

02 POLITICAL REPRESSION Cointelpro



03 POLITICAL PRISONERS Freedom Now



que ondee sola

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## Message from the Editor

Welcome to the final *Que Ondee Sola* of the 2001 spring semester. It is our honor to present the following special edition to our readers.

Each article, testimony, and commentary found in the following pages speaks to the human spirit of resistance, that resists whatever attempts to strip us of our dignity and our humanity.

Puerto Rico, a colonized nation for over 500 years, has refused to accept the fate of colonial subjects: obliteration. Vieques is an example of this; a nation's will cannot be ignored. The African American community today poses the question- are those that have been exploited and subjected to genocidal practices not due just reparations? Also, this community, alongside other marginalized communities in the U.S. are demanding the end of the criminalization of their youth, their future. From Chiapas, Mexico, the Zapatistas captured not state power, but the imagina-

tion of an entire nation. It is a movement based on continuous resistance from outside the political system for "radical" things like democracy, autonomy, and land. But as certain as the existence of resistance is, so is the existence of political repression a reality. Nonetheless, people continue to resist from their work places, from their schools, and from their communities. This resistance takes on so many different faces and features. This is what Sub comandante Marcos was talking about when he discussed what he calls the "pockets of resistance." These "pockets" are communities of people who will not play dead...who will resist.

It is our hope that this edition is both educational and informative, but also calls us to rethink our responsibility to this world. We thank you for reading and entering into a dialogue with our campus about these very important issues.

*Que Ondee Sola* is published at Northeastern Illinois University. The opinions expressed in *Que Ondee Sola* do not necessarily reflect those of the Administration. Responsibility for its contents lie solely within the staff.

We appreciate all suggestions.

### Editor -in- Chief:

Michael Rodríguez Muñiz

### Staff:

Angel Fuentes	Yaditza Romero
Enrique Salgado, Jr.	Mayra Jimenez
Effie Kalkounos	Wilfredo Rivera

Photography: Gene Liebler

Contact *Que Ondee Sola* at  
773.442.4583 or  
[queondeesola@hotmail.com](mailto:queondeesola@hotmail.com)

**Credits:** The cover was designed by Axel Massol. He is a web designer and a member of the Puerto Rican community.

*Que Ondee Sola* wishes to thank Axel Massol for this design that illustrates three of the nearly endless list of human rights violations committed against the people of Puerto Rico by the United States government – Vieques, Political Prisoners, and Political Repression.



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*Alexandria Torres*



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# VIEQUES: BOMBS HAVE KILLED MANY CIVILIANS

Ivan Ramos Soler

The U.S. Navy claims that the accident on April 19, 1999, which killed a civilian in Vieques, is the only casualty that it has caused on the Island. In making this statement, the Navy is, once again, covering up the truth about its dangerous activities in Vieques.

For example, the Navy is concealing the tragic accident in which four boys stepped on a bomb that was carelessly left in Vieques after a military drill in 1952. The details of this accident are narrated in full herein as seen through the eyes of several children caught in the explosion. In investigating these boys' tragedy, it has also been discovered that several other similar accidents have occurred in Vieques. Unfortunately, very little has been done to uncover the circumstances surrounding some of these other casualties.

The accident, suffered by Jesús "Chuito" Legrand, Frank Santiago, Miguel "Miguelín" Legrand and Luis "Campeche" Campos Encarnación, after stepping on a mortar bomb, left a strong mark in the minds of many other children who lived in Vieques at the time. Many of those children are now influential community leaders and activists who oppose the Navy presence on the Island.

The accident occurred when a group of four boys were playing near a small dairy farm owned by Pedro Felix, in an area in Vieques formerly known as Bastimento. There was another group of three older boys, who were also in the area of the accident but were not injured. Carlos Zenón, who is now one of the leaders of the movement to oust the Navy from Vieques, was one of these older boys who was in the vicinity of the accident.

Witnesses recall that they heard a loud explosion coming from the Bastimento area. Most assumed that the explosion was part of a military drill because, even though no maneuvers were supposed to take place that day, it is common for the Navy to conduct exercises without warning the civilian population. Several minutes after the explosion, Zenón heard wailing sounds and cries coming from a bushy area nearby. He advanced, with his brother Julio and another boy named José Vidal Lucas, towards the area where the sounds were coming from. He found the four younger boys, Frank, Miguelín, Campeche and Chuito, lying on the ground, covered with blood. Apparently one of the four boys had stepped on an explosive left on the ground by the Navy, setting it off.





Zenón recalls that he saw the body of Chuito Legrand lying face down on the ground, shivering and swinging its arms. He approached the body of the boy and flipped it face-up, in order to be able to see his face. When he turned the body around, Chuito's skull opened, dripping blood and, spilling its encephalic matter on the ground. Although Chuito's body was still moving at the time, Zenón knew immediately that his friend would not survive the explosion.

Chuito was a vivacious seventh grader who always played around Vieques with his shirt off, as if he were enjoying his last days in a tropical Eden. "His skin was really tanned, like copper", recalls Angel "Tato" Guadalupe, another well known Vieques activist, "and his eyes were impressive, because they were green or hazel, and made a nice contrast with his skin color."

The three other boys involved in the explosion suffered serious injuries also. Frank, Miguelín and Campeche were strewn across the field, bleeding profusely. Zenón ran to a dirt road nearby, and signaled a Navy jeep to stop. "I didn't know English, but when the sailors saw my hands covered with blood they knew that it was serious. The Navy men followed me to the place where the boys were lying on the ground. They immediately radioed for help and several rescue helicopters were flown in from the Roosevelt Roads Naval Base in Ceiba", recalls Zenón who was one of the oldest boys in the group.

The day after the explosion, life, in the otherwise quiet Island, came to a stand still. The men from Roosevelt Roads confirmed what many, already suspected: Chuito was dead. "I will never forget that day. I was about nine years old. When the news came in, I was on the baseball field playing shortstop", recalls Ismael Guadalupe, a fiery Vieques leader who has lead numerous civil disobedience campaigns to stop the bombing of the Island. "I even remember the clothes that I was wearing that day. It was a white shirt that was too big for me. Undoubtedly, the explosion that killed Chuito has played an important role in my development as an activist."

The other three boys caught in the explosion were maimed for the rest of their lives. Miguelín, Chuito's



Artwork by Juan Sánchez

brother, suffered permanent injuries in one of his arms. Several bomb fragments were lodged inside Frank's body, causing pain and discomfort throughout his adult life. Campeche was paralyzed for many months and had difficulty walking many years after the bomb smashed his legs.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6





## QUE ONDEE SOLA



CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Although Chuito's death moved the people in Vieques, his story did not receive much attention from the news media in Puerto Rico. Political repression was widespread in those days and many were going to jail for openly criticizing the United States dominion over Puerto Rico. For example, Puerto Rico's National Poet, Francisco Matos Paoli was imprisoned in 1951 solely because he uttered "four subversive speeches".

Due to this atmosphere of political persecution, the people of Puerto Rico were not fully aware of the large number of casualties caused by the Navy in Vieques. A careful review of the history of Vieques shows that Chuito's death was not an isolated incident and that many similar tragedies have gone unreported.

In the early 1940's, Anastasio Acosta and his son Domingo were killed when the hoof of the horse that they were riding struck and detonated an explosive. In the 1960's, a stray bullet fired by a sailor during target practice killed Elena Holiday. In addition, hand grenades left over by military men have caused several accidents on the Island. In the early 1970's, a young girl lost several fingers when a group of children, who were playing on the beach, accidentally detonated a rusty hand grenade.

Similar accidents also occurred on the neighboring Puerto Rican Island of Culebra, where the Navy conducted military training until 1975. In 1940 a child died in Culebra from a grenade explosion. In another similar accident, Alberto Peña García, a fifteen-year-old child, died when a grenade exploded in his hands. Issac Espinosa lost an arm, also as a result of a grenade in 1941. In 1940, Vicente Romero lost an arm in a similar incident.

In 1964, Sixto Colón lost his right eye from the explosion of a weapon abandoned by the Navy. Moreover, a bomb that was mistakenly dropped at the observation point in Culebra killed nine Navy officers in April of 1946.

Unexploded ordnance and, stray bombs and bullets were a serious problem in Vieques throughout the 1990's and are still a problem today. After the fatal accident in April of 1999, journalists from all over the

world photographed hundreds of unexploded bombs scattered all over the Island —evidencing the Navy's continuous disregard for the safety of children like Chuito. Stray bullets have also been a problem in recent years. On one occasion, several stray bullets hit motor vehicles from the Department of Public Works in Vieques. Fortunately, no one was injured in this incident.

Not all the victims of the Navy have died directly from bombs and bullets like Chuito. Many have died by the criminal acts of drunken sailors and authoritarian Navy officers. The people in Vieques still remember when an elderly man named Mapepe Christian was brutally killed by a gang of drunken sailors. They also remember the murder of Urbano Rosario and the fatal shooting of a twelve year old boy named Esteban Correa, who was killed by a Navy officer right in front of the gate to Camp García.

Toxic materials present in the Navy's bombs and weapons have caused the cancer rate in Vieques to skyrocket. Due to the use of toxic substances by the Navy such as napalm, uranium, chromium, mercury, lead and cadmium, the people of Vieques suffer from a cancer rate that is 27 percent higher than the rest of Puerto Rico. These persons who are dying of cancer in Vieques are, like Chuito and his friends, victims of the Navy's military practices.

Therefore, it is disingenuous for the Navy to claim that there has only been one casualty in the sixty-year history of its bombing range. To date only some casualties, such as the one suffered by Chuito and his friends, have been documented. Many others are currently being investigated with the hope that the findings of such investigations will expose to the world what the people of Puerto Rico already know: the suffering of the people of Vieques and the arrogance and moral turpitude of their military oppressors.

*The author is a member of Todo Connecticut con Vieques. He can be reached at [ivanr67@hotmail.com](mailto:ivanr67@hotmail.com).*



# VIEQUES VENCERA

**Loiza DeJesus**

Vieques is a part of my homeland, the island of Puerto Rico. I refuse to support a President who uses an inhabited island for target practice. That is what our President is doing with the island of Vieques. I don't know how our President can sleep at night knowing what he is doing. I refuse to call myself an American as long as this bombing persists.

About three years ago, I learned about Vieques for the first time from my family and friends. I also heard about it on the news, but I never really knew the full story of the island and of its misfortunes.



Vieques has been used as target practice for the Navy since the 1940's. The U.S. Navy has not only bombed the island, but it has also beat up and killed people who have protested the bombing of Vieques. In one example, the Navy ruined a birthday party by coming into the home where the birthday party was being held, and beating on most of the guests.

With all the hatred I feel when people talk about the bombing on Vieques, some people might wonder how I can possibly like living in the United States. I feel very lucky to be living in the United States because I know how difficult it must be to live on an inhabited island used for target practice. This year, during the Puerto Rican Day Parade, children from Vieques came to Chicago and showed us a small part of what they have seen and heard. I could not help looking at the drawings of such horrendous acts of violence, and I left the room in tears. Now, whenever I see news about people killing others, I think of Vieques.

I hope that the bombing will soon stop. I hope that the little children no longer have to see family and friends die. I pray for the people of Vieques and for those who believe there is nothing wrong with the bombing. May the souls that have been lost because of this, rest in peace.

*The author is a 6th grade elementary school student at Inter-American Magnet School.*





# <sup>1</sup>Toxic Metals in the Vegetation of the Civil Zone of Vieques, Puerto Rico

**Arturo Massol-Deyá, Ph.D.  
& Elba Díaz, M.S.**  
Presented on January 10, 2001

Associate Professor  
Department of Biology  
University of Puerto Rico  
Mayagüez, PR 00681-9012  
787.265.5425 TEL  
787.265.3837 FAX  
a\_massol@rumac.upr.clu.edu

## Summary

This report documents a study pertaining to the typical and agricultural vegetation of the civilian sector in Vieques which demonstrates elemental composition of metal in the vegetation tissue. The sampling areas included three sites: two in Mount Carmelo, an agricultural area and a section bordering Camp García and a further agricultural farm in Barrio Monte Santo, Gobeo sector. In general, analysis included specimens of *Calotropis procera*, *Urochloa maxima* and *Acacia farnesiana* as well as agricultural species such as chili pepper, pigeon peas, squash, mango, yucca, guamá, banana, pineapple and quenepa. The results demonstrate:

- Accumulation of toxic metals such as lead and cadmium in plant tissue.
- Excessive levels of these metals above critical values in vegetation for human or animal consumption as suggested by the Council of the European Union or the USFDA.
- Plant species of agricultural nature that presented excessive levels of lead (Pb) and cadmium (Cd) are: squash, chili pepper, pigeon peas, pineapple and yucca; only the plants of guama and

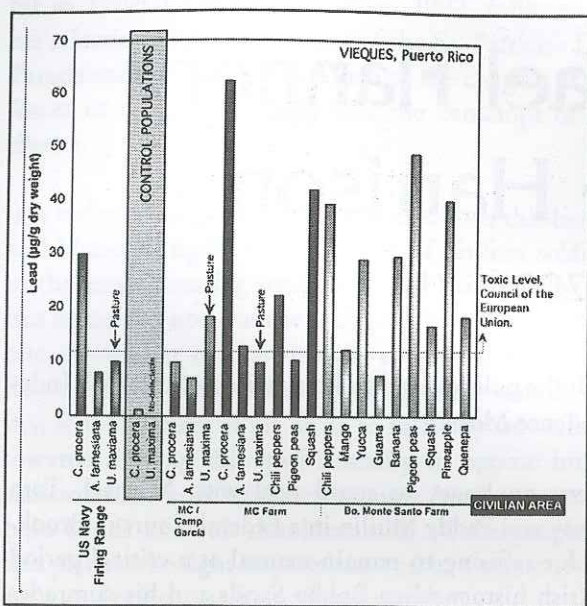
mango demonstrated acceptable levels for these toxics.

- Other metals that were discovered in excessive amounts were Nickel (Ni), Cobalt (Co), Magnesium (Mn) and Copper (Cu).

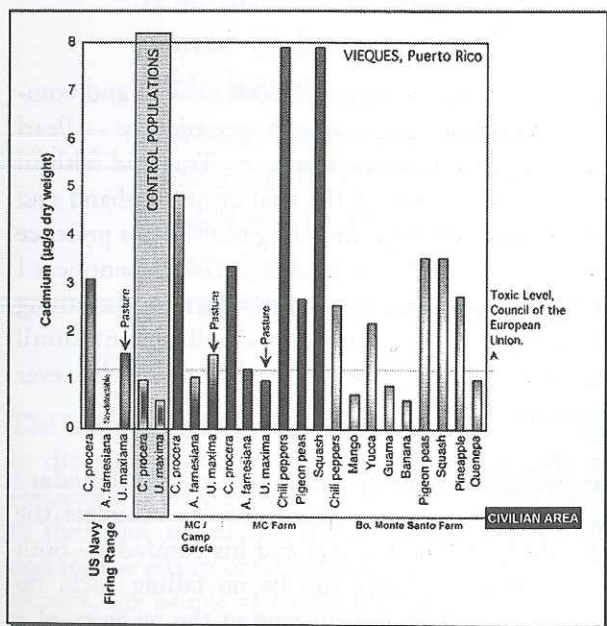
Based on these findings in the civilian sector of Vieques, we recommend:

- To permanently avoid those practices responsible for the environmental degradation of Vieques's natural resources.
- To declare a moratorium in the consumption of agricultural products included in this study and offer governmental subsidize to local farmers.
- Preventative measurements with children because they are potentially at greater risk of exposure.
- Redefine territorial ordinance in particular those lands destined for the development of agricultural practices at least until risks factors are evaluated.
- Reevaluate the politics of the Agricultural Experimental Station of the UPR with respect to the orientation of agricultural activities in Vieques.
- Areas of environmental impact should not be limited solely by physics/chemical means but using biological indicators as well. The evidence





Lead concentration in plant samples collected in Vieques, Puerto Rico.



Cadmium concentration in plant samples collected in Vieques, Puerto Rico.

analyzed by our laboratory suggests that the zone of impact transcends the Atlantic Fleet Weapons Training Facilities as defined by the US Navy.

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# Tribute to Michael Flannery from George Harrison

January 26, 2001

I sincerely thank John McDonagh and his comrade in the Irish Freedom Committee for the honor they have given me tonight -- the annual Michael Flannery Award.

I was fortunate to know Michael for half a century. During his many years in America, he held, at one time or another, the highest ranking offices in all of the organizations which constitute the Irish community: President of the Gaelic Athletic Association, President of the United Irish Counties and, for more than one term, President of his native County Tipperary Asso-

**"...refusing to remain  
neutral at a critical  
period in Irish history  
when Bobby Sands and  
his comrades hungered  
to death for justice..."**

ciation. I do not recall Michael ever losing his temper or raising his voice in debate with those who disagreed with him and who sought short cuts to resolve the centuries old struggle against British rule in Ireland. His answer to the senility which influenced them to change course was that he had experienced many of those departures in Ireland and America, and saw that those who remained unbought and uncompromising were always correct. It was his sad experience to see in his native Ireland former comrades turn their guns bloodily on those who remained true to the oath they had sworn to defend the Republic. It is indeed with a sense of humility that I recall his many visits to my old home in Brooklyn to meet high ranking officials of

both the political and military wings of the Irish Independence Movement.

It was an honor to stand trial with Michael, Tom Falvey and Paddy Mullin in a Federal Court in Brooklyn for refusing to remain neutral at a critical period in Irish history when Bobby Sands and his comrades hungered to death for justice rather than accept criminal status from Butcher Thatcher who was aided and abetted by her partner in crime Ronald Reagan.

Twenty years have rolled by since those historical events and time should perhaps cool one's anger. But not so this speaker.

Michael was blessed to have, both as wife and comrade, a beautiful and highly respected lady -- Pearl Egan, also from County Tipperary. True and faithful to the last, she attended the trial of her husband and his comrades, although in failing health. Her presence was frowned upon by the prosecutor. The resentment I felt then for this mean-spirited little viper is still as strong today as it was twenty years ago and will remain so until Michael and his comrades call muster on me, however long or short that time may be.

The dedication honesty and loyalty of this legendary figure beckons us all forward now to complete the unfinished work of Michael and his comrades - both living and dead. There can be no falling back, no retreat, if we are to remain true to the memory of a man who saw and felt the abyss and the heights of the centuries-old struggle against the thrice accursed British Empire of hell.

To note two of the high points of his career: his acquit-



tal in Federal Court in October, 1982, followed by his selection as grand marshal of the St. Patrick's Day Parade some months later. Much to the chagrin of the forces of reaction his reply was the contempt of his silence.

It is indeed a singular honor to have known this heroic and historical figure and to be one of his foot soldiers in the long unending struggle to end British colonialism in Ireland and put the Irish people, whether Catholic, Protestant or dissenter, in control of their own destiny. From shore to shore and up to the stars in the sky, it is the duty of all of us to intensify our efforts towards making this goal a reality to oppose imperialism when and wherever its ugly head appears to hold hands and rub shoulders with all the people of this planet who fight imperialism and its cancerous offsprings, fascism, racism and sectarianism.

It has always been easy for me to say Brits out of Ireland. But I add my voice to Puerto Rican comrades when they protest U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico.

**"It is indeed a singular honor to have known this heroic and historical figure and to be one of his foot soldiers in the long unending struggle to end British colonialism in Ireland..."**

The U.S. only right in Puerto Rico is the robber's right or the right of conquest. I also join hands with -my numerous Cuba comrades when they demand an end to the cruel, illegal and inhuman blockade of Cuba and for the return of Guantánamo base to its rightful owners, the people of Cuba. I accompany these sentiments of course with a Viva to Comrade Fidel. We must continue to fight for an end to the death penalty. There has been far too many innocent victims already and for the release of all political prisoners.

In regard to disarming: let the kindred imperialisms

set an example and dismantle their nuclear arsenals. They have enough to destroy all humanity already.

In the meantime my advice to anti-imperialist comrades is: hold on to what weaponry you have and take good care of them. The only language colonial oppressors respond to is the firepower that comes out of their barrels. Let us all struggle together because together we can accomplish much more than we can if we are divided. It is not so long ago in point of time since we helped stop a war in Vietnam when the stench from it made it unbearable.

I close with a few lines from a verse of a poem which Michael quoted so many times. It was written by one of the great poets a century and a half ago. The tribunes word the poet's pen may sow a flame in slavish minds but it is the sword, the sword alone, can reap the harvest when fully grown.

George Harrison

*Editor's Note: The preceding speech is by George Harrison, veteran Irish militant and solidarity activist, living in Brooklyn, NY.*

## Thank You!

*UPRS and QOS would like to thank the following people and organizations for their support, help, and criticisms throughout the last year at NEIU. Apologies to whomever we forgot to mention, but we are approaching our deadline...*

Professor Leaman, The Criminal Justice Department,  
Maria Luna, Veva Silva (Amnesty International),  
Professor Kingsley Clarke (QOS advisor),  
Professor Daniel Stern (UPRS advisor),  
Nellie Muñiz, Everyone at Student Activities,  
Jennifer Grusnick, Certain NEIU SGA senators,  
Professor José López, Rugen Reyes, Ramon López,  
All who read QOS, you know who you are,  
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Every student that attended our activities...



## Tribunal Internacional en Vieques

# Testimonio de Alicia Rodríguez

noviembre del 2000

*A lo largo de este testimonio se muestran fotos de los ex-prisioneros políticos puertorriqueños liberados por el ex-presidente de los Estados Unidos, Bill Clinton en 1999.*

**Saludos** a todos en esta tierra de Yaureibo y Cacimar, tierra precolombina donde se inmolaron por Vieques, y en nuestra única porción terrestre besada por el libertador de América, Simón Bolívar. ¡Bendita sea la tierra de Tito Kayak!

¿Qué opinan uds. de un ser humano que haya pasado por esto?

- Arrestada y esposada por la primera vez en su vida
- Encerrada por tres días en una celda vigilada por guardias varones por 24 horas sin espacio para la privacidad y aseo personal, baño general y femenino
- Interrogada y torturada psicológica y mentalmente por una multitud de agentes del FBI en un lugar donde no se establecía la noción de tiempo y espacio
- Incomunicada durante ese tiempo sin que los demás supieran el proceso que se llevaba a cabo ni la posibilidad de comunicarse fuera de ese salón de tortura
- Humillación colectiva a comunidades y familiares a presentarse ante ellos maltratada y torturada, queriendo generar en ellos un doblegamiento ante el gobierno de los Estados Unidos y sentido de impotencia
- Desde el momento de la captura vigilada por fuerzas de choque armadas en actitud sosteniendo una constante agresión psicológica para imponer el control sobre la situación; epítome de supremacía del blanco sobre la minoría
- Sometida a la utilización de técnicas de cam-

pamentos alemanes para torturar judíos como por ejemplo:

- \*Forzada a desnudar al frente de todas las prisioneras de guerra puertorriqueñas e intentar desinfectarla, tratándola como un ser sucio y depravado
- \*Sometida a agresiones verbales constantemente sin un momento para el silencio
- \*Encontrarse con un Estados Unidos que nunca había visto, ni siquiera en las más horribles películas carcelarias
- Aislada de la población general, fuente de incertidumbre, angustia, y tensión sostenida



- Incorporada a un medio ambiente donde no se le ofrece más opciones al recluso que la dehumanización y degradación personal y social
- Donde la gran mayoría de las presas es víctima de violencia doméstica y violación sexual
- En una población penal que no fomenta la sanación ni tiene la posibilidad de recibir tratamiento para sanar ya que en el sistema penal norteamericano no hay programas para autoayuda
- Donde las relaciones en la cárcel tienen las mismas cualidades de carencias afectivas y el resultado es insano
- En una población penal donde no existen espacios privados ni de respeto y donde el pri-



sionero político se tiene que imponer porque no existen valores sociales positivos

- Donde el convivir en las celdas con prisioneras comunes de diferentes valores pudieron haber causado choques muy graves

- Torturada en la cárcel por ruido constante fuera de los niveles de decibeles aceptados. Inclusive un ruido tan ensordecedor que los carceleros no podían controlar la contaminación por ruido, resultando en el descontrol de toda la población

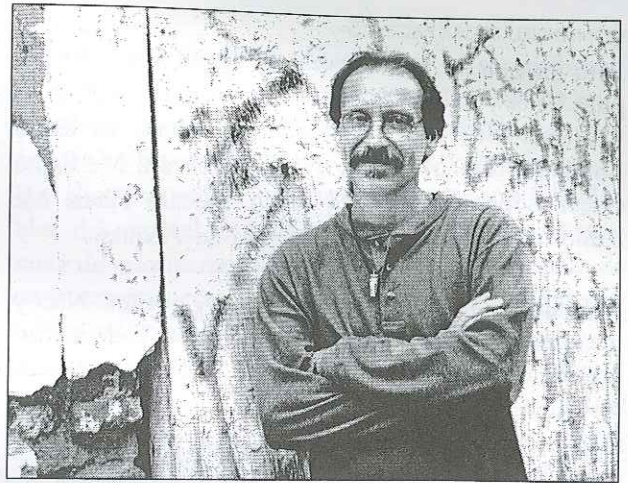
- Sujeta a revisiones arbitrarias de la celda en cualquier momento sin la presencia del habitante de la celda. Tortura que consistía en negarle tiempo privado para reflexionar, meditar, y existir con uno mismo, con el propósito de negarle la privacidad y fomentar la disintegración de su personalidad, llevándola a preguntarse, ¿me estaré volviendo loca porque estoy yo contra la corriente?

- Sujeta a la fiscalización detallada de todo documental escrito y recibido convirtiéndose esto en una violación a la comunicación personal y familiar, pues ésta estaba totalmente intervenida. Sujeta al intento de penetración y control de los pensamientos, como continuación de una reprogramación psicológica

- Sometida al intento de aislamiento en la forma de privación para comer junto a la población penal, y lograr el auto aislamiento con consentimiento

- Forzada a sentir la exigencia de una conducta social auto represiva al frente de visitas familiares y amigos impidiendo el verdadero intercambio de afectos, sentimientos y comunicaciones

- Forzada a vivir la práctica institucional de registrar, desvestir y violentarla en sus partes mas íntimas, acompañado por una conducta morbosa, depravada, cruel, y ausente de todo pudor de parte de los carceleros. Por



lo tanto, fue expuesta a la forma más antigua que los conquistadores utilizaron para ultrajar la raza americana

- Expuesta a un procedimiento irregular de segregación en un calabozo de espera de muerte "Death Row," con la justificación mentida de protección un mes antes de la salida, mientras que la meta de este aislamiento era:

- \*Inestabilizarla emocionalmente antes de ser trasladada a la prisión federal

- \*Desorientarla y propiciar un estado de enajenación mental, ya que en esa fila de muerte había una puertorriqueña condenada a muerte

- \*Mostrar su "peligrosidad" al llegar al sistema penal, y evidenciando guardias escoltas institucionales, remodelación y elevación de una torre de seguridad, el alambre de verjas, y la construcción de otras edificaciones con el único propósito de hacerle creer a los demás que su presencia en la cárcel era de alto riesgo para ellos. Ejemplo: durante sus primeros siete años de encarcelamiento la prisión no le permitió que tuviera compañera de celda, alegando que era peligroso para la seguridad de esa persona

- \* Forzada a vivir el tortuoso proceso de salir de prisión dejando a atrás otros hermanos puertorriqueños en la misma situación legal y política

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14



## QUE ONDEE SOLA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

Para los que no me conocen me llamo Alicia Rodríguez Velez y hablé y les conté lo que viví. Tengo otros nombres. Me llamo Carlos Alberto Torres. Me llamo Lolita Lebrón. Me llamo Haydee Beltrán. Me llamo Oscar López Rivera. Me llamo Carmín Pérez. Me llamo Isabel Rosado. Me llamo isla de Vieques.

Soy hija de padres y abuelos puertorriqueños. Nací y me crié en Chicago. Soy puertorriqueña. Toda mi formación e identidad cultural me llegó directamente de mis padres, de sus gestos, su idioma, sus costumbres y su manera de ser. En otras palabras, me enseñaron a pensar en puertorriqueño.



De los siete años en adelante, recibí orientación boricua de la comunidad que existía en Chicago. Ellos eran el espejo de lo que somos, de la esencia común que traían los inmigrantes en la supuesta gran urbe.

Como otra puertorriqueña más viviendo en Estados Unidos, me encontré en condiciones infrahumanas, dentro de un medio ambiente que proponía unos valores deshumanizantes, por ejemplo:

Cuando llegué a la escuela por primera vez, no había programas bilingües. Eramos la primera familia latina en la escuela, y el único idioma que yo entendía era el español, no el inglés. Cuando entré al salón, sufrí un impacto negativo ya que no podía comunicarme con ellos, ni ellos conmigo.

La solución al problema, según la maestra, fue ubicarme en un asiento en la parte de atrás del salón. La insensibilidad era la orden del día y nos marcó para siempre, ya que el salón de clases era una pequeña muestra de lo que le sucedía a toda la comunidad en todas las áreas de la vida.

La insensibilidad era lo mismo que la indiferencia hacia nosotros, lo que más tarde viví con el sistema judicial y en la cárcel. Lo cierto es que en esa experiencia de niña encontré un patrón de conducta colectivo, muy negativo, respecto a la actitud de los estadounidenses hacia nosotros los latinos. Desde ese momento, fui comprendiendo lo que yo le llamo la invisibilidad.



Me explico: Los Estados Unidos pretenden que nosotros los latinos y puertorriqueños fuéramos prácticamente invisibles para los efectos de nuestros derechos humanos, el idioma, el desprecio de lo que somos y de dónde venimos. Para ellos, nosotros somos seres sin valor ninguno en todos los aspectos del vivir. Ellos practicaron esto constantemente. Este aspecto de la invisibilidad se perpetua porque no cuestionamos ni analizamos el por qué se da este fenómeno hasta nuestros días. Cuestionar es retar, y al intentar nosotros, las puertorriqueñas y puertorriqueños, latinas y latinos, el reafirmar y clarificar nuestros valores, fuimos agredidos, cultural, social, política y psicológicamente, ya que en nosotros todavía impera la mentalidad colonial.

Este fenómeno de la invisibilidad se subrayó con intensidad en las prisiones a las que fuimos sometidos porque el sistema judicial de Estados Unidos no quiere lidiar con el ser, si no que se apoya en una ley escrita sin fuerza moral.

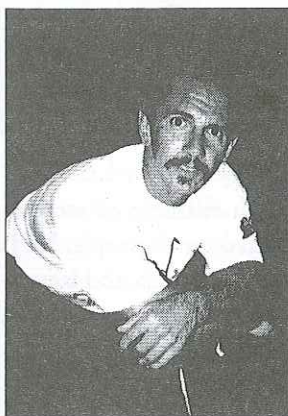
En mi caso, se me amordazó y esposó en los tribunales, por el hecho de gritar ¡Qué viva Puerto Rico Libre!; y también porque yo asumí y defendí la posición de Prisionera de Guerra. Ser invisible en este caso quiere decir ser inmóvil y mudo, es casi no existir. Igualmente es el término terrorista que los Estados Unidos impuso sobre nuestras personas. Con ese término negativo e



irreal ellos pretendían separarnos del pueblo, fragmentar nuestra personalidad propia y ponernos en peligro en las cárceles, pues esta estructura psicológica pretendía sembrar miedo y desconfianza, además de un aislamiento forzoso de los nuestros. Todo esto porque ¿quién iba a aceptar que un compatriota fuera un terrorista después de décadas de cine americano, formando opinión sobre la población mundial?

Los puertorriqueños en Estados Unidos vivimos en condiciones infrahumanas dentro de un medioambiente que propone unos valores deshumanizantes. Al intentar nosotros, las puertorriqueñas y puertorriqueños, reafirmar y clarificar nuestros valores, fuimos atacados pues nuestros pasos eran retar al sistema revolucionariamente y nos convertimos en la amenaza más grande a la seguridad nacional de los Estados Unidos de América, nosotros, aquellos criados y algunos nacidos en las mismísimas entrañas del monstruo que devora nuestra especie.

En aquel entonces, nuestros motivos de lucha eran la desmilitarización de Puerto Rico, sacar el ROTC de las universidades, la salida de la marina de Culebra y Vieques, la excarcelación de los nacionalistas, protestas fervorosas contra las corporaciones transnacionales que explotan y maltratan a nuestra clase obrera, y la marginación de las comunidades latinas y boricuas en los Estados Unidos. Fuimos un riesgo porque retamos el colonialismo. En



las cárceles estábamos en sus manos, y aunque nos aprisionaron y toturaron, ellos no pudieron doblegar nuestro espíritu ni nuestra voluntad de hacer saber a nivel internacional, la situación de injusticia política, social y humana contra nuestro pueblo y nuestra amada gente.

No obstante, nuestra lucha consiste en ser visibles y presentes ante el universo, ante nuestro pueblo y ante nosotros mismos. Este último punto es importante porque en las cárceles nos nutríamos de los elementos que ellos pretendían que fueran inexistentes o invisibles, del reto del ser humanos, profundamente humanos y de valorizarnos y no tener miedo a la grandeza de ser puertorriqueños, retando así al gobierno supuestamente más poderoso del mundo.



La cárcel me abrió un camino para estudiar y conocer la mentalidad colonial, porque para yo conocerme más y dejar de ser invisible, empecé a aprender a quererme y a valorizarme, como mujer como puertorriqueña y como ser humano. El proceso de autoconocimiento fue profundamente liberador.

El objetivo del colonizador es destruir el arraigo a la tierra natal, al lugar de origen, al núcleo familiar, social, comunitario y luego nacional. No lograron los carceleros ni el gobierno de los Estados Unidos este objetivo monstruoso, ni en la esquina más oscura y aislada de sus prisiones.

De la desesperación nace la esperanza, y de la locura del encierro, nace la paz y la vida. Sabemos que vivir en Puerto Rico es entrar en el reino de la necesidad, no en el reino de la libertad. ¿Qué es Vieques si no el ejemplo sintetizado de nuestra necesidad de ser libres, de vivir en una tierra sana sin contaminación, de que las transnacionales, agentes contaminantes abandonen el país, de que nuestro pueblo tenga la salud mental y física que merece, y que podamos evolucionar culturalmente como ciudadanos del planeta? Ser invisible es aceptar el miedo y quedarse en un estado de paralización. Ser visible es un camino, es un reto hacia una transformación hacia la necesaria libertad. Mis palabras no son teorías huecas, lo anterior fue comprobado en la cárcel, día a día, año tras año. Fue un proceso lento de marcha segura y que hoy en día, estando

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en nuestra patria, lo confirmo desde la distancia y la experiencia vivida.

Vieques nos habla en este momento histórico, nos dice que ya es hora de dejar de ser invisibles para ser visibles ante el derecho de existir y amar. Las circunstancias de Vieques nos conducen aceleradamente hacia caminos insospechados de libertad en nuestra nación y en nuestro proceso personal.

Cuando los antiguos se proponían ordenar la vida nacional, no sabían por donde comenzar. Luego se dieron cuenta de que para ordenar la vida nacional debían, ante todo, regular la vida familiar. Entonces, encontraron que para ello debían cultivar la vida personal. Más, aquellos que deseaban cultivar la vida personal tenían que ocuparse primero de poner orden en su corazón.

Para tal caso, comenzaron a trabajar en la sinceridad, y esto aumentó su voluntad. Cuando fueron sinceros, observaron que les faltaba ampliar su conocimiento y



se dedicaron a esa tarea, desarrollando su capacidad mediante la investigación, que abarcó tanto el aspecto interno del hombre, como el externo de la ciencia. Pronto se dieron cuenta del proceso y constataron que cuando se investiga, se amplía el conocimiento y la sabiduría, por la cual la voluntad se vuelve más sincera, el corazón está en orden y de este modo se puede comenzar a cultivar la vida personal para luego, regular la vida familiar y, finalmente, ordenar la vida nacional.

Muchas Gracias.

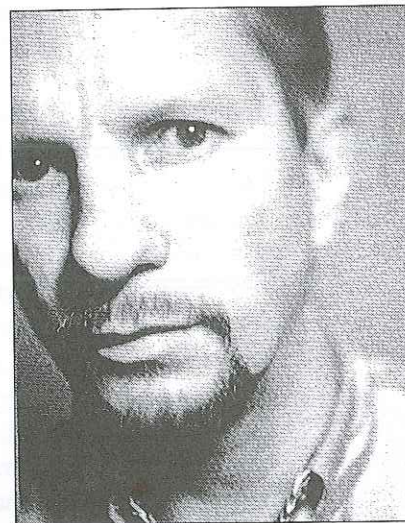
## The case of José Solís Jordán

José Solís Jordán has been imprisoned for the last two years as a result of FBI's campaign to destroy Chicago's Puerto Rican Independence movement. The U.S. government, using primarily the testimony of agent provocateur Rafael Marrero, convicted Solís of participating in a 1992 bombing of a Navy recruitment center.

Interestingly, it was Rafael Marrero who admitted to planning and carrying out the fumbled bombing. But he is not in prison. Paid over a 100,000, Marrero implicated José Solís Jordán in the bombing.

A former DePaul University professor, José Solís maintained his innocence throughout this trial and called it an attempt to criminalize the Puerto Rican independentistas. When over 40 FBI agents arrested him in his San Juan home, the purpose of this campaign was clear. For his "freedom" the government gave

Solís the opportunity to implicate other Chicago independentistas. The father of five refused and was subsequently tried and convicted. Recently, he was denied an appeal.



The case of José Solís is a clear case of political repression and injustice. He is an example of sacrificing one's freedom for the freedom of one's people. He is currently teaching at FCI Coleman, Florida and is writing a book. We demand his freedom along with the freedom of the other 4 remaining Puerto Rican political prisoners!



# Puerto Rican Political Prisoners

**Juan Segarra Palmer** was born March 6, 1950 in Santurce, Puerto Rico. He comes from a family with a long history of resistance to both Spanish and US colonialism. He followed that tradition with pride. Since 1970, Juan had been dedicated to the struggle for independence, participated in different capacities with the Young Lords, Los Macheteros, the PSP and the PIP. He's also done political and cultural work with the inmates in Massachusetts, in the community in New York, and with those that opposed mining, nuclear tests and squatting in Puerto Rico. He's worked in the defense of workers' rights and for the expansion of democracy within the unions. The Viet Nam war, his trips to Mexico and the life in New York enriched his political conscience. Juan graduated from Harvard University and continued his studies in Cuernavaca, Mexico. He has worked as a machinist and as a building superintendent.



In 1985 Juan was arrested, accused of seditious conspiracy and conspiracy to rob the Wells Fargo company. He was sentenced to 55 years in prison. He's married to Luz Berrios, a former political prisoner and together they have 5 children, Wanda, Luriza, Amilcar, Ramón and Zulena (who was born in prison).

**Oscar López Rivera** was born January 6, 1943 in San Sebastián, Puerto Rico. When he was 14 years old his family came to the US to live. He was drafted into the US army and fought in the Vietnam War for which he was awarded the Bronze Star. Upon returning from the war in 1967, he found that problems with drugs, unemployment, housing, health and education had reached alarming levels and he immediately went to work organizing the community to improve the quality of life for his people. He worked in the creation of the Puerto Rican High School and the Puerto Rican Cultural Center. He was involved in the struggle for bilingual education in public schools and to assure that the universities actively recruit Hispanic students and faculty. He helped found educational programs at the maximum-security prison at Stateville, IL. He also fought in the community against drugs and police brutality and against the discrimination practices of the public utilities, such as the telephone, gas and electric companies.



Oscar was captured in 1981 and sentenced to 55 years in prison for seditious conspiracy. In 1988 he received

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# *Production, Dependence Crime and*

Francisco A. Catalá Oliveras

—El Nuevo Día Newspaper - October 7, 2000

Translation by Hans Perl-Matanzo - independencia.net

Why does Puerto Rico, a country which regards itself an industrialized and prosperous nation which is linked to the largest economy in the world, still appears to be underdeveloped? Why is it that the wealth and consumption that surrounds us is not translated into a better quality of life? Why is it that countries which were formerly trailing behind us are now leaving us in the dust of their path?

Without a doubt, our readers have multiple answers for these questions. One of these, cited insistently in diverse economic reports but conveniently forgotten, lies in the same factors which have served and continue serving as the motor of our country's economy.

The prime strategy of the industrialization process of Puerto Rico, as the strategy of sugar production which preceded it, is based on the attraction of capital through the incentive of high rates of profit. Since the source of investment is mainly from foreign capital one of its consequences is a great deal of external factor payments (non-distributed corporate profits, dividends and interests which exit the country) which are reflected in the extraordinary gap between the Gross Domestic Product (the value of Puerto Rico's production) and the Gross National Product (the payment of

workers and entrepreneurs who reside in Puerto Rico).

In 1960 there was practically no difference between both macroeconomic indicators (GDP and GNP) but as of 1974 the gap amounted to \$1,058 million, which was important enough to be highlighted in a report filed in 1975 by a team headed by James Tobin (Economics Nobel Prize, 1981):

"The difference between the Gross Domestic Product and the Gross National Product and their respective growth rates are an additional reflection of Puerto Rico's increasing dependency on foreign resources in order to foster growth. From the point of view of Puerto Rico's residents, high levels and increasing growth rate of the Gross Domestic Product are of meager significance if they are not accompanied by high levels and a relatively high growth rate of the Gross National Product" (our translation).

The same report adds:

"Even when direct investment may represent a tangible investment, it does not necessarily imply that it will be beneficial to Puerto Rico. Although the



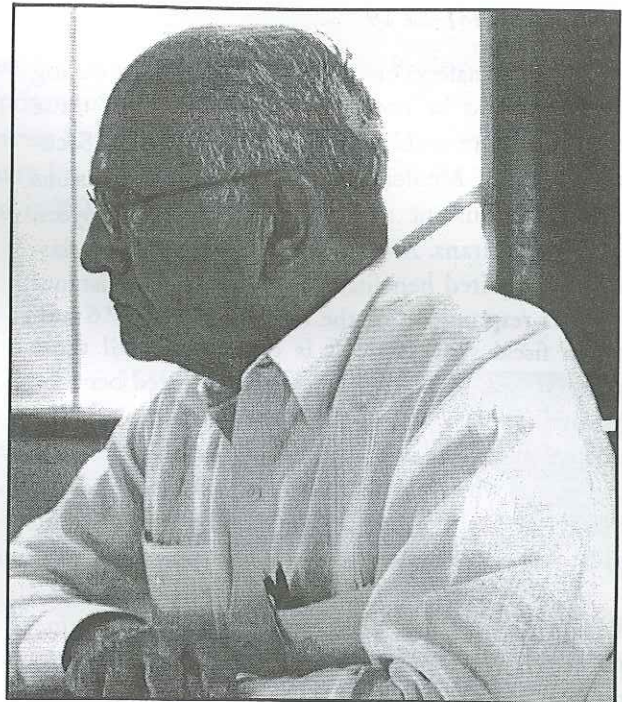
investment from U.S. firms and its subsidiaries may provide new production and employment, that also implies new subsidies and real infrastructure investment from the Puerto Rico Government and a larger amount of profits exiting Puerto Rico's economy." (our translation).

What Tobin warned us about in the mid 1970s has garnered extraordinary contemporary importance. During the fiscal year of 1999, the Gross Domestic Product amounted to \$59,946 million, while the Gross Domestic Product represented \$38,229 million. The difference, \$21,717 million, is explained by the "escape" or exit of profit that Tobin's report alluded to. An unfavorable tendency which has been noted can serve as a corollary to this phenomenon: the functional distribution of income has favored investors over employees.

The Net Domestic Income is composed of compensation to employees and payments to owners of capital. From 1977 to 1987, the fraction which corresponded to employees was reduced from 62.1 to 48.7%. In 1999, in which compensation to employees amounted \$21,744 million and the income of capital owners ascended to \$31,497 million, the relative weight of employees' share was reduced to 40.8%. As a contrast, it is important to note that in the United States about 75% of the total income corresponds to the remuneration of work. Apart from the fact that the majority of Puerto Rico's Net Domestic Income corresponds to capital owners, it is important to note the fact that more than 70% of capital owners' income leaves Puerto Rico.

Foreign investment has not been oriented towards benefiting Puerto Ricans nor breaking the vicious cycle of dependency...

When we focus on the manufacture sector, which represents 45% of Puerto Rico's Net Domestic Income, the disproportion is even greater. In 1999 the Net Domestic Manufacture Income ascended to \$24,904.9 millions, subdivided in \$4,081 millions in compensation to work and \$20,823 millions in compensation to capital, which translates into a relative participation of employees that represents 16.4% of the total income generated in that sector. The fear expressed by Tobin



*Francisco A. Catalá Oliveras testifying before the Human Rights Tribunal in Vieques, PR, Nov. 2000.*

a fourth of a century ago has become real. Foreign investment has not been oriented towards benefiting Puerto Ricans nor breaking the vicious cycle of dependency. Foreign investment has signified the increasingly larger exit of revenues to the United States.

Most of the wealth generated by foreign investment in Puerto Rico escapes the island. It is important to note that poverty indicators in Puerto Rico are extremely alarming, more so in a society which claims to be industrial and modern. According to the 1990 U.S. Census data (we don't believe there will be considerable changes when the corresponding data is released for the 2000 Census), a whopping 58.9% of Puerto Rico's total population lives under the poverty line. In municipalities that lie in the periphery, the above mentioned indicator surpasses 70% of the population, as would be expected of an enclave economy. This poverty is partially counteracted with "welfare" and with the informal or underground economy. If this were not so, Puerto Rico's large consumption levels could not be explained adequately.

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Net federal transfers amounted to \$8,315 billion during 1999. It should be noted that the majority of those funds constitute acquired benefits such as Social Security payments, Medicare, and, benefits and pensions received by current and former federal employees, including veterans. Among transfers that are not classified as acquired benefits, the Nutritional Assistance Plan was responsible for the transfer of \$1,087.6 million in fiscal year 1999. It is evident that all those transfers, even those that constitute acquired benefits, are small in comparison to the private capital that "escapes" the island every year. Nonetheless, due to the large sector which depends on these funds to a lesser or larger degree, these funds are the object of constant public acts of contrition.

Although it is difficult to estimate how large the informal economy is, it is believed to be very large and flourishing. In what respects its principal component, transport and trade of narcotics, it is estimated that it constitutes \$25 billion, out of which \$5 billion is consumed in Puerto Rico and \$20 billion is exported to

the U.S. market. Puerto Rico has become the capital of drug trade en route to the United States.

**FEAR PARALIZES US.  
LET US BEGIN BY DEFEATING IT.**

The triple handicap of a crippled formal economy, an apologetic welfare economy and an economy fed by a flourishing criminal sector does not bode well. If Puerto Rico were to continue down that path, economic disintegration seems inevitable. The design of other paths is not an easy process. Those interest groups which benefit from the current system have no interest in altering it. Even many of those who objectively do not profit from the status quo believe that they do in fact benefit. Those who fear possible changes to Puerto Rico's economic structure are reminiscent of those slaves who feared the uncertainty of becoming free workers. Fear paralyzes. Let us begin by defeating it.

*The author is a prominent Puerto Rican economist.*

## A Mini-Conference on the Violations of the Human Rights of the Puerto Rican People: **A Call To Action**

This April marks 2 years since the death of David Sanes in Vieques, 21 years since the imprisonment of the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners, and 36 years since the death of Pedro Albizu Campos, a symbol of political persecution in Puerto Rico. On April 19, the Boricua National Human Rights Network will celebrate a conference about the violations of the Human Rights of Puerto Ricans. The purpose of the conference is to analyze three topics related with these violations: the ecological implications of the presence of the US Navy in Vieques, the harassment and violations against Puerto Rican Political Prisoners, and the political persecution against Puerto Ricans. Sponsored by the **National Boricua Human Rights Network**.

### APRIL 19

reception/ opening 5:30 pm

INSTALLATION: Brenda Torres Figueroa  
"Al Sur de Oceano" with Lisandra Cruz.  
DR. PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS  
Museum of Puerto Rican History and Culture,  
2739 W. Division Street, 5:30pm.  
(Transportation will be provided from the  
Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos Musuem of Puerto Rican  
History and Culture to the University of Illinois)

forum 7:00 pm

MICHAEL DEUTSCH, Attorney  
LUIS ROSA, former political prisoner,  
RAMON BOSQUE PÉREZ,  
Professor, Hunter College, New York,  
ARTURO MASSOL DEYÁ,  
UPR, Mayagüez Campus  
CARMEN VALENCIA,  
Women's Alliance of Vieques



PUERTO RICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

another 15 years for conspiracy to escape. He has a daughter, Clarissa, and a granddaughter, Karina. Since 1986, Oscar has been imprisoned in the most maximum-security prisons in the federal penal system, with restricted non-contact visits. Therefore, his granddaughter, Karina, has never known her grandfather's touch. Oscar's mother, Mita, who suffered from Alzheimer's, passed away on February 14, 1997. He grieved alone within the cement walls of his cell, unable to even attend her funeral. His release date is 2021.

**Antonio Camacho Negrón** was born October 6, 1945 in Yauco, Puerto Rico. His family has lived for generations in that coffee growing region and he was raised a farmer. He also studied psychology at the University of Puerto Rico and 2 years of law at the Interamericana University. He has worked as a therapist with the Department of Services combating drug addiction. At the time of his arrest he was working as an auto mechanic and was the sole supporter of his family.

Antonio was arrested in 1986 for conspiracy to commit robbery of the Wells Fargo Company in Hartford, CT, and transportation of said money. He was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Antonio has 4 children, 3 boys and 1 girl, who live in Puerto Rico. During his incarceration Antonio's father died but he was not allowed to attend the funeral. He has also become an accomplished poet and prosar during these years.



Antonio was released February 13, 1998. He returned to Puerto Rico immediately and was greeted with a hero's welcome. The terms of his release required that he report to the Federal Magistrate every 72 hours. He found those terms humiliating as well as a manifestation of United States colonialism and refused to participate. Antonio was rearrested April 16, 1998. In January 1999, he was sent back to FCI Allenwood, after 8 months in a federal detention center, to serve another 4 years before he is eligible for release once again.

**Carlos Alberto Torres** was born September 19, 1952 in Ponce, Puerto Rico. When he was 6 years old, his family emigrated to New York and then to Chicago in 1962. He was raised in his father's home, a minister with a passion for social justice. His stepmother is Alejandrina Torres, also a prisoner for the same cause. In his third year of high school he participated in the first class on Puerto Rican history, offered by Aspira. He studied sociology in Southern Illinois University and continued his studies at the University of Illinois in Chicago. There he participated in the struggles against the racist teachings of sociologists Sockley and Crittenden. He also was involved in recruitment of new Hispanic students for the university. He actively participated in issues in the community related to police brutality, slum landlords, corrupt politicians, and the colonial case of Puerto Rico.





# Puerto Ricans and the Carpetas Case: The Old Wounds of Political Persecution\*

Ramón Bosque-Pérez

On December 14, 1999, the Governor of Puerto Rico, Pedro Rosselló, publicly recognized that for many decades the Island government had committed an "injustice" by spying on thousands of private citizens and denying them some basic constitutional rights. The Governor presented "a solemn and sincere apology" to the thousands of Puerto Ricans that were the victims of such practices and announced the creation of a special fund to compensate them. Most observers saw Rosselló's gesture as a delayed but well deserved act of justice. The specific mechanisms proposed for the compensation of victims, however, have been under scrutiny and appear to be insufficient in light of the extent of violations of human rights involved.

**"The scandal erupted during the summer of 1987 when the local media disclosed that the Puerto Rican police had been compiling secret files and lists of alleged "subversives" and that thousands of Puerto Ricans of all ages and social sectors were listed."**

The public apology is one of the latest developments in a long series of legal and political battles over *el caso de las carpetas* or the "carpetas" case. The scandal erupted during the summer of 1987 when the local media disclosed that the Puerto Rican police had been compiling secret files and lists of alleged "subversives" and that thousands of Puerto Ricans of all ages and social sectors were listed. Within days, the local legislature approved a Resolution presented by Representative David Noriega asking for explanations from the Police. The Governor and the Secretary of Justice labeled

the practice as "unconstitutional" and within weeks, the Puerto Rican Civil Rights Commission opened an investigation. Meanwhile, several victims brought legal actions against the Police and the government of Puerto Rico. After five years of legal battles, the Puerto Rico Supreme Court ordered the Police department to return the documents compiled along decades of illegal surveillance. The decision did not allow the Police to conceal the identity of informers or infiltrated agents.

After hearing testimony from government officials, police agents, and victims, the Civil Rights Commission concluded that the Puerto Rican Police had violated the constitutional rights of tens of thousands of citizens, mostly advocates of independence for Puerto Rico. The practice also reached student organizations, labor unions and eventually religious, cultural, feminist, and environmentalist organizations and individuals connected to them. The now disbanded Intelligence Division of the Puerto Rican Police, relying on infiltrated agents and paid informers, compiled extensive secret files with information on the **legal political activities** of individuals and organizations. The members of the Intelligence Division, that called the secret files *carpetas*, were fully aware of the illegality of *their* actions. In fact, the Division's Investigations Handbook, while explaining how to conduct their "investigations", stated:

We have to investigate in such a way that neither the interviewed persons nor those under investigation learn about our work. [...] This is so, because our investigations deal with individuals who hold separatist ideals and when they learn that we are investigating they argue that we are engaging in persecution and repression because of their political



beliefs and, as we all know, this is prohibited by our constitution.

Not only this case involved blatant violations of constitutional rights; it was a massive enterprise. According to the Final Report presented by the Director of the Office for the Disposition of Confidential Documents (created by a court order to handle the return of the documents), that office took custody of over 25,000 *carpetas* and over 150,000 index cards (135,188 found in the Central Police Headquarters alone). Since there were files for individuals and organizations (and duplicates), there were files for at least 75,000 persons of which 16,000 had detailed *carpetas* ranging from a few pages to several thousand pages. In addition to Puerto Ricans residing on the Island, presumably a large number of Puerto Ricans residing permanently in the continental United States were also victims of the practice. Information published in local newspapers suggested that some files might have been destroyed by police agents or removed by federal agents from Police Headquarters.

The Executive Order signed by Governor Rosselló provided for compensations ranging from \$6,000, for those who had already sued the government, to \$3,000 for those who could prove that they intended to sue. Only persons with *carpetas* longer than 30 pages, and willing to sign a document releasing the government and third parties from any fur-

ther legal action, qualified for the compensation. However, after the June 12, 2000 deadline established by the government, not all of those who qualified finally accepted the compensation. Many of the victims announced that they would not accept the symbolic compensation offered by Governor Rosselló and will pursue their legal actions. Before the Executive Order was issued, there were over 1,300 *carpetas*.

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8

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

**Memorandum**

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-66754) DATE: 11/15/60

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (105-32872)

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

Re Bureau letter dated 9/13/60.

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

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

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

- 1) Exploiting factionalism within an organization.

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

- P -

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

JJT:vob  
(5)

105-93124-5  
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EXP. PROC.



The level of involvement of federal agencies, particularly the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), is one of the several hot issues that have lately received front-page attention by the Puerto Rican press. Although initially denied by the FBI San Juan Field Office, evidence found in the *carpetas* strongly suggests that the Bureau, not only received and supplied information for the police files, but also trained and directed the police agents involved. Earlier this year, U.S. Representative Luis Gutierrez (D-IL) suggested that Puerto Rican members of Congress could request a Congressional inquiry on the matter. In mid-March the Puerto Rico Senate approved a resolution to investigate the involvement of federal agencies in the persecution of *independentistas*.

Meanwhile, U.S. Representative José E. Serrano (D-NY) raised the issue with FBI Director Louis J. Freeh during the FBI's budget hearing before a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. Surprising many observers, Director Freeh not only admitted FBI involvement in previous abuses but also appointed a task force that has identified a very large number of documents (1.8 million pages, according to some estimates) that are related to Puerto Ricans. The first few thousand documents reached Congressman Serrano's office on May 17, 2000 and more deliveries are expected. The first few glimpses at the documents

**"The first few glimpses at the documents begin to confirm what some have anticipated in the debates of recent years: the hidden history of political persecution in Puerto Rico could become one of the biggest scandals of the century."**

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. Sullivan

DATE: October 8, 1963

FROM : Mr. [redacted]

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

CONFIDENTIAL

Federacion de Universitarios Pro Independencia (FUPI) is a Marxist oriented student organization at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) which is affiliated with the communist controlled International Union of Students.

Special Agent [redacted] of the San Juan Office recognized newspaper photographs taken at the "Solidarity with Cuba" rally in Brazil during April, 1963, as including [redacted] and [redacted] officials of FUPI. He sent the newspaper photographs to the Bureau along with a suggested text in Spanish language to be used in a counterintelligence leaflet to be distributed at the UPR.

The leaflet was prepared at the Bureau and 4,000 copies sent to the San Juan Office where they were distributed anonymously in bulk on 9/5/63 to known anti-FUPI and anti-communist groups at UPR, and also in the College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico. The leaflet clearly shows the communist influence in FUPI.

The counterintelligence results from this leaflet were highly successful.

(1) "El Mundo," a leading Spanish language daily newspaper in Puerto Rico, reproduced the photographs and part of the text from the leaflets on the front page of the 9/16/63 issue of that paper, thus giving the widest possible dissemination of the damaging information regarding FUPI. REC-3

(2) The leaflet created panic and confusion among the ranks of FUPI who believe the leaflet was prepared by an anti-communist organization active on the campus of UPR.

(3) As a result of this panic, FUPI has suspended efforts to recruit new members. They had been in the midst of a recruiting drive at the time.

105-93124  
BOL:PER 1 OCT 22 1963  
(7) [redacted]  
See Addendum Administrative Division page 2a.

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by [redacted]  
Excluded from GDS, Category [redacted]  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

begin to confirm what some have anticipated in the debates of recent years: the hidden history of political persecution in Puerto Rico could become one of the biggest scandals of the century.

With such a complex panorama and so many moral, human rights, and legal issues involved, one thing seems quite clear: we will hear more about the *carpetas* case in the near future.

\* Published in *The NPRC Report*, Summer 2000 (vol. 19, no. 1). Ramón Bosque-Pérez is a Researcher at the Center for Puerto Rican Studies (Hunter College, CUNY) and co-author with Dr. José Javier Colón-Morera of the book *Las carpetas: persecución política y derechos civiles en Puerto Rico*. For more on the book or the issues mentioned above, visit <http://www.cipdc.org>.

**Editor's Note:** *Political repression has also taken place within Puerto Rican communities in the U.S.. Organizations like the Young Lords were attacked by FBI Cointelpro operations. Likewise, the Puerto Rican Cultural Center in Chicago continues to face political repression to this day. More next edition!*



# **TWISTED REPORTING FUELS RESENTMENT IN THE ARAB AND MUSLIM COMMUNITY ON CAMPUS**

**THE FOLLOWING IS A LETTER TO THE INDEPENDENT WRITTEN BY VEVA SILVA, PRESIDENT OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S STUDENT CHAPTER AT NEIU. THE LETTER IS IN RESPONSE TO AN ARTICLE ABOUT THE "DIALOGUE ON THE PALESTINIAN AND ISRAELI CONFLICT" FOUND IN THE INDEPENDENT ISSUE PUBLISHED ON TUESDAY, MARCH 27, 2001 (VOL. 17 ISSUE 14).**

Thank you for giving such a prominent space to your report on the Dialogue on the Israel/ Palestine conflict. It would have been helpful, however, if Ms. Stone had bothered to talk to a representative from Amnesty International, the main organizer of the event, before writing the article. If she had done so she would have known that this event was in no way "a continued response to the display case put up by the Middle Eastern Students Association," -a bit of poor reporting on two counts.

To begin with, the display case to which she refers was not put up by the Middle Eastern Students Association, but by the Muslim Students Association. Secondly, Amnesty International at NEIU and the UPRS began planning the informational event on Israel and the Occupied Territories well before there was any flap on campus re the display case which featured photographs found to be objectionable to the narrow-minded on campus.

It happens that Israel and the Occupied Territories is one of the AI (international) foci this year, and the NEIU group chose it as one of ours. UPRS members heard Mr. Abunimah speak around the same time and became interested in bringing him to campus from an anti-colonialist perspective. The event then evolved into a dialogue as we searched for a suitable speaker for the Israeli side. I could describe a long and complicated process in the organization of the event, but my point is this: those of us who conceived of the event were not

in the least disturbed by the display case, and there was no way we would have felt that there would be a need to "respond" to it.

I think you have an obligation to correct this misinformation, since it essentially serves to propagate the misperception that the MSA display case was in some way offensive to everyone but Muslims and Arabs on campus. This would only be true if the majority of the progressive community on campus were not aware that Israel is involved in a brutal and illegal occupation, and that the photographs in the display case were simply items that the media chooses not to emphasize in its slanted reporting on the issue.

I don't believe this to be the case. Twisted reporting fuels resentment in the Arab and Muslim community on campus, and it would be more helpful if you would report the campus dichotomy for what it is. The difference of opinion on this campus is not one between Jews and Muslims or Israelis and Arabs, and certainly not one between Arabs and/or Muslims and "the rest of us." The difference, as it is more and more in the United States in general, is one between the progressive and scholarly community which bothers to inform itself beyond Israeli propaganda and those who are ill informed through neglect or simply choose to cling to long disproved myths for the sake of comfort.



# UNITED NATIONS WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST RACISM

## SOUTH AFRICA 2001

### WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW...

"We must place Black people's struggle in the human rights arena."  
Malcolm X

The United Nations will hold a World Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance from August 31 to September 7, 2001. South Africa will host the Conference. We must be there in large numbers and put our issues on the international agenda.

#### What does it mean to you?

- \*Are you tired of the police killing people of color with impunity?
- \*Do you know that the medical treatment you get is often worse than the sickness?
- \*Has racism cost you your job and do you wonder if you will ever work again?
- \*Are you disgusted with the poor education which our children receive in the schools in Black and Latino communities?
- \*Do you believe there is no "justice" in the criminal justice system for people of color?
- \*Do you question why the infant mortality rate for Black babies is double that for whites?
- \*Do you know why one of three Black men between the 18 and 29 are in some part of the criminal justice system?
- \*Do you wonder why affirmative actions programs are being dismantled faster than they were instituted?
- \*Did you know that 30 years after the Kerner Commission Report (1968) finding that the US had two societies "one Black, one white, separate and unequal," that the gap between whites and Blacks has actually increased?

\*Do you believe people of African descent are entitled to the reparations which they never received?

Then you must get involved in the World Conference on Racism!

#### History

Between 1973 and 2003, the General Assembly designated three decades for action to combat racism and racial discrimination and to ensure support for people struggling for racial equality. In 1978 and again 1983 World Conferences were held in Geneva.

We were not there and we were not counted. Our issues were not on the agenda. Today, racism in many new forms is as harsh as it was then.

In 1994, the Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance Maurice Glele visited the United States. This was the first UN visit ever to investigate the US. The December 12th Movement hosted an open hearing at Abyssinian Baptist Church with over 400 people testifying.

Professor Glele found wide spread racism throughout US society. His report was denounced by the United States, but they could not disprove his facts.

Despite opposition from the US and Europe, the UN decided to hold another World Conference on



# We Helped Stop the Bombing

*A high school student tells of his experience lobbying in D.C. for "Paz para Vieques."*

Carlos Morales

Last month I went on a trip to Washington, D.C. with four people, two of which were my teachers, Norma Peña and Miguel Morales. We went to lobby for the end of the bombing of Vieques, Puerto Rico so that the inhabitants might have peace.

We left on a Sunday morning and for next 12 hours we were stuck in a Honda. We all had a chance to get to know each other, plus I got a lot of sleep. When we made it to D.C. we stayed at the Hampton Hotel, which was very nice. Our first day there we drove to an office building to meet and discuss what we were going to do the following day with lawyers and members of a political group against the bombing.

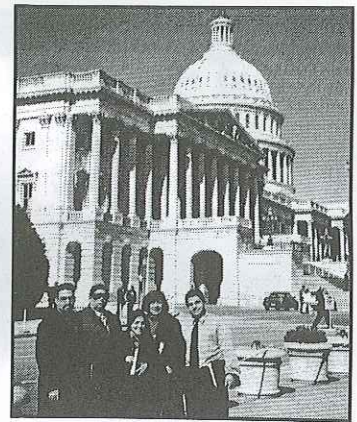
Afterwards, the five of us went to our conference room to

Racism. After much pressure by the African nations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the site of the World Conference was moved from Geneva to South Africa. The UN resolution says it "is intended to be action-oriented, ... focus on practical steps to eradicate

Racism, including measures of prevention, education and protection... endeavor to provide effective remedies for the victims of racism and racial discrimination. The United Nations has repeatedly affirmed its "special responsibility" for victims of racism and oppression."

The Africa Group, meeting during the Commission

make appointments with Congress members from Illinois. I of course made most of the appointments. We finished the day off with having dinner with three friends and this guy named David. I still don't know who he is, but he was cool as hell. Norma didn't come with us cause she ditched us for a friend.



The next morning was one of the best days of my life. Well, it doesn't sound like it because all I was doing was talking to some senators about an island they knew nothing about. But it's much more about working with people in a common goal. When a person thinks like this, they feel powerful and important. I actually went into senator's offices and convinced them to think my way... and the bombing has stopped for now!

*The author attends Pedro Albizu Campos High School.*

**"Recognise and declare that the slave trade, slavery and colonialism inflicted on the African Continent and the Diaspora constitute crimes against humanity"**

**Declaration of the African NGO Forum  
Dakar, Senegal, 20-21 January 2001**

on Human Rights in Geneva, spring 1998, drafted a Resolution calling the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade a Crime Against Humanity. The US used all of its influence and blocked the resolution.

## Themes of the World Conference

On May 1st through 5th, 2000, a Preparatory Committee meeting (PrepCom) for the World Conference was held at the UN in Geneva, Switzerland. At the

meeting there was a fierce struggle waged on the question of whether "reparations" was to be included as a theme of the WCR, with the US, Europe and Israel vehemently opposed to its inclusion. The African,

UN CONFERENCE ON RACISM CONTINUED ON PAGE 29



# TEACHING THE TRUTH AND BLACK HISTORY MONTH

BY DR. CONRAD WORRILL

The movement to implement an appropriate African Centered Curriculum in predominately Black inner city schools is critical to the on-going struggle for the liberation of Black people in this country. We must continue to demand that the truth be taught.

This movement has now become popularly known as the African Centered Education Movement. Simply stated, it focuses on teaching the truth concerning the contributions of African people to the development of civilization in all subjects. During Black History Month we must heighten the dialogue concerning the importance of this movement.

Throughout the country, Africans in America are now becoming more sensitive to challenging the racist and white supremacist basis of the public school curriculum.

Through the National Black United Front (NBUF), and its world African Centered Education Plan, more Blacks are beginning to see the need for massive curriculum change in the public schools of this country.

There is not a day that goes by that someone does not call my office seeking information and help on how to start the process of changing the curriculum in their school. It is clear that the public school system is the place where our children receive a significant portion of their view of the world and the history of the world. And, it also is a place where large numbers of

Black youth are miseducated under the system of white supremacy through the ideas and interpretation of history that is presented to them.

Let's turn to Carter G. Woodson's great book, "The Miseducation of the Negro" to get some further insights into this problem. Woodson observes "the so called modern education, with all its defects, however, does others so much more good than it does the Negro, because it has been worked out in conformity to the needs of those who have enslaved and oppressed weaker people."

**"Throughout the country, Africans in America are now becoming more sensitive to challenging the racist and white supremacist basis of the public school curriculum."**

For example, Woodson says, "The philosophy and ethics resulting from our educational system have justified slavery, peonage, segregation and lynching. The oppressor has the right to exploit, to handicap, and to kill the oppressed."

Continuing on, Woodson explains that, "No systematic effort toward change had been possible for, taught the same economics, history, philosophy, literature and religion which have established the present code of morals, the Negro's mind has been brought under control of his oppressor."

Concluding on this point, Woodson states: "The problem of holding the Negro down, therefore, is easily solved. When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions."

Therefore, it is inspiring to see so many of our people



waking up all over America and seeking the truth concerning the real contributions of African people to the world. Through study groups, conferences, Black talk radio, information network exchanges, Black people are coming into a new consciousness that seeks to reclaim the African mind and spirit.

Through the Portland Model Baseline Essays, the work of the Kemetite Institute, Association For The Study of Classical African Civilizations (ASCAC), and other writings and curriculum materials, we are becoming much more aware of the following points that must be incorporated into the curriculum.

1. Africa is the home of early man.
2. Africa is the cradle of modern man.
3. Africa is the cradle of civilization.
4. Africa once held a position as world teacher including the teacher for the western world.
5. There was and there still is a continental wide unity in Africa and in the African communities around the world.
6. The first time Africans left the continent was not on slave ships.
7. Africa and African people all over the world have been under siege for nearly 2,000 years and only recently by European slavery and colonization.

8. There is an African Diaspora all over the world today.
9. African people have resisted domination on the continent and all over the world.
10. Even under slavery, colonization, segregation, apartheid, African people have made monumental contributions to arts, science and politics.

These 10 points, and others, have become the basis upon which we can judge the white supremacist public school curriculum content in textbooks and other learning materials.

In other words, these points have become the basis of determining whether the truth is being taught in the public schools of this country. **Remember, the truth will set us free!**

(Dr Worrill is national chairman of the National Black United Front/ NBUF, located at 12817 Ashland Avenue, Flr. 1, Calumet Park, Ill. 60827. He can be reached at (708) 389-9929, fax (708) 389-9819, email: nbufchi@allways.net, or visit webpage [www.nbufont.org](http://www.nbufont.org).)

*Editor's Note: This article was originally published in The Final Call, the official newspaper of the Nation of Islam. Dr. Worrill is the associate director of NEIU's satellite campus Center for Inner City Studies.*

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## UN CONFERENCE ON RACISM CONTINUED FROM PAGE 27

Asian, Latin American and Caribbean Groups of the countries were united in their determination to include reparations. A compromise was reached in point 4 by putting the word in brackets to show that not everybody agreed with it.

1. Sources, Causes, Forms and Contemporary Manifestations of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance.
2. Victims of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance.
3. Measures of Prevention, Education and Protection aimed at the Eradication of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, Related Intolerance at a National, Regional and International Levels.

4. Provision of Effective Remedies, Recourse, Redress, [Compensatory] and other measures at a National, Regional and International Levels.
5. Strategies to achieve full and effective equality, including international cooperation and enhancement of the United Nations and other international mechanisms in combating Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, and follow-up.

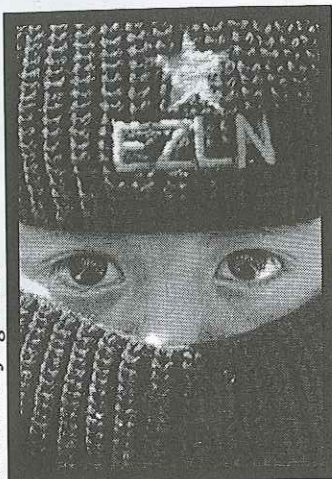
*Information prepared by: December 12<sup>th</sup> International Secretariat, International Association Against Torture, Nord Sud XXI –non-governmental organizations with consultative status with the UN ECOSOC.*



# The Zapatistas

David Díaz

# EZLN



REUTERS/Jorge Silva

On Jan. 1, 1994, the day that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect, an uprising took place in the state of Chiapas, in southern Mexico. The group that led the uprising was the E.Z.L.N. (the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional or the Zapatista Army of National Liberation). According to Sub-Coman-

dante Marcos, spokesman of the EZLN, "when [NAFTA] goes into effect it will represent an international massacre" because the treaty will only exacerbate the polarization of wealth in Mexico and hence increase the poverty of the Mexican poor.

On January 1, 1994, the EZLN pronounced that they were in rebellion against the Mexican government, the army, and the police. In a broadcast the Zapatistas declared :

*Hoy Decimos Basta! Today we say enough is enough! To the people of Mexico: Mexican Brother and sisters: we are a product of 500 years of struggle: first against slavery, then during the War of Independence against Spain and led by insurgents, then to promulgate our constitution and expel the French Empire from our soil, later the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz denied us the just application of the Reform laws and the people rebelled and leaders like Villa and Zapata emerged, poor men just like us. We have been denied the most elemental education so that others can use us as cannon fodder and pillage the wealth of our coun-*

*try. They don't care that we have nothing, absolutely nothing, not even a roof over our heads, no land, no work, no health care, no food, and no education. Nor are we able freely and democratically to elect our political representatives, nor is there independence from foreigners, nor us there peace nor justice for ourselves and our children.*

Declaración de la Selva Lacandona  
Chiapas, Mexico December 31, 1993

Their stated demands on the Mexican government include an end to illiteracy, the right to education, the right to dignified jobs, respect for indigenous peoples and cultures, the creation of hospitals, freedom for an independent press, a cancellation of debts for the poor, an end to hunger, malnutrition and brutal exploitation, the release of political prisoners, the creation of truly free and democratic elections and most importantly land reform.

In 1992, the Mexican government rewrote the agrarian reform section in the Mexican Constitution. This ended any possibility of peasants to gaining any land. Zapatistas argue that the land ought to be returned to those who work it. All large land estates will be expropriated for the pur-



AP Photo/Victor Caivano



pose of reinstituting communal farms so that all poor peasants can work to supply food for their families.

Currently, the Zapatistas have a delegation in Mexico City in which negotiations have begun with the Mexican Government. But whatever the outcome of these negotiations, the Zapatistas have had a profound impact on Mexican society.

*Editor's Note: In the last eight editions of QOS, we featured an article written by Sub comandante Marcos about neoliberal globalization. We will continue to discuss the Zapatistas and the issues they struggle for.*



Jorge Silva/Reuters

## The Union for Puerto Rican Students

# OUR AFRICAN HERITAGE

Angel M. Fuentes

On Tuesday, February 27, the Union for Puerto Rican Students (UPRS) sponsored an activity called "Celebrating our African Heritage."

We invited Ramón López, a Puerto Rican anthropologist and artisan to speak at our activity. Mr. López used his extensive knowledge of Puerto Rican history, artwork, along with my small contribution on the percussion to explain the African influence on Puerto Rican culture. A good number of students showed up and, with Ramon's charismatic storytelling ways he painted a picture that highlighted the contributions our African ancestors have made to the rich culture of Puerto Rico. With the little time that we had, he discussed the flavor that our African ancestors brought to

our food, music, traditions, and culture as a whole.

At the end of the presentation, we had time for questions. Members of the audience began to ask questions about Puerto Rican culture, but like every activity with Puerto Ricans, we entered into a discussion about the status of the island. In addition to learning from the presentation, we also

engaged in excellent dialogue about the political and economic situation of Puerto Rico.

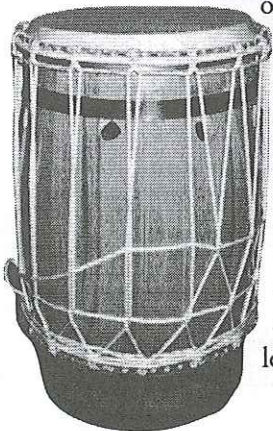
Ramon López made one thing very clear, Puerto Ricans are a very proud people and this is shown by the fact that you will almost never hear a Boricua say I'm Puerto Rican-American. Puerto Ricans, in spite of the migration process, and our colonial reality, have been able to maintain our identity and have refused to assimilate.



Ramón López

These are the types of cultural and historical activities we would like to sponsor. The Union for Puerto Rican Students encourages students to join us so that we can sponsor more activities. If you enjoyed this event or have any ideas about other activities we could sponsor e-mail us at [queondeesola@hotmail.com](mailto:queondeesola@hotmail.com).

*Photographs taken by Roberto Montana.*





# Fighting Sweatshop Conditions: Students and Labor

By Sabbi Foster

An activist fire has been spreading in the past two years among campuses in the U.S.. Not since the agitation for divestment from South Africa's racist government has there been one so great. Students have developed United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) in over 70 campuses in resistance to the shopping mall ethos of purchasing identity symbols as a supposed political expression. USAS emerged in the context of the recent surge in concentration and "globalization" of big money accompanied by layoffs, decreased unionization and sweatshops. Globalization today means the harvesting everywhere of cheap labor and natural resources and a renewed effort to push people off the land. It is motivated by possibilities of the high tech and biotech revolutions which have resulted in production and distribution as becoming more analogous to the functioning of a great nervous system and the profitability of the engineering of life influencing the structural conditions of the food industry. Sweatshops are a nightmarish and extreme example of our own declining working conditions: forcibly migrated and racially targeted largely under-age female workers thrown into dangerous working and living environments abused, overworked, unknow-

ingly on contraception without a living wage or a right to organize. Sweatshops, like shopping malls, are a global phenomenon; only they are the company secrets behind the cannibalistic display of consumer wealth.

**"Sweatshops, like shopping malls, are a global phenomenon; only they are the company secrets behind the cannibalistic display of consumer wealth."**

Democratically structured, USAS is the collective brainchild of uncompromising activists with exposure to elite knowledge systems across the country. USAS confronts school licensing policies regarding the permission to use the school's logo by a mega transnational company like Nike or Reebok for sale in the school bookstore or elsewhere. Organiz-

ing manuals that include narratives of their experience of sit-ins, hunger strikes, political performance art, campus strike and contract negotiation support and confrontations with college administrations are available to interested students. USAS continues to confront the hypocrisy of the global power circle behind the brand names and has developed tools and alliances that promise future struggles against Goliaths such as the Prison Industrial Complex.

It is important to note that USAS does not promote boycotting a particular company's product which they



say would hurt workers but rather public pressure to force compliance to a Code of Conduct. On USAS campuses, students push their administration to adopt a Code that should contain full public disclosure, living wage, women's rights and the right to organize clauses as well as clauses protecting rights to health and safety and prohibitions of forced labor including overtime and child labor in factories producing clothes for the licensed company. Full public disclosure means that companies such as Nike are pressured make publicly available the locations, names and wages of all production facilities to maintain their licenses.

This information is legally indefensible as a trade secret and if disclosed would tell us a lot about which company is running in "the race to the bottom"—the migration of factory contracts and even machines to the "free trade zone" offering the lowest wages in the world.

Names and locations alone are not enough and a strong Code can be countered with the silence of secrets or the chatter of media-friendly lies. USAS therefore founded the Workers Rights Consortium (WRC) to monitor the working conditions of the factories making brand name clothing as an alternative to incestuous Fair Labor Act (FLA), which is demonstrably weak, ineffective and under control of the same corporate interests it purports to monitor. WRC is more student controlled and free of corporate involvement and develops relationships with local Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's) which have met criteria of worker acceptability, credibility and non corporate funding. It is another important campus struggle to get the administration to affiliate with the WRC rather than the FLA.

The clarity and the urgency of the sweatshop issue can emerge from students critiquing our own daily

lives. Even doctors have been slammed by the HMO system. Graduate student faculty assistants, part time faculty, janitors and cafeteria workers on the nation's rapidly privatizing campuses are fighting for basic rights. Northeastern students, who include in large numbers parents and people of color, suffer from the neglect of public schooling, reversal of affirmative action, criminalization by "proactive" police and housing discrimination. As workers, almost all students are subject to layoffs or the threat of layoffs due to the neoliberal climate. Although generally not in sweatshops, we as workers and students here are on the defensive. It's time to organize and

educate ourselves as we get our degrees.

**For more information go to:**

- [home.sprintmail.com/~jeffnkari/USAS](http://home.sprintmail.com/~jeffnkari/USAS) to get United Students Against Sweatshops web page
- [www.workersrights.org](http://www.workersrights.org) to get the Workers Rights Consortium web page
- [www.sweatshopwatch.org](http://www.sweatshopwatch.org)

**Also see the following books:**

- Behind the Label inequality in the Los Angeles Apparel Industry, Bonacich, Edna and Appelbaum, Richard (California, 2000)
- No-Sweat: Fashion, Free-Trade, and the Rights of Garment Workers, Ross, Andrew, ed. (Verso, 1997)
- Living Wage: Building a Fair Economy, Pollin, Robert and Luce, Stephanie (New Press, 1998)

*Photo credit: National Labor Committee.*



**Interested in starting a USAS chapter on campus? Contact:**  
**s-guth1@neiu.edu**

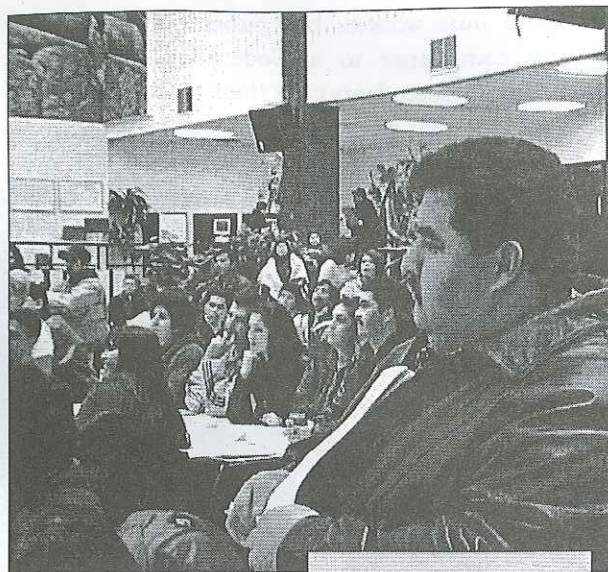


# TOGETHER WE CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE!

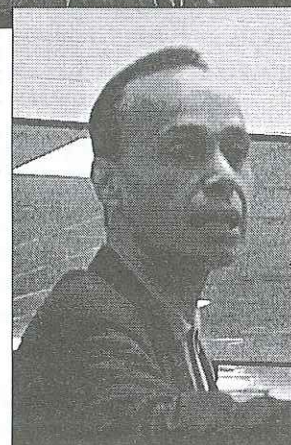
Yaditza Romero

Our 4<sup>th</sup> district Congressman Luis Guítierrez sponsored a workshop on March 3, 2001 to register undocumented people living in the United States to begin the process of applying for citizenship. These people have to be registered before April 30, 2001 because of changes to existing immigration laws that increase the threat of deportation. This is not fair to these hard-working people, some have been working here for over 30 years and have supported the government by paying taxes. In return, they should be acknowledged and left alone to live in peace. They came here to give their children a better life, unlike their own. This is the only place that they can call home. Taking these people away from their homes will affect them greatly. They will go back and have to start all over again having to find a decent job, a place to stay, and food to eat. Without these resources how will these people survive?

At the workshop, I was partnered up with my friend Jennifer Ramos. Together we registered five families. This takes a lot of patience and hard work, but we were glad to do it. It felt good knowing I was able to help these families live the life they want to live.



On May 1<sup>st</sup> beginning at 6:00pm a human chain will be organized along Ashland Avenue from north to south. We will be supporting a bill proposed by Congressman Luis Guítierrez regarding amnesty for the eleven million undocumented workers, and voicing that the U.S. Navy get out of Vieques.



Photos Roberto (Kid) López

So NEIU, I'll see you on May 1<sup>st</sup>. Together we CAN make a difference!

**Tuesday, May 1, 5-7pm**  
**May Day Human Chain**  
**along Ashland Avenue.**

- Amnesty for Immigrants
- US Navy Out of Vieques
- Support Congressman Guítierrez's Amnesty Bill

for more info call 773. 342.8023



## Proyecto Pa'lante: Reasons to Celebrate and to Dispute

On Tuesday, March 27, 2001, the office of Proyecto Pa'Lante celebrated its 20<sup>th</sup> Annual Honor Awards Ceremony. Students from the program maintaining a B-average or better, along with community leaders in the city of Chicago were recognized for their academic achievements and academic guidance.

This ceremony was different from any other awards ceremonies held by this program. At least for me, this was the first time I saw a student giving a keynote address. Tomas Herrera, former Vice-President of ChimeXla who worked along side to *Que Onde Sola* and U.P.R.S. (student organizations) addressed the award recipients by sharing a heart warming account of his experiences as a student, and expressed to us what impediments he had to overcome in order to graduate from NEIU. In the past, coordinators & acting coordinators brought state politicians, or administrators/faculty to address the students on their personal accomplishments, which generally speaking put us to sleep.

Tomas spoke highly of his mother, family, and circle of friends for believing, encouraging and inspiring him. Among them he pointed out names such as Michael Rodríguez (present editor of Q.O.S), Pedro-Angel Fuentes (1999 NEIU graduate and present academic advisor for Proyecto Pa'Lante), Ludwin López (2000 NEIU graduate), Roman Arellano (2000 NEIU graduate), and Pedro Guardian (2001 NEIU graduate). To him they all served instrumentally to his success.

During this event, Dean Murrell Duster also "thanked" Manuel Cuba, or as what some of us students call him— el maestro for his "acting" role as the acting coordinator of Proyecto Pa'Lante for almost two years. Mr. Cuba recognized his supporting colleagues Victo-

ria Flippin (director of H.E.L.P), Pedro-Angel Fuentes (Program Specialist of Proyecto Pa'Lante), Roosevelt Gordon (director of Project Success) and his best friend Dr. T.Y. Okuson (Program Specialist of Project Success). He also clarified the rumors that he would be leaving the program. Dean Duster also took this moment to announce that a new coordinator had been selected and Mr. Cuba would be going back to his previous position, that of a Program Specialist.

Interestingly, the celebration almost shifted to a forum or semi-protest when two brave Proyecto Pa'Lante students, Lina Suarez and Juana Montoya denounced the administration's decision by stating that "it was unfair to hire a new coordinator without giving the students a chance to question this new person," during the search and screen interviews. Ms. Lina Suarez called on her fellow Proyecto Pa'Lante students (who were unaware of the proceedings) to embrace this matter on behalf of el maestro. Dean Duster responded briefly and said she would clarify any student concerns at a later time.

Two days later she called a meeting with concerned students. Some of us believe she simply washed her hands of the matter by setting up a meeting but not giving students adequate notice.

One is left to wonder why Mr. Cuba was twice denied the coordinators position. In fact, why was someone like Mr. Carlos Lebrón (coordinator of the Summer Transition Program) denied the position, when he knows the university well and has been here for over 10 years. The impression left on some of us by the administration is that many of them have their own agendas, regardless if they are brothers/sisters (Latinos). I've been lead to believe that many of them are untrustworthy. It seems like some of those that are supposed to be working on the behalf of the students are really not. While, some working on behalf of the students are never acknowledged. Some us still have a sense of integrity. Some of us aren't as blind as they make us out to be. To Mr. Manuel Cuba, our maestro, I say thank you for never holding back your voice when we needed your help.

*The author would like to remain anonymous.*



# EXPUNGEMENT

## THE BEGINNING OF A BLACK AND LATINO MOVEMENT

Enrique Salgado, Jr.



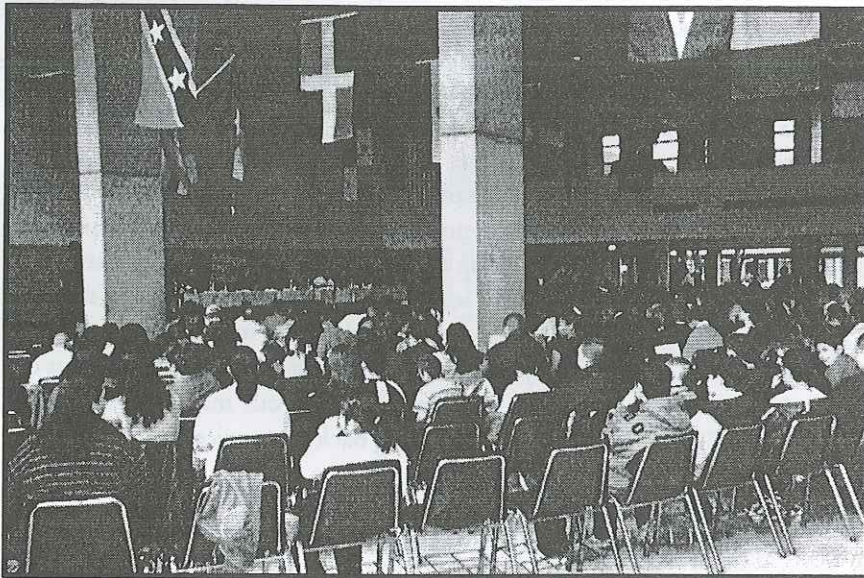
On Saturday, March 31, 2001 in Chicago's south side, over 350 people came to Kennedy King College to give and hear testimony on State Representative Constance Howard's expungement bills. A diverse panel of thirteen community leaders heard testimonies from twenty-two individuals representing almost every sector of society. The panel included State representa-

tives Connie Howard and Willie Delgado, State Senator Donnie Trotter, Professors Robert Starks and José López, Attorney Lewis Myers, Darryl Bush, Terry A. Solomon, Emma Lozano, Sharon Mathews, Dr. Wayne Watson, Wellington Wilson, and Rev. Slim Coleman.

The hearing began with each panelist making a brief statement about why these bills are so important to the communities they represent. The overall sentiments were that these bills have unified communities that have been, as Rep. Willie Delgado put it, "disenfranchised by the judicial system," and as Atty. Lewis Myers went on to state, "that for the first time in a long time, since the election of Harold Washington,

Latinos and Blacks are working together seeing what we have in common and working together to make things better, and this time it isn't for no election." State Senator Trotter set the tone by stating simply, "I came to listen and get our marching orders" and committed to being part of "our fight for as long as there is one." He ended his statement with "Like the old saying goes, No Justice-No Peace!"

Later, each of those who came to give their testimony to the panel began by thanking Rep. Howard for presenting bills that would give







them a "second chance." Those testifying also described how they have been affected by having a criminal record. These testimonies were given by people from all walks of life, from professionals to high school seniors. Along with sharing their individual histories, they collectively showed how many people truly want to change their lives, but are hindered by having crim-



inal records. It is clear that once someone has paid their debt to society, they should be given a "second chance."

Being one of those in attendance, I saw that this issue touched so many lives, especially people of color. It was also clear that this issue has unified two communities around more than a coalition on a specific issue but a movement of solidarity and action between the Latino and African American community.

The meeting ended with NEIU Professor José López reemphasizing the need for every single able-bodied individual to take the trip down to Springfield on Thursday, April 5 to show support and send a message to the entire legislature that the African American and

Latino community is united and, that this is the beginning of a movement.

*Photos: (A) Algie Crivens testifying during the Town Hall Meeting. (B) Over 350 people come out to support Rep. Howard's efforts. (C) Community members listen to testimonies. (D) Latino community travels to Springfield.*

## UPDATE: EXPUNGEMENT

On April 5, 2001 before the Illinois House of Representatives and members of the African American and Latino community, State Rep. Constance Howard presented HB 300. Among those who made the trip to Springfield to support Rep. Howard were several NEIU students. The mobilization to Springfield was undertaken by many organizations throughout the city of Chicago. The NEIU students rode the bus of the grassroots organizations, the Puerto Rican Cultural Center and Centro Sin Fronteras.

HB 300 was the only bill out of the seven she proposed before the Judiciary II, Criminal Law committee to make it to the gallery floor. This bill is designed to expunge the records of those whose convictions have been overturned due to actual innocence. Community members expecting much opposition were surprised when HB 300 passed by a 115-1 vote.

Afterwards, several state representatives and Black and Latino community members discussed the day's events and the future of these efforts. Rep. Howard spoke to her supporters, reminding them that this was only the first step in a long process to give people a second chance. State Rep. Willie Delgado added how important it was that the Black and Latino communities were becoming united. Also present was state Senator Miguel Del Valle and recently elected State Rep. Cynthia Soto. In closing, Del Valle called on those in attendance to continue their efforts and to be present when HB 300 is presented in Senate.

HB 300 passed much easier than many expected, but as State Rep. Howard said, this only the beginning... Illinois Senate here we come!



# PROYECTO PA'LANTE SPRING 2001

## AWARD CEREMONY RECIPIENTS

*En septiembre de 1972, Proyecto Pa'Lante fue establecido como un programa para atraer estudiantes de la comunidad Hispana y proveerles servicios que les ayuden en su éxito universitario. El programa fue creado la Oficina de Asuntos Estudiantiles para Latinos con el apoyo de la Union de Estudiantes Puertorriqueños.*

*Proyecto Pa'Lante dedica su esfuerzo al desarrollo del liderazgo para la comunidad Latina a través de la educación.*

*—Proyecto Pa'Lante Brochure*

### CONTINUING STUDENTS

#### Honors 3.00-3.49

Alvaros, Jaime  
Alvarado, Maria G.  
Figueroa, X. Melvi  
Germain, Edith  
Muños, Irene Y.  
Pabon, Orlando  
Pineda, Luis C.  
Quesada, Melisa

Murcio, Teresita  
Rangel, Sandra P.  
Ramirez, Victor  
Ramirez, Victor  
Rios, Alvaro  
Rivera, Luz E.  
Rizo, E. Cesar  
Ruiz, L. Jesús  
Vargas, Angelina  
Velazquez, Mario

#### High Honors 3.50-4.00

Castillo, Carla  
Guardian, Juan M.  
Maldonado, Cecilia  
Perez, Ginelly  
Sandoval, Katherine N.  
Ramirez, Maria  
Torres, Luz

### FRESHMEN 2000

#### Honors 3.00-3.49

Alvarez, Giselle  
Ayala, Claudia M.  
Barrios, Karla J.  
Carrasco, Antonio  
Cruz, Alexandra I.  
Cruz, Daniel  
De la Cruz, Jorge  
Gramajo, Carlos  
Guamán, Fausto A.  
Jaurégui, Sandy Y.  
Lazo, Jorge D.  
Oviedo, Lidys Y.  
Poggio, Karen V.

Ramos, Helen  
Varela, Raquel  
Vera, Fernando A.

#### High Honors 3.50-4.00

Aguilar, Victor  
Antia, John  
Arias, Estrella  
DeLeon, Guadalupe  
Flores, Maribel  
Flores, Raquel  
Garibay, Claudia  
Irizarry, Michelle  
Jacob, Oscar

Lara, Gabriela  
Leiva, Eva M.  
Luna, Claudia I.  
Luna, Luis A.  
Medina, Sonia I.  
Montoya, Juana  
Montoya, Yanet  
Narvaez, Martha  
Palomares, Janneth  
Rivera, Jeniffer  
Rojas, Ingrid M.  
Rosales, Yecenia V.  
Ruiz, Roman  
Suarez, Lina



Santana Poem:

by Edith Elico

"Bailes como ritos a Xipe-topec" -

Chica Bando, Cafe Tacuba

She is dead Aztec princess  
dancing out on  
Zocalo blessed ground

her feet, along with the  
drum's beat, pounds the  
concrete below and i

i in another land,  
another country that  
pretends to be  
another world- hear  
her arms  
reach out,  
down from the  
earth that gave  
her birth  
she descends out of her  
grave  
digging,  
breaking,  
gnawing  
her way  
out, she descends  
on to us  
and finally i realize,  
i'm no longer lost

and they wanted us to  
stop dancing,  
screamed in our faces  
for us to stand  
against their stained walls  
but we simply closed our eyes  
and  
kept on bending on to  
liquid lyrics thinking all along

i've never been this free  
i've never been this free  
i've never been this free

i've, never grasped on to my skirts  
high above knees to dance

never known the taste of  
a strangers arms

never known the ecstasy of  
song running thickly in veins  
and erupting out of pores  
through movement and sweat

and i realize:  
i've never been this free  
i've never been this free  
i've never been this free  
never been this free  
before tonight

night of resurrecting stars that  
we try to find as we  
lay  
on blankets

you attempting to be  
a slinky around  
my thick body  
later on  
thin your way  
in and out  
of the crowds till  
we reach  
the bareness of flat ground  
where i free myself from the shame

and sweat that is my thighs,  
the awkwardness  
of my hands, the stains  
along my legs

and i learned the distorted steps of my  
people  
and danced them the  
very best i could

but i cannot scream  
Viva Mexico because  
Mexico is no longer alive

its people are bleeding out  
screams and  
i  
only sigh along  
my mother's cries

but i will not  
stand still against your walls  
i will not remain mute to your  
damnations  
because my feet are willing to pound  
willing to break  
willing to gnaw out  
concrete till it lets loose the hands  
and  
arms  
and  
screams  
that is the  
ancient  
men and women that it once  
had crushed

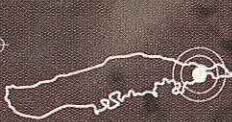


09 VIEQUES

Stop US Navy Bombing

WARNING

169 YEARS OF BOMBING



The findings, specifically with respect to the cadmium, were particularly alarming. There are up to 80 times more cadmium than in normal crabs found on the shores of the US studied by the US National Marine Fisheries Service. These levels of cadmium exceed the US Food and Drug Administration's safety guidelines for human consumption and in addition exceed the maximum dosage that the World Health Organization considers safe.

STOP NAVY BOMBING AT VIEQUES-PR

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A Mini-Conference on the Violations  
of the Human Rights of the Puerto Rican People:  
**A Call to Action** Thursday, April 19th

