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Vieques, Puerto Rico and the U.S. Navy: An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Sources

Jose O. Diaz

ABSTRACT. This bibliography contains recent selective coverage of the dispute involving the U.S. Navy and its training facility in Vieques, Puerto Rico. It includes both the many printed works that have come to the surface since 1999 as well as some useful Web sites that argue for or against the Navy's presence in Vieques. It also contains some helpful English and Spanish language monographs, government documents, and selected journals and newspaper articles. *[Article copies available for a fee from The Haworth Document Delivery Service: 1-800-HAWORTH. E-mail address: <docdelivery@haworthpress.com> Website: <http://www.HaworthPress.com> © 2003 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.]*

KEYWORDS. Vieques Island, Puerto Rico, United States, foreign relations, ordnance testing, United States Navy

INTRODUCTION

Since September 11, 2001, Americans have been infatuated with foreign policy. Recently an astute political commentator remarked, "foreign policy is king." Domestic agendas have taken a back seat to the

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global threat of terrorism and armed conflict. Among the many domestic issues lost in the political shuffle is the tense and unresolved situation between the residents of Vieques, Puerto Rico and the U.S. Navy. The U.S. Navy controls 26,000 acres in this small Puerto Rican municipality and uses its beaches and rolling hills for military exercises ranging from target practice to amphibious landings. Many in Puerto Rico would like to see the Navy move its operations elsewhere, redistribute the land and allow the tiny island to develop its tourism industry. The Navy and the Pentagon claim that Vieques plays a key role in the worldwide struggle against terrorism by providing irreplaceable physical and military facilities in the Western hemisphere. The situation took a turn for the worse when on April 19th, 1999 an "errant 500 pound bomb" killed David Sanes, a civilian security guard employed by the U.S. Navy. For many, Sanes's death was the final straw and placed both Puerto Rico and the U.S. Navy on a collision course. Public demonstrations, counterdemonstrations and massive arrests have characterized the last two years of the struggle over Vieques's fate.

This bibliography offers coverage of both the many printed works that have come to the surface since 1999 and some useful Web sites that argue for or against the Navy's presence in Vieques, Puerto Rico. It also contains some helpful English and Spanish language monographs, government documents, and a section on selected journals and newspaper articles. The English language journal articles, government publications, and news articles have been selected because of the author's unique outlook or ability to place the issue in a larger perspective. News articles that have merely reported the events of the day have been purposely omitted.

ELECTRONIC ARTICLES AND WEB SITES

Ayala, Cesar. *Vieques, Puerto Rico: The Expropriations Carried Out by the U.S. Navy in 1940-45*

<http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/soc/faculty/ayala/Vieques/English/index.html>

During World War II, the US Federal Government took over approximately 26,000 acres out of a total of 33,000 in Vieques to build military installations. Today the expropriation of this land remains at the heart of the Vieques controversy. This rare scholarly study does three things: it examines the process of expropriations between the years 1940 and

1945; it places the expropriations in the context of a preexisting situation of land concentration and finally, it creates profiles of land ownership in Vieques which in turn allows the readers to set comparisons of the social and economic conditions before and after the first round of expropriations. The data collected leads Professor Ayala to conclude that the Navy-sponsored expropriations

dislocated the sugar economy of Vieques without providing alternative means of development for the population. Yet the problem of land concentration in Vieques is much older than the problems caused by the Navy's presence. A solution to the land question will require the recovery and redistribution of the lands, and their creative use by the community.

Defense Link (Department of Defense)
<http://www.defenselink.mil/>

This crucial Web site supports the mission of the Department of Defense by providing open, public access to frequently updated news from a variety of sources. It offers news releases, contract announcements, press advisories, news transcripts, live briefings, briefing slides and news photos. Those interested in the Vieques controversy could locate thousands of references to Vieques by searching the site. This site is a must to follow the Navy's position on this issue.

Navy's Official Web Site on Vieques
<http://www.navyvieques.navy.mil/>

The U.S. Navy's official Vieques site offers the Navy's perspective on the current controversy. The site includes a history of the Navy's presence in Vieques, maps, and links to key issues such as Navy Acquisition of Vieques Land, Navy search and rescue missions in Puerto Rico, and questions and answers on issues ranging from water supply to cancer rates. Links are also provided to SOUTHCOM (The United States Southern Command), NAVSO (the Navy community), NSRR (Naval Station Roosevelt Roads, Puerto Rico).

Puerto Rico: At the Vieques Crossroads
<http://www.thegully.com/essays/puertorico/completepuerto.html>

Puerto Rico: At the Vieques Crossroads is an interesting and readable site hosted by *The Gully*, an online magazine "for a sharp queer view of international news, U.S. politics, e-activism, race, class, lesbian and gay issues." The section devoted to the Vieques controversy con-

sists of a list of articles ranging from opinion pieces to current news. Although the articles uniformly condemned American policy in Vieques, these writings are not nearly as strident as the ones found in other Web sites. In fact, from the Vieques' section of *The Gully's* Web site there is a link to the U.S. Navy's viewpoint regarding Vieques.

Vieques History: A Brief History of Vieques

<http://www.vieques-island.com/hisindx.html>

The history section of the "Vieques Travel Guide" Web site, this is a one page history of the small Puerto Rican municipality. The article is sober, well written and it provides facts and figures about Vieques's early history and the arrival of the U.S. Navy.

Vieques Libre

<http://www.viequeslibre.org/>

Vieques Libre (Free Vieques) is the best Vieques-related portal currently available on the World Wide Web. The site is accessible in six languages (English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and German) and provides everything from history, current news, maps, articles, cartoons, mailing lists, relevant links and every other feature readers have come to expect in a useful and informative Web site. Vieques Libre is clearly an anti-Navy site and offers very little information regarding the Navy's position. The site's authorship is not easily discernable and its alarmist tone will be troublesome for those trying to sift through the information and reach their own conclusions.

Yarrow, Matthew. *Colonial Legacy and Military Strategy: The U.S. Military in Puerto Rico*. Philadelphia, PA: American Friends Service Committee, [1999].

<http://www.afsc.org/lac/strings/pr.htm>

Prepared by the American Friends Service Committee, this site offers a brief section on Puerto Rican history followed by a more extensive look at the history and role of the U.S. military in the island, from military bases to the ROTC program. The site is clearly biased against the U.S. Navy and advocates for citizen activism and participation in its removal. The Puerto Rico section of this site is part of a larger series also available online under the title "Still pulling strings: The U.S. Military in Latin America after the Cold War."

MONOGRAPHS

Barreto, Amilcar Antonio. *Vieques, the Navy and Puerto Rican Politics*. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 2002.

Vieques, the Navy and Puerto Rican Politics is a serious and sober analysis of the conflict over the U.S. Navy's bombing range in Vieques, Puerto Rico. In it Professor Amilcar Barreto examines the accidental killing of a civilian guard in 1999 and how this seemingly trivial incident sparked a wave of Puerto Rican nationalism and ethnic mobilization. The author cleverly sees in Vieques a microcosm of the economic, social and political issues faced by Puerto Ricans. In other words, Vieques is just another chapter of the thorny colonial status Puerto Ricans endure under the United States. Furthermore, Professor Barreto demonstrates how the U.S. military in the Vieques crisis became not just a catalyst for but also an unwitting accomplice in the process of Puerto Rican ethnic mobilization, helping to set the stage for the emergence of a more vigorous and militant cultural nationalism. He also supplies a credible explanation for the surprisingly consensual reaction among Puerto Ricans of all political stripes to what many observers regarded as an unjust assault on the life and livelihood of Vieques residents and an example of U.S. political arrogance. In the course of identifying Vieques as a defining protest issue in Puerto Rican politics, Barreto avoids a weakness common to other treatments of the island's politics by documenting the links between protest and activism in Puerto Rico and in the United States.

Davila, Jorge. *Foxardo 1824: Y el Bombardeo Ritual de Vieques*. San Juan de Puerto Rico: Editorial LEA, 2000.

An interesting and well-researched monograph, *Foxardo 1824* examines an almost forgotten scandal in which one of the Navy's earliest heroes, Commodore David Porter, led 200 sailors in an unauthorized surprise attack on the Puerto Rican town of Fajardo. Porter's subsequent court-martial for that incident created a national furor, with the proceedings of his trial front-page news for months, and with Porter orchestrating a campaign to win public sympathy, including publishing a book in his own defense. Jesus Davila, a well-known journalist, uses the Fajardo incident as a window to scrutinize Puerto Rico-Navy relations. He concludes that the situation in Vieques is another example of an imperial arrogance that has been part of the Navy since American sailors first began patrolling foreign waters in the early 19th century. It is also

evidence of the well-established but little examined tradition in the Navy of top officers challenging civilian control.

Garcia Muniz, Humberto and Rodriguez Beruff, Jorge (editors). *Fronteras En Conflicto: Guerra Contra Las Drogas, Militarizaciôn Y Democracia En El Caribe, Puerto Rico Y Vieques*. San Juan, P.R.: Red Caribena de Geopolitica, Seguridad Regional y Relaciones Internacionales Afiliada al Proyecto ATLANTEA, 1999.

This work consists of four well-written scholarly essays that probe deeply and seriously into the many ancillary issues associated with the Navy's presence in Puerto Rico and the Caribbean region. This scholarly volume judiciously places Vieques' conflict at the center of a larger and more complex set of regional issues such as economic development, militarism and democracy, the U.S. sponsored drug war and the Posse Comitatus Act (a Reconstruction era criminal law proscribing the use of the U.S. military to "execute the laws" except where expressly authorized by the Constitution or Congress). This study's most significant contribution lies in a comparative examination of Vieques and the other U.S. military installations use for military purposes in California, the Carolinas, Maryland, Georgia, Florida, Hawaii and Japan. In it the author deconstructs the military's argument that Vieques is indispensable to the nation's defense and convincingly demonstrates that other alternatives (e.g., the Delmarva Peninsula in the eastern shore of Virginia) are available to the U.S. Navy.

Jimenez, Felix. *Vieques y la Prensa: Idilio Fragmentado*. San Juan P.R.: Plaza Mayor, c2001.

In *Vieques y la Prensa*, journalist Felix Jimenez, examines how North American as well as some international media outlets have covered the Vieques controversy. The work consists of ten awkwardly written and poorly organized essays centered on issues and events spun by the confrontation between Vieques and the U.S. Navy (e.g., political status, environment, civil disobedience, etc.). The author is highly critical of the way the media informed, misinformed, reported and underreported Vieques. He concludes that the Vieques story became two stories: one for international consumption, the other for local viewers. The former, partly driven by celebrities, emphasized violations of human rights, massive arrests, and health problems; the latter, mostly for local audiences, was characterized by catchy slogans, political sound bites and empty symbolism.

McCaffrey, Katherine T. *Military Power and Popular Protest: The U.S. Navy in Vieques, Puerto Rico*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

Military Power and Popular Protest: The U.S. Navy in Vieques, Puerto Rico is a fine piece of scholarship. In it author Katherine T. McCaffrey provides one of the few serious investigations of the difficult relationship between the U.S. Navy and the island's population. The study delves into such topics as the history of the U.S. naval involvement in Vieques, the grassroots mobilization led by fishermen and other residents that dates back to the early 1970s, the string of broken promises that have characterized the Navy's presence in this small island, and the re-energized political activism prompted by this confrontation. The book convincingly shows that Puerto Rico is by and large unified in its opposition to the Navy, and that vociferous protests at home and abroad are threatening the Navy's domination over Vieques.

Murillo, Mario. *Islands of Resistance: Puerto Rico, Vieques, and U.S. Policy*. New York: Seven Stories; London: Turnaround, 2001.

Islands of Resistance is a readable pamphlet that offers a quick overview of how and why Vieques has become such a bone of contention between the United States and Puerto Rico. Most of the book consists of a quick foray into Puerto Rican history, from its discovery in 1493 to the current battles over the Island's status question. In addition, it offers a brief overview of how the mainland media outlets have covered (or not covered) this controversy. This monograph is, however, not the place to start a serious study of this controversy. The book is one-sided, glib and clearly partisan. In spite of its title, the issue of US policy is never seriously addressed and the Navy's critical perspective on Vieques is nearly absent from the narrative.

Rivera Martinez, Antonio. *Asi Empezo Vieques*. Puerto Rico: F. Ortiz Nieves, 2000.

An important and useful compilation of original documents, this monograph provides access to primary sources relating to the history of this tiny island. The documents, photocopied from original papers housed in Spanish archives, provide first person narratives of important personalities and key events from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Readers of this collection might be surprised to find out that the struggles over Vieques have a long and distinguished history. In the 19th century alone, the gov-

ernments of Denmark and Great Britain attempted to wrestle control of Vieques away from Spain and that even a private citizen (George Mathew, former governor of the Bahamas) claimed to be Vieques's rightful owner. The documents in this collection are chronologically organized and for ease of access every entry includes pertinent cataloging information.

Melendez Lopez, Arturo. *La Batalla de Vieques*. Rio Piedras, P.R.: Editorial Edil, 1999.

Originally published in 1982 *The battle over Vieques* offers a detailed history of Puerto Rico's fight for independence and Vieques's struggle against the U.S. Navy. The work is written from a nationalist and Marxist perspective and thus places Vieques at the center of a struggle against Spanish and American colonialism and imperialism. Its narrative begins in the 19th century and concludes in the 1970s. The book pays particular attention to the 1940s and 1950s, the periods when the Navy obtained full control over nearly two-thirds of the island and when Puerto Rican nationalism had reached its summit. Its appendices include newspaper articles, official correspondence and opinion pieces.

Mullenneaux, Lisa. *Ni una Bomba Mas!: Vieques vs. U.S. Navy*. New York, NY: Penington Press, 2002.

An interesting and informative book, *Ni una Bomba Mas* provides readers with an account of the 1999-2000 civil disobedience by anti-Navy activists on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. The accidental bombing of a security guard on April 19, 1999, prompted Puerto Rican activists to occupy the Navy's firing range until federal marshals forcibly removed them on May 4, 2000. The volume consists of nine chapters that clearly and succinctly chronicle the tense and thorny relationship between civilians and Navy personnel in Vieques. In addition to a solid and readable narrative, it provides over fifty photographs, maps, and government documents that help readers track the flurry of diplomatic and political activity between the Navy and the Puerto Rican government.

Ortiz Ramos, Pablo Marcial. *Con Ruben en la Playa: Un Diario de Vieques*. San Juan, Puerto Rico: [s.n.], 2000.

The confrontation between the U.S. Navy and Puerto Rican civilians over the island of Vieques has attracted politicians and clergymen, as well as local and international celebrities. Those arrested for trespassing include Congressmen Luis Guitierrez, environmentalist Robert Ken-

nedy, Jr., and political activist Jesse Jackson. The practice of civil disobedience has been led by Ruben Berrios Martinez, president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party and longtime advocate of the Navy's removal from Vieques. This volume, centered on Berrios Martinez, offers a day-to-day account of life in one of the encampments erected by the leader and his followers. The narrative covers approximately a year (July 1999 to May 2000) and consists of conversations between Berrios Martinez and the author. The work includes a series of appendices providing the text of letters and speeches given by Berrios Martinez during his long political career.

Puerto Rico S. XXI Al Trasluz De Vieques: Sociedad Civil, Identidad, Cultura, Colonia Y Consenso. Madrid: CAPRE, 2000.

The result of a scholarly seminar, this collection of thirty-two essays purports to use the Vieques controversy as a window into Puerto Rican society and the serious issues it faces at the dawn of the 21st century. The work is cleverly organized into three larger sections (Vieques, Colonia y Consenso; Sociedad Civil, Lengua e Identidad; Historia, Cultura y Literatura). Each section provides a wide array of well-written and well-researched essays dealing with many aspects of the Puerto Rican experience. The Island's colonial experience and its effects on everything from culture to the environment to literature to racial relations is the common theme that runs through the entire anthology. Vieques, these essays seem to contend, is the place where the problematics of Puerto Rico's colonial experience have coalesced and where larger issues such as political powerlessness, colonialism and cultural assimilation have come to the fore.

Rivera Santana, Jose E. *Asi Fue: Cronica De Un Desobediente Civil Por La Paz De Vieques.* [Puerto Rico: Congreso Nacional Hostosiano, 2001].

One of the many personal narratives to come out of this conflict, this book offers a look into the experiences faced by those arrested for invading the Navy-controlled target practice areas in Vieques. The author, together with other political activists, was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to 90 days in prison for disobeying federal laws. Although the book lacks badly needed introductory material, its colloquial tone makes for a quick and interesting read. Particularly useful is the volume's second section in which the author details his introduction to the complexities of the legal system as well the physical and

psychological burdens of captivity encountered by otherwise law-abiding citizens. The work closes with an interesting appendix of letters and other primary sources generated by the author while in captivity.

Vieques Ante Los Ojos Del Pueblo. San Juan, Puerto Rico: Central Puertorriqueña de Trabajadores, 2000.

This slender and unassuming pamphlet gathers under one cover the proceedings of the VI Congress of Puerto Rican Workers. The Congress, held in August 2000, centered on the struggle over Vieques and on the conflict's ethical, moral and political ramifications. The book's eight contributors include political and religious leaders who have condemned the Navy's activities in Vieques and demanded its removal from the island. Most of the volume lacks balance and objectivity and offers no new insights. One exception, however, is the contribution by Luis Enrique Marius, Secretary General of the Congress of Latin American Workers. Marius places the Vieques controversy against the backdrop of Latin American foreign policy and the search for democracy, peace, and fair labor practices in Latin America.

Vieques, Crónicas Desde La Desobediencia: (Posiciones De Los Colectivos De Resistencia Amigos De Vieques Y Amigos Del Mar, 1999-2001). San Juan, P.R.: La Grieta, 2001.

Written from a Marxist perspective, this volume offers a lengthy compilation of letters, newspaper articles, and photographs dealing with the public demonstrations and arrests that have characterized the battle over Vieques. The editor extracted most of the newspaper articles from the weekly *Claridad* (the official organ of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party), thus providing an anti-Navy (and anti-American) point view. The book does offer an interesting collection of legal documents (e.g., judicial appeals and legal decisions) as well as a photographic essay documenting the invasion of the Navy's target practice area, the physical confrontations between protestors and the authorities, and protests at the University of Puerto Rico.

SELECTED NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNAL ARTICLES

Gonzalez, Juan. "Anchors Away: The Navy's Sordid History in Puerto Rico Explains a Lot About Vieques." *In These Times*. January 22, 2001, p. 19.

Calling Vieques “the most glaring example today of an imperial arrogance that has been part of the Navy since American sailors first began patrolling foreign waters in the early 19th century,” journalist Juan Gonzalez offers an interesting view of the partisan rancor and political expediency that have characterized negotiations over the island’s future. To make his case for “imperial arrogance” Gonzalez relies on the Foxardo incident (an 1824 Navy-led surprise attack on the Puerto Rican town of Fajardo). His case for political bickering is well documented and takes the reader into Congressional sniping as well as the sordid world of Puerto Rican political status politics. Gonzalez concludes that the issue of Vieques is far from resolved and that “President Bush thus will face his first foreign test near the same Puerto Rican town where Commodore Porter failed his in 1824.”

Grayson, George W. “A Call to Patriotism: Keep Vieques Open,” *Wall Street Journal*, Oct 12, 2001, p. A15.

America’s security concerns are the main theme of this interesting article. It debates the wisdom of crippling the Navy’s ability to conduct training exercises at a time when the nation is conducting a war on terrorism. The author quotes prominent members of the Hispanic caucus and clearly shows that even among Hispanic members of Congress opinions are divided on the Vieques issue. To allow Puerto Rico to expel the Navy in the midst of a national emergency is according to some tantamount to pulling “the rug out from under the war effort at this moment.” Even more ominous is the possibility that the successful removal of the Navy could lead to a “not-in-my-backyard perspective” which in turn would greatly undermine national security.

Grusky, S. “The Navy as Social Provider in Vieques, Puerto Rico.” *Armed Forces & Society*, Winter 92, Vol. 18 Issue 2, pp. 215-230.

This well-written article offers a cogent analysis of the Navy’s attempts to make Vieques a viable economic zone. The author analyzes the Navy’s economic program in view of the various theories of economic development on which the program is based (e.g., W.A. Lewis’ labor surplus model and Operation Bootstraps, Puerto Rico’s industrialization program). She also discusses the built-in limitations of the island’s microeconomy and the social conflict between the Navy and Vieques residents. The article concludes that the Navy’s economic development program has not been successful in stimulating the island’s

economy, in providing jobs for its residents, or improving relations between the Navy and Vieques residents. This failure, according to Grusky, is due to many factors, chief among them

the lack of viability of a defense contracting focus in the context of the preexisting constraints of the island microeconomy, the climate of tension and conflict between the Navy and Vieques residents, Puerto Rican party rivalries, the marginalization of Vieques by the San Juan government, and the larger complexities of U.S.-Puerto Rico politics. (p. 228)

Hamburger, Tom and Jaffe, Greg. "Navy Stirs Controversy by Planning Ads for Puerto Rico Vote on Bomb Exercises." *Wall Street Journal*, Sep 11, 2001, p. A.28.

The US Navy has not been idle while the fate of its most important training facility has been debated. This important article details the Navy's plan to unleash a \$3.5 million advertising campaign in Puerto Rico to help win public approval of continued Navy bombing practice on Vieques. The campaign is being launched despite Pentagon rules that bar attempting to influence elections. Hamburger's and Jaffe's piece is one of the few articles covering the Navy's attempts at defending its interests in Vieques and at trying to win the public relation wars currently underway.

Hernandez, Raymond. "A Tiny Island, but a Cause So Celebre; From New York to Hollywood, Vieques Has Issues for Everyone." *The New York Times*, July 15, 2001, section 1, p. 25.

The accidental death of a Navy security guard and calls for the Navy's removal have turned this hitherto obscure point on the map into a global cause celebre. From Jacqueline Jackson, the wife of the Rev. Jesse Jackson to Al Sharpton, from James Edward Olmos to a home-grown version of the Chicago Seven (known locally as the Vieques Four), the island is now a mandatory stop on the global protest tour. As Hernandez cleverly points out,

Vieques, simply, is an activist's dream, offering something for everyone. It has the destruction of an ecological system, along with claims that the people are being exposed to toxic chemicals, which environmentalists are seizing upon. It has the specter of American

colonialism that human rights advocates and Puerto Rican nationalists are pointing to. It has the suggestion of racism that civil rights activists and Hispanic leaders are up in arms over.

The real danger however, is that the main issues may be forgotten and replaced by too much celebrity gazing.

Robinson, Linda and Newman, Richard J. "It's Bombs Astray—Vieques Residents Tell the Navy to Get Lost After Its Test Bombs Kill One of Their Own." *US News & World Report* August 2, 1999, p. 34.

Written shortly after the accidental death of a security guard in April 1999 this article provides a good introduction to Vieques's long-standing controversy. It explains the Navy's use of the island for live-fire exercises and its legal acquisition of nearly two-thirds of the land. It also profiles the Navy's well-intended yet futile attempts at sparking the island's fragile tourism industry and the animosity that has characterized civilian-Navy relations for nearly fifty years.

Spenser, Jack. "The Importance of Vieques Island for Military Readiness." *Foundation Reports*, February 16, 2001, Backgrounder No. 1411. <http://www.heritage.org/Research/NationalSecurity/BG1411.cfm>

This Heritage Foundation report outlines the current Vieques controversy and argues for Vieques' uniqueness as a training facility. The island's size, the article argues, "allows the maneuver of Marine forces and aerial and ship gunfire without endangering the civilians who live eight or more miles away." Written from a national security perspective (and reflecting the Heritage Foundation's conservative leanings), the piece urges President Bush to "place a premium on the readiness of the forces as well as the concerns of the people of Vieques. Most important, however, he must not repeat former President Clinton's habit of putting political objectives before national security."

"The Value of Vieques." *Wall Street Journal* Nov 15, 1999, p. A.50

In this editorial the *Wall Street Journal* opines on the complexities of the Vieques situation and the tangled political Web it has weaved in the nation's capital. The Vieques problem, according to the *WSJ*, "doesn't lend itself to an easy resolution." Domestic politics in Washington and San Juan together with critical issues of national security make for a nearly intractable political situation.

Wilcox, Joyce. "Vieques, Puerto Rico: An Island Under Siege." *American Journal of Public Health*. May 2001, Volume 91, Issue 5, pp. 695-698.

This article focuses on the health risks associated with the Navy's presence in Vieques. It highlights public health practitioners dealing with the health concerns of the residents of Vieques. Groups based in New York, Philadelphia, and Puerto Rico have "gone public" on this issue in different ways. According to these organizations, Vieques residents, due to the Navy's activities, show higher rates of cancer and vibroacoustic disease. The environment has also been adversely affected; "samples obtained by a group of marine biologists from the coral reefs in Vieques located in close proximity to unexploded leaking bombs reveal highly diseased and discolored coral specimens." The article also provides selected portions of a policy statement adopted by the American Public Health Association calling on the U.S. Navy to leave Vieques.

SELECTED GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

Vieques and the Future of the Atlantic Fleet Weapons Training Facility: Hearings Before the Committee on Armed Services and the Subcommittee on Readiness and Management Support, United States Senate, One Hundred Sixth Congress, first session, September 22 and October 19, 1999. <http://www.house.gov/hasc/schedules/1999.html#Sept99>

Held in September and October 1999, these hearings brought to the fore the divergent opinions of those directly involved in the Vieques controversy. The September 1999 hearing included two witnesses: Vice Admiral William J. Fallon, USN Commander of the Second Fleet, and Lieutenant General Peter Pace, USMC Commander of United States Marine Forces Atlantic. These two commanders offered the committee their assessment of the national security need of the Vieques training range. They concluded that "global security imperatives" require that the U.S. Navy continue to train in Vieques. The Vieques weapons range, they affirmed, "is an irreplaceable national asset." The second hearing held in October 1999 gave the floor to, among others, Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner Carlos Romero Barcelo, the then Secretary of the Navy Richard Danzig, as well as the Chief of Naval Operations and the Commander of the USMC. While Puerto Rico's Resident Commissioner advocated the removal of the U.S. Navy, secretary Danzig contin-

ued to affirm that “the Vieques training range is the best and for several important reasons the only suitable training site for Naval forces deploying from the East Coast of the United States.”

Vieques Lands Transfer Act of 1994: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Insular and International Affairs of the Committee on Natural Resources, House of Representatives, One Hundred Third Congress, second session, on H.R. 3831, to authorize and direct the transfer of certain lands on the Island of Vieques, Puerto Rico, to the municipality of Vieques, and for other purposes, hearing held in Washington, DC, October 4, 1994.

In 1994 the House conducted these hearings to study a bill introduced by Puerto Rico’s Resident Commissioner that would authorize and direct the transfer of certain lands on the Island of Vieques, PR, to the Municipality of Vieques, “for public purposes that benefit the people of the island.” Although these hearings took place before the current controversy heated up, it does provide interesting facts and figures related to the Navy’s presence in Vieques and its control (or perceived control) over the island and its residents.

Federal News Service, June 27, 2001, Wednesday, Capitol Hill Hearing, Hearing of the House Armed Forces Services Committee, Hearing Subject: Military Training on the Island of Vieques, Chaired by Rep. Bob Stump (R-AZ). http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/security/has178000.000/has178000_of.htm

The House Armed Forces Committee convened this important hearing to discuss the administration plan for the Naval training facility at Vieques, Puerto Rico. The Committee’s Chairman set the tone by supporting the Navy’s position and declaring that the “Vieques range is an irreplaceable asset, the closure of which would significantly damage the readiness of the U.S. Military forces.” To allow the residents of the island to decide on the future of the military training, he continued, “sets a bad precedent that would place at risk future access to military training ranges, both in the United States and abroad.” These particular hearings offer the point of view of key policy makers such as Paul Wolfowitz, (Deputy Secretary of Defense); Gordon R. England (Secretary of the Navy); Adm. Vern Clark, (United States Navy, Chief of Naval Operations); and Gen. Michael J. Williams (United States Marine Corps, As-

sistant Commandant of the Marine Corps). In addition, it includes the texts of prepared statements by other members of Congress and Washington policy makers.

Federal News Service, June 15, 2001, Friday, Department of Defense Briefing, Defense Department Special Briefing: Navy Decision on Training at Vieques, Puerto Rico Briefer: Secretary of the Navy Gordon England, Location Briefing Room, Arlington Virginia. http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Jun2001/t06152001_t0615secna.html

In this statement, Secretary of the Navy Gordon England presents a key shift in the Navy's position regarding Vieques. He states that the Defense Department is "planning to discontinue our training operations on the range on Vieques in May of 2003" and is creating a "panel of experts to reinvigorate our efforts to find effective alternatives to Vieques for training our forces." During the question and answer session that followed he admitted that although Vieques is the Navy's "crown jewel, that does not, however, mean that we cannot find a suitable alternative for Vieques." He goes on to assert that advanced technologies will allow the Navy "to find a direct substitute for Vieques."

CONCLUSION

This bibliography includes most of the significant works about the Vieques versus the U.S. Navy controversy published up to 2002. It offers readers a good place to begin in understanding not only the Vieques dilemma, but also the larger issue of Puerto Rico's unresolved political destiny.

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