

The Meaning Of The Massacre Of Maravilla Mountain

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Compañeros and Compañeras:

I would first like to thank compañero Colon Pratts who has shared his hospitality so that we could have this activity tonight. Secondly, Eulogio Cardona, who with great feelings has introduced me to you. Thirdly, I want to thank José López who has made this act possible, and all of you for honoring me with your presence.

It is impossible to start speaking any place in Puerto Rico, especially for a person identified with the struggle for Puerto Rico, without starting where it is mandatory to begin.

All our thoughts, our education, our patriotic and revolutionary passion, is today focused on a mountain in Puerto Rico — Monte Maravilla. It was there, just past noon on July 25th, that the compañeros Arnaldo Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivi, were sacrificed by the imperialist yanqui and their hired assassins in Puerto Rico, in the manner already well known to many, and about which there is absolutely no possibility of reversing public opinion in Puerto Rico, as to what occurred in Monte Maravilla. Following the unexpected statement of the driver, Julio Ortiz Molina, even as today compañero Molina retracts his statement and declines to speak further everyone in Puerto Rico knows that that retraction has taken place looking down the barrel of a police gun.

For me, Ortiz Molina is a symbol, repeated throughout the time span of my life in the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence, of that which occurs in crisis — when everything appears decent within the faith one has in the people. There always happens something which identifies us with our people, which renews our faith in their capacity to think, to feel, to be loyal, to disdain consequences, to persist, of the highest level of conduct, which lays in the very depth of the Puerto Rican people despite all the deformities which imperialism has worked upon our nation through 80 years of armed intervention, ideological penetration, mental and psychological deformation. Ortiz Molina is himself an assassinated man in Monte Maravilla, but lives, symbolically. Just as they (Rosado and Soto) are the immortal symbols of all

that is profound and clear; all that is loyal and brave, which exists in the depth of our people.

If it is true that the horrible crimes perpetrated by imperialism in Monte Maravilla has been definitely dilucidated, I must nevertheless rectify something. We have been calling Gonzalez Malave (the police agent) a "snitch," but we have erred. Gonzalez Malave goes beyond the habitual informer. The informer tells police. "in such and such a place this or that will take place, so go there." Gonzales Malave went further. Gonzales Malave persuades these compañeros to go to a place to be assassinated. He directed them there. He called upon police to fire on them.



CARLOS SOTO ARRIVI

ARNALDO DARIO

That personification of evil gave to Arnaldo Darío Rosado, a shirt; green, with green sleeves, and green back, but all white in front, about the breast; so that the police fire would find an easy mark so we are told by his widow. That man was not a snitch, for he belongs to a dimension of perversity unknown until today in the history of anti-patriotic snitching. It is necessary, therefore, to rectify the term informer, and seek a word which many not have been invented yet, to describe the conduct of this evildoer, traitor, miserable being — and we could exhaust all diatribe in all languages.

I want to repeat that what occurred in Monte Maravilla has been definitively dilucidated. But it is still necessary to make a mental investigative search of the fundamental reason for the colonialist, imperialist action taken in Monte Maravilla. For us it has slowly unfolded, although the initial interpretation was almost complete. But the profiles, the outlines, and the content of the secret plan of imperialism has unravelled.

Why the deaths of Maravilla?

First, let us look at the roots, the more visible ones. First, the execution of the attorney, Randall, agent of the CIA in Puerto Rico. Secondly, the revolutionary seizure of the Chilean Consulate. Third, the guerrilla action at Montebello.

In summing up all these answers, activities; noble and brave, open and honest, on the part of the independence movement and the Puerto Rican revolution; the definite perverse intention sharp like a knife against the heart of the independence movement, the following propositions must be considered.

First, a declaration of war to the death against the revolutionary Puerto Rican sector. WE ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE! Second, to undermine the will to struggle within the P.I.P. and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, both electoral parties. To undermine that will to struggle, and to put it more definitely in class terms; to cower the Puerto Rican middle class, the petty bourgeoisie, whose political activity is expressed primarily through those two parties. To break their will to struggle, to cower not their leaders or their militants, but more significantly, their peripheral possibilities which those two parties could have, with the objective in mind that they should fail the revolution which encourages and revives them. Or that they surrender, or at least lower their flags before the plebiscite which Carter is going to order for Puerto Rico. That is the global shot of the imperialist action in Maravilla. War to the death to the revolutionary sector which is the only guarantee to the survival of the independence movement in Puerto Rico. Secondly, to cripple the will to struggle of the two electoralist sectors with an eye beyond the membership of the two independence-electoralist parties, and aimed at their peripheries in order to limit their influence on the plebiscite, which imperialism will order in Puerto Rico before 1984. These are the factors we must have clear in our minds at this moment. There is no doubt, and it is necessary to repeat our theme, that the indirect factors of the execution of Randall, the taking of the police outpost in Montebello, the taking of the Chilean Consulate, and the countless politico-military actions carried out in Puerto Rico and known to the CIA and the FBI, but not claimed

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in the past, shows up the total failure, the global demonstration of the investigative incapacity of the police repressive corps working in the colony for imperialism.

That investigative failure of the FBI and the CIA, but specifically that part of it at work in Puerto Rico and sustained by legal structures of imperialism within the colony, the FBI and Police, which for many years now have been under the single authority of the FBI. That failure, that demonstration, that proof of the lack of investigative capacity of these geniuses from the FBI, the NIC, and of all these bureaucrats without imagination or creativity, from Washington to San Juan, needed a self-justification. Because today, all their investigative capacity, all their genius as great international politicians can be reduced to the fact that they cannot learn about a single thing unless there is an informer to tell them. But, as to themselves; depending on their own intellectual resources, their own investigative capacity, of reducing logic to facts — they have been a failure. They need, then, to recover some prestige before their masters and before the Puerto Rican people. For that they latched on to that thing (because we have not yet found the word to describe in our language so despicable a creature), Gonzalez Malave, who took these two compañeros to their deaths in Monte Maravilla.

Another fact of great importance, we should consider in seeking a sense to the actions of compañeros Arnaldo Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivi, is to take them as symbols of a very peculiar situation, very important in the development of the Puerto Rican Socialist Liberation Independence Movement. Let us point out, for example, the reproach used by the least radicalized sectors of the Puerto Rican independent movement, which is to tearfully bring out that which has been gathered from the thought of another national or international arena, that these are "crazy people," irresponsible ones who act, and this is the technical phrase, "out of rhythm," invoking not only patriotism, common sense, but Marxism as a science of strategic revolutionary attack as well. We want to point out tonight that if persons such as Arnaldo Darío Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivi act "out of rhythm," it is because the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico, and the

revolution, does not provide rhythm for them. If rhythm had been provided, they would have acted within that rhythm. The fact that they were "out of rhythm" was not their responsibility, but that of all the global Puerto Rican forces in Puerto Rico, and particularly those of us who live proudly in the pavillion of self-appointed revolutionaries. That rhythm of the Puerto Rican revolutionary process is what places compañeros like Arnaldo, and others before them, and others who will follow them, into the personal rhythm of their activities. I make and place such emphasis on the question of the "rhythm" of the compañeros, because one would suspect of irresponsibility anyone who dared to enter the moral zone to which no one is entitled, when face to face with the ground above the grave. When compañeros have passed over the shadow of death resolutely, with all the memory there is in me of one of the most precious salvos (here in reference to the Shadow of Death speech by Albizu Campos in 1936), no one has the right to make that kind of criticism, because there is an implicit immorality in judging those who cannot come out of their graves to tell each of their critics what they deserve... "And who are you? And who are you?"



There is still another aspect within the aspect of "lack of rhythm." That is, that which we must clarify when we speak of what we mean by "lack of rhythm." For example, it is said, to point out those matters which we have touched on most directly, that the just execution of Randall was carried out within support, without root and contact with the great working masses of the Puerto Rican people; that the revolutionary action of taking the police outpost at Montebello was carried out behind the backs of the great masses; that the taking of the Chilean Consulate was an isolated act, a personal action by two persons who took it upon themselves to do it, without any contact with the great

Puerto Rican masses. This is all true if one subscribes, phariseically, to the letter of the text. This is then possibly true.

There is no doubt that those who executed Randall did not call an assembly at Sixto Escobar Park, or in Roberto Clemente Stadium to consult the independence movement on whether they should or should not execute Randall. The same can be said about the F.A.R.P., in taking the police outpost in Montebello. The same can be said of the compañeros Pablo Marcano and Nydia Ester Cuevas. None of them conducted a democratic consultation with the independentistas and the great working masses of Puerto Rico before taking action. But to insist that they should have is to pay pharisaic attention to the Marxist texts. Because, if it is true that Marx and Lenin are very specific in pointing out that in order to take revolutionary action a revolutionary situation is indispensable as a precondition leading to the manifold of activities resulting in the revolutionary seizure of power; it is also true that Marx and Lenin say that if we are to wait for a paradisaical historical situation in order to act in a revolutionary fashion, we are going to pass the rest of our lives thinking about the arrival of the revolution.

Secondly, is it organizational links which provide a party, a clandestine movement, the authority of mass support? The answer is no! Definitely not! Because, taking the classic examples of the international revolution; the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin not only was a ridiculously small minority in comparison with the population of the empire of the czars, but that it was a microscopic number of the working class in the czarist empire. It also was a microscopic fraction of what in itself was a microscopic proletariat in Czarist Russia. But the October Revolution was carried out by an incredibly small group, based on the needs of the Russian peoples, and the working class, of the Russian proletariat. That was the only link, because here was no organizational link, and there could not be; just as there is no organizational link today between the Puerto Rican independence movement in its totality and the great masses of Puerto Rico. And that in order for it to be so, the independence movement would have to become compromised as never in the past. And still it would not go beyond being a microscopic sector in relation to the Puerto Rican electorate, and the Puerto Rican working class, and the Puerto Rican proletariat.

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And so, the executioners of Randall acted with the support of an important and necessary sector of the Puerto Rican working proletariat class, in tune with its own struggle. Randall, as a CIA agent, as a lawyer, in his function, was an important person to the counter-revolutionary and counter-independence struggle in Puerto Rico. Randall, in addition to inventing dozens of offensives against the Puerto Rican workers, inclusively invented a form of blockage which crippled the National Union of Puerto Rican Workers, and consequently circumscribed the frontiers of activity for the rest of the unions in Puerto Rico. There was a need to free ourselves and show up the vulnerability of the empire, its human vulnerability which becomes a political vulnerability. The choice of Randall, his execution by clandestine elements in Puerto Rico was executed by the Revolutionary Armed Commandos.

The same can be said, even more explicitly, in the case of the takeover of the police outpost by a guerrilla of the Armed Forces of Popular Resistance (FARP), at Montebello. Four compañeros attacked the outpost without first consulting the Puerto Rican masses. They did it during the UTIER strike, when it could already be seen that the strike was lost — and I would rather not discuss at this moment why. What do the compañeros of the Fuerzas Armadas de Resistencia Popular write on the wall of the police outpost once they reduce to impotence the police detachment there? A patriotic support to the total UTIER strike and for the independence of Puerto Rico! They include within the most profound necessity of the Puerto Rican people, which is their independence, the immediate factor of a labor strike which could have paralyzed the entire military-industrial apparatus of imperialism in Puerto Rico. Did they act with their backs to the interest of the masses? The compañeros acted within the true link that unites a revolutionary vanguard movement with its rearguard and its periphery, which is the fundamental basic necessity of a people, and of a particular sector of this people in a given moment.

The compañeros of the Chilean Consulate, Nydia Ester Cuevas and Pablo Marcano, did they act with their backs to the great masses? No! We need not say what the Fourth of July means for the independentistas of Puerto Rico (who are not simply those

who are to be found within the ranks of organizations, but whose numbers are greater than those of the organizations, extending along a periphery which is three time, or four times, larger). We can guarantee that in the celebration of the Fourth of July; ridiculous, provoking, disdainful, the great masses of the Popular Democratic Party, and even at certain moments its leaders, see an adverse course to their projections and consider it from their Puerto Rican perspective. And said from the practical viewpoint of these great masses of the autonomist Popular Party, autonomists both within and outside its ranks could care less about the Fourth of July.



Undercover agent Gonzalez who set up the massacre of Carlos and Arnaldo.

Even the great masses which follow the food-coupon standard of the New Progressive Party, could care less about the Fourth of July. Did the compañeros at the Chilean Consulate act behind the backs, and without links to the people and the great masses in Puerto Rico? No! Absolutely No! And all of us who walk the streets of Puerto Rico know it. How many Puerto Ricans, what percentage, not in the press, but in the buses, cars, public service, sidewalks, streets, plazas, factories, universities, schools; what percentage of Puerto Ricans have censured the unmistakable international propaganda triumph won by the compañeros Pablo and Nydia? They acted in benefit and in direct link to the great masses of the Puerto Rican people!

In the same manner, the act of armed protest by Arnaldo Darío and Carlos, which they took to Monte Maravilla under the influence (perverse and ill-intentioned), of that despicable personage, whose name does not deserve mention, represented, that 25th of July, all the anti-colonial feeling,

absolutely all the feelings in the most subtle and blunt fibers of the anti-yanqui and anti-imperialist rejection that exists in Puerto Rico, and that sometime co-exists in the most shameful forms of collaboration with imperialism.

Since there is nothing that does not take place except through the logic of history from which there it is difficult to abstain, there could not be, even with the declaration of Ortiz Molina, the taxi driver — there could not be a Julio Ortiz Molina, without a secret logic of history which could take him to his own statements, and there would not then be a Puerto Rican response so solidly massive and spontaneous to understand and see so quickly the truth said by Ortiz Molina, were there not a logic of the facts which separates one fact from the other to unveil itself in the declaration of Ortiz Molina — and which, in the long run, and perhaps not in so long a time, the Puerto Rican people would, through its own discerning have arrived at the same conclusion that in Monte Maravilla, police took these compañeros to a trap, and there summarily executed them, with the only virtue of right that can be called upon as a right to execute two suspects simply because they are suspect.

It seems to me that once this panoramic view of the area of the rhythm of victory and pain is made, can we then place in perspective the rest of my discursive intention tonight. Because I would not have arrived at this point, nor could I have placed it in this logical context, penetrating within these great happenings of our recent history.

And to end this aspect of things, I want to say that the lack of rhythm supposedly attributable to the sacrificed compañeros in Monte Maravilla is coming to an end.

But, I also want to say that what happened in Cerro Maravillas will be repeated. Let it not surprise us, because it will happen again. It will happen again for two reasons which are fundamental. First; the repressive decision to cripple Puerto Rican independence until it is impotent, so that they may continue with their annexationist plans and with their planned plebiscite. To that end, they have confessed that prison has failed as far as the independentistas are concerned — because when we come out of prison, we come out more independentista, more revolutionary than before, and these are comments

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which they have made privately at FBI headquarters, which is where all these shameful acts are planned. They have decided to repress so as to cripple independence in Puerto Rico and reduce it to its lowest numerical expression, and its lowest qualitative expression, and so what happened at Monte Maravilla will continue. And it will produce more Arnaldos' and more Carlos'. because, that is exactly the easiest prey, and in the very sublime impatience of these companeros, they can act blindly. Secondly, because it cannot be otherwise, historically. If we can take an example from among those nearest to us, contemporary Cuba. How many Arnaldos did Cuba have? How many Carlos there were before Fidel? Make a list of Cubans, of the sacrificed Cuban youth, not in the days prior to the Fidelista victory, but from the epoch of the Machado imperialism; that is to say, 30 or 40 years ago. The entire period of the general strike of March, 1935; of the youth activity in Cuba, of the assassination of Guiterra and Aponte in May, 1935; up until it arrived at the truly insane murders in the two stages of Batista repression — that of March, April, May, June, and July, 1935, when Coronel Pedraza's police assassinated the youth, simply because they were young, in Havana. Something which is again repeated in the last stage of Batistaism, while Fidel was in the mountains, until the very eve of the Fidelist victory. How many Arnaldos, how many Carlos were sacrificed even without that "lack of rhythm?"

And what about the case of the Vietnamese revolution? Neither Ho-Chih-Minh, nor Giap take a decision to organize a revolutionary army, before a series of innumerable acts similar to that in Maravilla, where a number of companeros take actions such as those at Maravilla — actions of revolutionary impulsiveness which take them to the results of Maravilla, and provided a theoretical framework. Because, with an isolated action no one should play, at the cost of their life. With a rationalization some 40 degrees below zero, no one gambles their life. Stalin, for example, whom no one could accuse of being an existentialist, said that those of us who are revolutionaries must struggle in all anguish and with all the passion of our bodies.

It is the innumerable quantity of such acts carried out by the spontaneity of the masses through companeros such as Arnaldo and Carlos, which



takes Ho-Chih-Minh, and Giap, to the logical conclusion that the time had arrived to gather all their forces within a political-military organization under the leadership of the party, and give it a definitive politico-military direction of guerrilla confrontation with the armed forces of French imperialism. Because of these two reasons, because in Puerto Rico there are many Arnaldo Dario Rosados' and Carlos Soto Arrivis' — and this is also understood by the entire independence leadership — that exactly before what occurred happened, we, in the Liga Socialista, arrived at the conclusion that in Puerto Rico there are a number of very dangerous persons, too dangerous to have within the still fragile revolutionary-organizational apparatus, and also too dangerous to have far from us. Because it is dangerous to their lives, and we are all responsible for the lives of the least independentista in Puerto Rico.

Precisely, in the case of companero Arnaldo, we tried to take him to Guanica and could not convince him; and the person who was at our point of departure in Rio Piedras was the informer who rejected the invitation to go to Guanica, made in good faith by some of the companeros and companeras, and remained there, waiting and watching for Arnaldo to take him to the butcher block of Maravilla. And that was the appraisal made by our organization before what happened occurred — that these are persons too dangerous to have within our ranks, because their passions break the boundaries of discipline; but too dangerous also to have too far, because we cannot then protect them, and we need to protect them due to their own innocence.

I want to say the following: In Puerto Rico we are living a unique historical moment. It is a possible parallel to certain periods of the 19th Century, but only relatively so. Puerto Rican independence, Puerto Rican nationalism, was born with a politico-military and conspirative mentality, maintained until the yanqui invasion, until the stabilization of the yanqui victory. But it is not true that the

politico-military mentality was destroyed as an imperialist fiat, once the yanqui troops arrived in Puerto Rico. No. Armed struggle in Puerto Rico after the 25th of July, 1898, continued into 1901-02, and this piece of information was previous to its verification, an intuition with us, and about which we had written, without documentary proof, since 1949. Now, a new group of both scientific Marxists, and non-Marxists as well, are supplying the documentary evidence so that we may form a global vision of the transformation of the independence mind between 1898 and 1900. Today, independentistas are returning, with a more profound sense, more detailed, and with a greater organizational definition (and assimilating international lessons), to the progressive conclusion that, with permission from the police, civil rights independence does not work. That the repressive capacities of imperialism against Puerto Rican independence converts Puerto Rican independence without a politico-military mentality, and without a conspirative mind, without clandestine mentality, into an unarmed guerrilla which may walk down the streets of San Sebastian shouting slogans and waving flags, while police take to the rooftops with their trained carbines, waiting for that predetermined moment when it is decided to fire their lethal charge. That is the consciousness that is taking shape, that is the idea, that is the certainty which is penetrating the entire independence movement in Puerto Rico. And so consciousness,

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future of Puerto Rico is now stepping past rhetoric, past the speaker's stand, past the newspaper articles, and all that is necessary in life, from the simple struggle for independence to the indispensable, which is clandestine organization. And that through that new method, old-new method of seeing things, the future of Puerto Rico is passing into clandestine hands, where bravery must be truth, and sacrifice cannot be anything other than truth; and where rhetoric is transformed into armed actions. This is the great phenomenon with which we Puerto Ricans are coming face to face. In the face of this, we find an extremely imaginative people, who must struggle with unimaginative bureaucrats sitting in Washington, and who have themselves proved throughout history, in our colonial-imperialist relations, that they do not understand Puerto Ricans.

We are an undecipherable enigma to those people. They impose their academic mentalities, recruited by a Department of State, the Pentagon, by the CIA, by their entire control apparatus over the Puerto Rican people, and still fail, and each day understand us less. And there are

reasons for this. They have, for example, lost all sense of heroism. How can they understand another people's heroism, if they cannot see their own? For them, it is totally inexplicable that Puerto Rican independence, and I include all forces, should be capable of doing so much with so little money. Because to collect \$175,000 or \$200,000 in a P.I.P. marathon is nothing. That is consumed very quickly considering the high costs in Puerto Rico. That is but a drop in a bucket, a tiny grain of sand. But even more so is our case, those of us who have access only to nickels and quarters, and that we should be able to accomplish more than those who have thousands of dollars. That is something that they cannot simply understand. Because they have no sense of sacrifice.

I could talk about much more, point out many more things to clarify what is presently not understood, or assimilated. For example, they still cannot assimilate that yet. They still harbor illusions of sending a military mission to their old building in Havana, from where they once ruled Cuba.

Well, in the face of that actuality, we are at an advantage. But we have to know how to use it and obtain consciousness of that which is happening. The future of Puerto Rico is passing into the clandestine hands of independence and socialism. And that phenomenon must be studied, observed, and continued into full development. And whoever is capable of doing it, to serve the cause to the maximum capacity of our interior lives, and patriotic and revolutionary will, should do it.