32. *El Mundo*, May 24, 1937, 9.

33. Hays and the Commission of Inquiry, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Civil Rights in Puerto Rico*, 62.

34. Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos*, 84.

CHAPTER 8: IT'S ONLY CHINATOWN

1. Federico Degatau, the first resident commissioner from Puerto Rico, speaking to the US Congress in 1899. See 41 *Congressional Record*, 55th Cong., 2nd Sess, 1905, 4467.

2. Manuel Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico: A Socio-historic Interpretation* (New York: Random House, 1972), 77.

3. Roberto H. Todd, a founder of the Puerto Rico Republican Party and mayor of San Juan for twenty years (1903–1923), wrote the most comprehensive treatment of this subject. Todd had a front-row seat to the decisions and actions of the early US-appointed governors. A reader of his book emerges convinced that the colonial governors who filed through Puerto Rico during the first four decades of the twentieth century were with very few exceptions a living illustration of ineptitude, insolence, and a lack of respect for the entire island. See Roberto H. Todd, *Desfile de Gobernadores de Puerto Rico*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Ediciones Iberoamericanas, 1966).

4. Charles H. Allen, *First Annual Report of Governor of Porto Rico* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), photographs facing 12, 13, 15.

5. *Ibid.*, photographs facing 14, 15.

6. *Ibid.*, photographs facing 16, 17.

7. *Ibid.*, photograph facing 17.

8. *Ibid.*, 55–80, 137–305. See also Thomas Aitken, *Poet in the Fortress: The Story of Luis Muñoz Marín* (New York: Signet Books, 1964), 60–62; Maldonado-Denis, *Puerto Rico*, 70–76.

9. Allen, *First Annual Report*. See also Aitken, *Poet in the Fortress*, 60–62.

10. Allen, *First Annual Report*, 97–98.

11. *Ibid.*, 29.

12. *Ibid.*, 41.

13. *Ibid.*, 99.

14. *Ibid.*, 99.

15. *Ibid.*, 39.

16. *Ibid.*, 39.

17. *Ibid.*, 40.

18. *Ibid.*, 39.

19. Second Annual Report of William H. Hunt, Governor of Porto Rico, 1902.

20. Cesar J. Ayala, *American Sugar Kingdom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 45–47.

21. “Federal Attack on Sugar Trust,” *New York Times*, November 29, 1910. See also Leonard J. Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West, 1891–1966* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), 54–55.

22. “Charles Allen Resigns,” *New York Times*, June 15, 1915; “Sold Beet Sugar Stock: President Allen Says Sugar Trust Tried to Conform to the Law,” *New York Times*, April 1, 1914.

23. *New York Times*, November 21, 1921, 1, 5.

24. In his personal correspondence with President Warren Harding, Reily claimed to have been “Warren Harding’s pre-convention Western campaign manager” and to have personally contributed \$11,000 to the Harding campaign fund. See Reily to Harding, September 21, 1921, E. Mont. Reily Papers, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library, New York City.

25. *La Democracia*, July 19, 1921, 4. See also *Congressional Record*, 67th Cong., 2nd Sess., March 2, 1922, 3302; *Congressional Record*, 67th Cong., 4th Sess., March 1, 1923, 5030.

26. *El Tiempo*, July 30, 1921, 2. See also Marisa Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos: Las Llamas de la Aurora*, 5th ed. (San Juan: Ediciones Puerto, 2008), 210–215.

27. Bureau of Insular Affairs Files, War Department Records, National Archives, “P” Files, E. Mont. Reily. Brigadier General Frank McIntyre had tried to warn Reily about this plural phraseology in his speech. He sent Reily a note warning, “I notice you refer to ‘these islands.’ It is usual to refer to Porto Rico as a single island.”

28. *La Democracia*, August 1, 1921, 1.

29. *La Correspondencia*, August 1, 1921, 1; August 2, 1921, 1.

30. *El Mundo* (San Juan), August 1, 1921, 1.

31. *El Tiempo*, July 30, 1921, 2. Interestingly, the *New York Times* presented a completely different outlook on Reily’s inaugural speech. The *Times* headline is self-explanatory: “E. Mont. Reily Brings Cheers When He Says Old Glory Is Only Flag for Island,” *New York Times*, July 31, 1921, 8.

32. *La Democracia*, October 29, 1921, 4.

33. Todd, *Desfile de Gobernadores de Puerto Rico*, 66–69.

34. Reily to Harding, April 19, 1922, Reily Papers.

35. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1922.
36. *Ibid.*, September 28, 1921.
37. *Ibid.*, May 10, 1922.
38. *Ibid.*, October 19, 1922.
39. E. Mont. Reily, *Twenty-First Annual Report of Governor of Porto Rico* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1921), 42.
40. This was a slight exaggeration. Records show that of the 642 days from taking the oath of office as governor of Puerto Rico (May 16, 1921) until the date of his letter of resignation (February 16, 1923), Reily was absent from the island 204 days. This was 31.8 percent of the time, or roughly one-third. See Truman R. Clark, *Puerto Rico and the United States, 1917–1933* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1975), 60.
41. Córdova Dávila to Harding, December 23, 1921, Warren G. Harding Papers, Box 252, Ohio State Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.
42. Weeks to Harding, December 29, 1921, Harding Papers, Box 252.
43. Reily to Harding, December 17, 1921, Reily Papers.
44. Reily, *Twenty-First Annual Report*, Exhibit "B."
45. *New York Times*, April 8, 1922, 1; April 11, 1922, 3.
46. *New York Times*, June 1, 1922, 2; June 4, 1922, 12.
47. Reily to Harding, April 19, 1922, Reily Papers; Harding to Reily, August 2, 1922, Reily Papers.
48. Alfonso Lastra Charriez, "I Accuse," *Nation* 115, no. 2983 (September 6, 1922): 236–237.
49. Towner to Harding, April 11, 1922, Harding Papers, Box 252.
50. Weeks to Reily, December 29, 1921, Harding Papers, Box 252.
51. *New York Times*, November 26, 1921, 8; April 3, 1922, 1.
52. Thomas George Mathews, *Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960), 56.
53. A. W. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín: Puerto Rico's Democratic Revolution* (San Juan: Editorial Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2006), 69.
54. This is especially true in Latin American cultures, where one of the worst things you can do to a male authority figure is to make him an object of ridicule. See the discussion of the value of *dignidad* by John P. Gillin in "Some Signposts for Policy," *Social Change in Latin America Today*, ed. Richard N. Adams et al. (New York: Vintage Press, 1960), 29–33.
55. Clark, *Puerto Rico and the United States*, 60.
56. Mike McCormick, "Man Wanted to Transform Newspaper," *Terra Haute Tribune Star*, September 23, 2001.
57. Mike McCormick, "Schools, Churches Were Beneficiaries of Post Editor's Wealth," *Terra Haute Tribune Star*, September 30, 2001.
58. Luis Muñoz Marín, *Memorias: 1898–1940* (San Juan: Fundacion Luis Muñoz Marín, 2003), 116.

59. Hubert Herring, "Rebellion in Puerto Rico," *Nation* 137 (November 29, 1933): 618–619.
60. Stuart McIver, "Book Review: Past the Edge of Poverty," *Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel*, March 31, 1991.
61. Aitken, *Poet in the Fortress*, 101.
62. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 102–103.
63. Aitken, *Poet in the Fortress*, 102.
64. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 107.
65. Aitken, *Poet in the Fortress*, 102.
66. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 107–108.
67. Muñoz Marín, *Memorias*, 114. See also Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 108–109.
68. Paul A. Gore, *Past the Edge of Poverty: A Biography of Robert Hayes Gore*. Rpt. ed. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1993).
69. McCormick, "Schools, Churches Were Beneficiaries."
70. Herring, "Rebellion in Puerto Rico," 618–619.
71. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 108, 109. See also Arturo Morales Carrión, *Puerto Rico: A Political and Cultural History* (New York: Norton Press, 1983).
72. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 119.
73. *Ibid.*, 111.
74. Wesley E. Higgins and Paul A. Gore, "Robert H. Gore: An Orchid Legacy," *American Orchid Society*, January 2009.
75. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 119.
76. Muñoz Marín, *Memorias*, 127. See also Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 121.
77. Cesar J. Ayala and Rafael Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History Since 1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 136. See also "A Death Penalty Case in Puerto Rico," *New York Times*, February 4, 2013; Aitken, *Poet in the Fortress*, 105; Ivan Roman, "U.S. Judge Kills Death Penalty in Puerto Rico," *Orlando Sentinel*, July 19, 2000. In 1994, a federal district court judge ruled that the federal death penalty could not be applied to Puerto Rico since a death penalty ban is currently written into the Constitution of Puerto Rico. However, the First Circuit Court of Appeals overturned this decision, and the US Supreme Court affirmed the First Circuit. See *Acosta-Martinez v. United States*, 535 US 906 (2002). At present, though the Constitution of Puerto Rico prohibits capital punishment, the United States has reserved the right to impose it.
78. Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos*, 235. See also Federico Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos: Puerto Rican Revolutionary* (New York: Plus Ultra Publishers, 1971), 61.
79. Public Works Administration, Puerto Rico, PWA PR1012-F, Graving Dock, July 1, 1936–June 30, 1941 (National Archives Microfilm Publication PM0007, Roll 8504); Blanton Winship to Hon. Harold L. Ickes, January 19, 1937, Record Group 135, National Archives College Park, Maryland.
80. The scope of Winship's project was increased far beyond the naval air base to a total of 771 projects throughout the island, authorized with "a final estimated cost of

\$112,570,000, exclusive of fee and the cost of excess material." See USN-SMA, *Final Report and Factual Survey*, Vol. I, General Report, Contract NOy-3680, Madigan-Hyland Co., March 22, 1943, general forward and introduction, 2. Commander H. W. Johnson, officer in charge of construction of Navy Contract NOy-3680, as well as commander of the Tenth Naval District, immediately assumed oversight of most of the projects. This resulted in the usual corporate graft, influence peddling, and back-scratching. While the work employed many local laborers and some local firms, references throughout the contractors' correspondence construct a backstory of preference for US expatriate workers and contractors. Commander Johnson reported in May 1940, "Approximately 90 employees have been transported from the U.S. for the work at San Juan to fill positions as supervisors, machine operators, and as mechanics in certain skilled trades." See Officer-in-Charge, Contract NOy-3680, NAS, San Juan to Chief of BuDocks, *Report of Progress and Procedures*, May 17, 1940, BuDocks, Contract NOy-3680, RG 71, Box 548, Vol. II. He also characterized the "native labor" as relatively inefficient but "generally satisfactory" after a moderate amount of training.

This pattern of preferring imported US expatriate labor for higher-paying positions and characterization of Puerto Rican laborers as somewhat lazy would be repeated across the building projects that extended over the next three years to Vieques and Ensenada Honda. In the same letter, Commander Johnson also reported hiring the Baltimore firm Standard Dredging Corporation after unceremoniously dumping the local subcontractor, F. Benitez Rexach, who was contracted on December 30, 1939, and fired on March 4, 1940, after only two months on the job.

The big-money items on the contracts began to elide the local economy as the money started drifting toward US continental corporations with connections to Commander H. W. Johnson and his business cronies. These large-scale "public works projects" were of limited benefit in the form of providing short-term jobs to the lowest-paid laborers, while the navy and stateside corporations gained massive profits in the form of property, hegemony, and capital.

81. Aitken, *Poet in the Fortress*, 105–106; Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 118–120.

82. "Nature Ramblings: Admirals Wearing Spurs," *Science News-Letter* (Society for Science and the Public) 27 (March 30, 1935): 29.

83. On the floor of the US House of Representatives, on August 14, 1939, Congressman Vito Marcantonio stated,

In his 5 years as Governor of Puerto Rico, Mr. Blanton Winship destroyed the last vestige of civil rights in Puerto Rico. Patriots were framed in the very executive mansion and railroaded to prison. Men, women, and children were massacred in the streets of the island simply because they dared to express their opinion or attempted to meet in free assemblage. Citizens were terrorized. The courts became devoid of any prestige because of the evil influence exerted upon them by politicians who acted with the connivance and consent of Mr. Winship. American workers were persecuted and shot down whenever they sought to exercise

their right to strike, or to organize and protest against the abominable wages that were paid to them by Mr. Winship's pals. (See *Congressional Record*, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., August 14, 1939, Representative Vito Marcantonio [D-NY]).

84. Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos*, 225–228. See also Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos*, 56–57.

85. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 138.

86. *Ibid.*

87. Miñi Seijo Bruno, *La Insurrección Nacionalista en Puerto Rico, 1950* (Río Piedras, PR: Editorial Edil, 1989), 14. See also Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos*, 61; Ronald Fernandez, *Los Macheteros: The Wells Fargo Robbery and the Violent Struggle for Puerto Rican Independence* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1987), 144.

88. "Two in Puerto Rico Kill Police Head and Are Shot Dead," *New York Times*, February 24, 1936.

89. Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos*, 232–235.

90. *Ibid.*, 234.

91. "Disparen para que Vean Como Muere un Hombre," *El Imparcial*, February 25, 1936.

92. Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos*, 59.

93. On the floor of the US House of Representatives, on August 14, 1939, Congressman Vito Marcantonio described Winship's growing police state: "The Insular police was militarized and transformed from an honest police organization to an organization of provocateurs and murderers, such as existed in the darkest days of czaristic Russia. Nero played the fiddle while Christians were massacred in the days of ancient Rome. Winship drank cocktails and danced in the Governor's palace while the police ruthlessly killed and persecuted Puerto Rican citizens." See *Congressional Record*, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., August 14, 1939, Representative Vito Marcantonio (D-NY).

94. *El Imparcial*, February 25, 1936.

95. *Ibid.*, February 26, 1936.

96. Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos*, 57–63.

97. Report to Commanding General, Second Corps Area, Governors Island, New York (July 16, 1936), 230–231.

98. Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos*, 256–258.

99. Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos*, 63–75.

100. Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos*, 224–238.

101. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 145.

102. "Continúa Investigándose la Trágica Muerte del Coronel Riggs," *El Mundo*, February 25, 1936, 1.

103. Juan Antonio Corretjer, *Albizu Campos and the Ponce Massacre* (New York: World View Publishers, 1965), 23. See also Rafael V. Pérez-Marchand, *Reminiscencia Histórica de la Masacre de Ponce* (San Lorenz, PR: Partido Nacionalista de Puerto Rico, Movimiento Libertador de Puerto Rico, 1972), 24.

104. Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos*, 279–281. See also Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 145.

105. Ribes Tovar, *Albizu Campos*, 88–89; Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*, 153.

106. *Congressional Record*, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., May 11, 1939, Representative Vito Marcantonio (D-NY).

107. *Congressional Record*, 76th Cong., 1st Sess., August 14, 1939, Representative Vito Marcantonio (D-NY).

108. Albor Ruiz, "U.S. Forgot That an All-Volunteer Puerto Rican Unit, the Borinqueneers, Fought Bravely," *New York Daily News*, May 29, 2011.

109. Captain Matthew Firing, "JAG Celebrating Its 233rd Anniversary Today," *Gold Standard*, July 30, 2008. See also US Army, Judge Advocate General's Corps, *The Army Lawyer: A History of the Judge Advocate General's Corps, 1775-1975* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1975), 149-151.

CHAPTER 9: CARPETAS

1. "The Sad Case of Porto Rico," *American Mercury* 16, no. 62 (February 1929), reprinted in Kal Wagenheim and Olga Jiménez de Wagenheim, *The Puerto Ricans: A Documentary History* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner Publications, 1973), 153-161.

2. "G-Men Federales Enviados a Puerto Rico," *El Imparcial*, February 20, 1936. See also Ramón Bosque-Pérez and J. J. Colón Morera, eds., *Las Carpetas: Persecución Política y Derechos Civiles en Puerto Rico: Ensayos y Documentos* (Río Piedras, PR: Centro para la Investigación y Promoción de los Derechos Civiles, 1997), 56-57.

3. The five chiefs of police who attended the FBI National Academy were Astol Caero Toledo and Salvador T. Roig (class of 1946), Luis Maldonado Trinidad (1961), Jorge L. Collazo (1965), and Desiderio Cartagena Ortiz (1968). See Bosque-Pérez, *Las Carpetas*, 58.

4. César J. Ayala, "Political Persecution in Puerto Rico: Uncovering Secret Files," *Solidarity* 85 (March-April 2000). Ayala also wrote an incisive study of the international sugar economy during the early twentieth century. See César J. Ayala, *American Sugar Kingdom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

5. Bosque-Pérez, *Las Carpetas*, 58.

6. David M. Helfeld, "Discrimination for Political Beliefs and Associations," *Revista del Colegio de Abogados de Puerto Rico* 25, no. 1 (November 1964). See also Bosque-Pérez, *Las Carpetas*, 61. The Insular Police's bureaucratic deference to the FBI was rooted in the overall command structure of US intelligence organizations throughout Latin America. On June 24, 1940, President Franklin Roosevelt ordered that "the FBI should be responsible for foreign intelligence work in the Western Hemisphere," whereas "the Army Military Intelligence Division (MID) and the Office of Navy Intelligence (ONI) branches should cover the rest of the world." See G. Gregg Webb, "The FBI and Foreign Intelligence: New Insights into J. Edgar Hoover's Role," *Studies in Intelligence* 48, no. 1 (2004): 45-58.

FBI director Hoover wasted no time in implementing this presidential directive. Just one week later, on July 1, 1940, Hoover established the Special Intelligence Service (SIS) and created an administrative framework for it, appointing his assistant director,

Percy "Sam" Foxworth, as the first SIS chief. See Webb, "The FBI and Foreign Intelligence." On January 16, 1942, President Roosevelt formalized the Western Hemisphere jurisdiction of the SIS with a signed presidential directive, followed on October 14, 1942, by a signed jurisdictional agreement between the FBI, MID, and ONI. See Webb, "The FBI and Foreign Intelligence."

7. Bosque-Pérez, *Las Carpetas*, 154.

8. John Marino, "Apology Isn't Enough for Puerto Rican Spy Victims," *Washington Post*, December 28, 1999.

9. Bosque-Pérez, *Las Carpetas*, 181-192.

10. Ayala, "Political Persecution in Puerto Rico."

11. Cynthia López Cabán, "Compañía de Seguridad en la UPR Viene a Carpetear, Según la FUPI," *El Nuevo Día*, February 12, 2012.

12. Mireya Navarro, "Decades of FBI Surveillance of Puerto Rican Groups," *New York Times*, November 28, 2003.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. FBI Files, Subject: COINTELPRO, File Number FBIHQ 105-93124, Section I, 2. See also Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *The COINTELPRO Papers* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2002), 68.

16. FBI Files, Subject: COINTELPRO, File Number FBIHQ 105-93124, Section I, 20. See also Churchill and Wall, *The COINTELPRO Papers*, 69.

17. Ibid., 21.

18. A. W. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín: Puerto Rico's Democratic Revolution* (San Juan: Editorial Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2006), 266-268; Marisa Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos: Las Llamas de la Aurora*, 5th ed. (San Juan: Ediciones Puerto, 2008), 332-333; Ivonne Acosta-Lespier, "The Smith Act Goes to Washington: La Mordaza, 1948-1957," in *Puerto Rico Under Colonial Rule*, ed. Ramón Bosque-Pérez (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005); Stephen Hunter and John Bainbridge Jr., *American Gunfight: The Plot to Kill Harry Truman—and the Shoot-Out That Stopped It* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), 173, 211; Pedro A. Malavet, *America's Colony: The Political and Cultural Conflict Between the United States and Puerto Rico* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 93.

19. FBI Files, Subject: Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, File Number SJ 100-3, Vol. 3, Section I, 7-8.

20. "Arrestos en Masa," *El Imparcial*, November 3, 1950, 1-5. See also Letter to David Helfeld, Esq., Counsel to Human Rights Commission, "Information on Discrimination and Persecution for Political Purposes," 1989, 49, as cited in Rosado, *Pedro Albizu Campos*, 364. See also Bosque-Pérez, *Las Carpetas*, 43-44. See also José Trias Monge, *Como Fue: Memorias* (San Juan: Editorial Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2005), 154, 214-215. The FBI files themselves contain references to Governor Muñoz Marín using the October 1950 revolution as "a pretext to carry out wholesale arrests in Puerto Rico of leaders of all opposition parties." See FBI Files, Subject: Luis Muñoz Marín,

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File Number 100-5745, Section III, 285–291. See also “Jail 170 in Puerto Rico Terror Raid,” *Daily Worker*, November 8, 1950, 9.

21. FBI Files, Subject: Luis Muñoz Marín, File Number 100-5745, Section I, 109.

22. Helfeld, “Discrimination for Political Beliefs and Associations.”

23. Marino, “Apology Isn’t Enough for Puerto Rican Spy Victims.”

24. Navarro, “Decades of FBI Surveillance of Puerto Rican Groups.” US Congressman José Serrano (D-NY) is a key figure in the ongoing investigation of *carpetas*. In “Dialogue Open About FBI Carpeta Questions,” *Puerto Rico Herald*, April 9, 2000, Serrano wrote,

As the ranking Democrat on the [CJS] subcommittee [the Commerce, Justice, Judiciary and Related Agencies Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee], which funds the FBI and other federal agencies, I have an obligation to ensure that we appropriate funds in a responsible manner.

And if at one time the FBI was using government monies illegally to target a given group, it is our obligation to ensure that history does not repeat itself. . . . As ugly as it is, the FBI/*carpetas* issue is a part of Puerto Rico’s history.

25. The use of *carpetas* continued well into the latter half of the twentieth century. The head of the FBI Intelligence Division, D. Milton Ladd, acknowledged that there were 10,763 Security Index cards on Puerto Rican “Communists” and Nationalist Party members as of 1946. The index was continued, and in a July 26, 1961, report to President John F. Kennedy, presidential adviser McGeorge Bundy defined it as “the list of individuals to be considered for apprehension and detention . . . in a period of emergency.” See *Final Report of the Select Senate Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities*, 94th Cong., 2nd Sess., Report No. 94-755, April 14, 1976, 422, 465, 466.

Many of these Security Index cards were still in use during a massive island-wide raid conducted by over two hundred SWAT-equipped agents, beginning before dawn on the morning of August 30, 1985. Operating out of the Roosevelt Roads Naval Base, the raiders invaded thirty-seven homes and offices, arresting nearly fifty *independentistas* on “John Doe” warrants that specified no charges. Considerable personal property was destroyed, impounded, or “lost.” See Alfredo Lopez, *Dona Licha’s Island: Modern Colonialism in Puerto Rico* (Boston: South End Press, 1988), 140–141. See also Ronald Fernandez, *Los Macheteros: The Wells Fargo Robbery and the Violent Struggle for Puerto Rican Independence* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1987), xi–xiv; Churchill and Wall, *The COINTELPRO Papers*, 82–90.

Among those arrested was Coquí Santaliz, a reporter for the *San Juan Star*, novelist, poet, and former president of the Puerto Rican chapter of PEN. As reported by the *New York Times*, Santaliz stated that “a dozen or so armed agents descended on her apartment shortly after 6 o’clock that Friday morning, occupying the premises for almost 13 hours and impounding her typewriter, thousands of negatives, numerous cassettes of interviews and the draft of a novel.” See Edwin McDowell, “Writers Assail

FBI Seizures in Puerto Rico," *New York Times*, October 2, 1985; Lopez, *Dona Licha's Island*, 140–141.

A number of writers rallied around Santaliz in New York City. Norman Mailer and Allen Ginsberg held a news conference in the New York PEN headquarters. William Styron, Kurt Vonnegut, Gay Talese, and PEN officers and board members also expressed their "outrage at the . . . violations of civil rights of writers and intellectuals in Puerto Rico." Mailer was "singularly shock[ed]" that the novel Santaliz was writing "was taken from her and has not been returned." See McDowell, "Writers Assail FBI Seizures in Puerto Rico." Only after this high-profile press conference with stateside celebrities did the FBI return Coquí Santaliz's property.

26. The repressive FBI *carpetas* were not written and wielded in a vacuum. They were created with the complicity of hundreds (perhaps thousands) of informants over several decades. See Navarro, "Decades of FBI Surveillance of Puerto Rican Groups." This includes Puerto Ricans who were tortured, threatened, bribed, or placed on the FBI payroll.

During the mass arrests following the October 1950 revolution, some police informants who had been posing as Nationalists for many years were arrested and jailed alongside the Nationalists. This enabled the FBI to continue spying and informing on them from within the prison system itself. See FBI Files, Subject: Pedro Albizu Campos, File Number 105-11898, Section X, 102–103 (FBI Radiogram); *ibid.*, 25 ("State of Subject Pedro Albizu Campos' Health Prior to Commencement of Trial"). The arrested "double agents" included attractive women who were paid to romance and extract information from the Nationalists. The fictitious arrest of these women added to the credibility of their cover stories. These Caribbean Mata Haris are discussed (some with photographs) in José Martínez Valentín, *La Presencia de la Policía en la Historia de Puerto Rico: 1989–1995* (San Juan: Producciones Luigi, 1995), 97–101.

For a more genteel level of betrayal, one might view the career and writings of José Trías Monge. A graduate of Harvard Law School (JD, 1943) and Yale University (PhD, 1947), Trías Monge was the quintessential government insider for nearly forty years. He served as undersecretary of justice of Puerto Rico (1949), secretary of justice (1953–1957), president of the Puerto Rican Senate (1969–1972), and chief justice of the Puerto Rico Supreme Court (1974–1985). He was also a member of the group that defended the commonwealth status of Puerto Rico at the United Nations in 1953 and 1954 and a close personal friend of and adviser to Governor Muñoz Marín during the entirety of the latter's sixteen-year administration. When Muñoz Marín rammed Public Law 53 (the Gag Law) through the Puerto Rican legislature in 1947, and when he used fourteen-year old "FBI lists" to imprison over 3,000 Puerto Ricans in 1950, the Honorable José Trías Monge was there, looking over his shoulder. At no point did he resign, dissent, or attempt to restrain the governor from these brutal assaults on the civil liberties of an entire island population.

In his memoir, written during the last year of his life, Trías Monge finally admitted that Public Law 53 was "unconstitutional" and "unwise" and that "great injustices" and

“grave errors were committed” under the Gag Law. The memoir also describes how Trías Monge stood by while the governor opened “two or three shoe boxes of cards” containing the names of people who had “attended this or that celebration . . . or attended a public meeting of Nationalists . . . or who wrote this or that article . . . and then the Governor arrested all of them.” It also describes how, as secretary of justice, Trías Monge stood by when thirteen innocent men were denounced as Communists and imprisoned (some of them for three years), even though they were all acquitted of every charge against them. Instead of resigning as secretary of justice to protest this monstrous constitutional abuse, Trías Monge stayed on so that he could “effectuate change from within.” See Trías Monge, *Como Fue: Memorias*, 215, 218.

In the last years of his life, Trías Monge also penned *Puerto Rico: The Trials of the Oldest Colony in the World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), which denounced Puerto Rico’s “commonwealth” status as fraudulent, thinly disguised colonialism—even though Trías Monge himself had helped to write the commonwealth constitution and had argued before the United Nations (in 1953–1954) that Puerto Rico was no longer a colony.

This last-minute attack of conscience is a frequent phenomenon in colonial politics: career opportunism and a lifelong Stockholm syndrome often afflict the colonial upper classes. These are followed by a convenient deathbed conversion, just in time to face St. Peter and to diffuse some of the lingering animosity toward the traitor’s children. Sadly, Monge’s deathbed conversion did little for thousands of people who were arrested, hundreds who were sentenced and imprisoned, hundreds more whose careers were ruined, and a countless number of *desaparecidos* who were tortured and killed while he was Puerto Rico’s secretary of justice (aka attorney general), Senate president, and chief justice.

CHAPTER 10: THE GOVERNOR

1. Edwin J. Emerson Jr.—an American spy who toured the island, then delivered a detailed map for use by the US Army—provided a vivid firsthand account of the physical effects of the bombing of San Juan in “Alone in Porto Rico” (*Century Magazine* 56, no. 5, September 1898):

The older forts and towers had suffered severely. . . . [M]ore than a score of houses had gaping holes and clefts in their walls. The fragments of one shell alone . . . shattered the roof of the building, went through the so-called throne room . . . and finally disfigured the front and rear walls of several adjoining buildings, injuring and wounding two other persons. One old man was blown to pieces. . . . [T]he larger stores and shops stood empty and open, with none to buy and none to do the selling. . . . All available carriages, carts, and wagons, as well as horses, donkeys, and even bicycles, had been seized upon to carry the fleeing citizens into the hills. (668–669)

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