

January 2001

Que Ondee Sola

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Three Kings Day
January 6, 2001

29th
Anniversary

Editorial: Welcome Back to NEIU

Welcome back to NEIU! We at *Que Onda Sola* (QOS) hope your holiday vacation was memorable and relaxing. Now it's back to the game of studying (or cramming), learning (or memorizing). We would like to wish all NEIU students good luck in the spring semester of 2001.

Que Onda Sola adds to its legacy and history as it turns 29 years old this January. Our student staff will be publishing five issues this semester and you can expect a terrific semester of campus and community coverage. We appreciate you taking the time to read QOS and thank you for your support! Briefly, I would like to explain the purpose QOS to those that are unfamiliar with this publication.

First, *Que Onda Sola* means "may it wave alone." The phrase refers to Puerto Rican self-determination and the publication has a long history of supporting the efforts of the nation of Puerto Rico to end its existence as a colonial subject of the United States. In the same respect, the **Union for Puerto Rican Students (UPRS)**, has focused on discussing the issues facing the Puerto Rican people and promoting an understanding of Puerto Rican history and culture (see page 8). That is why we insist on reporting on the Vieques struggle and the case of the Puerto Rican political prisoners.

Although QOS does have a focus on Puerto Rican self-determination, this is a LATINO student publication. In QOS you can find articles about Mexico, or Colombia, etc. or about various issues affecting our Latino communities in Chicago. Some of the issues I am referring to are amnesty for undocumented workers, police brutality, and gentrification, just to name a few (see page 6). These pages are primarily for the discussion and dialogue surrounding our people's situation. We also feel that it is our responsibility to discuss international issues. One of the topics we have begun to analyze is the issue of globalization. In the near future, we hope to publish articles about sweatshops and militarism.

While looking at international, national, and local issues, we also strive to provide students with news and information about NEIU. This is a student publication, as I have already stressed, and we feel that it is our duty to report on issues that effect the NEIU student body (see page 3). The bottom line is that we want to contribute to our campus by advocating critical thinking, student action and responsibility, and trying to raise awareness about some very important issues.

As you can tell, QOS is not an entertainment magazine. QOS is for students that want to take advantage of their college experience by learning and experiencing as much as possible. If you want to be entertained go to *Walgreens* and pick up any magazine you see. We acknowledge that the topics we discuss do not appeal to everyone, but if we don't discuss them who will? And when and where will they be discussed? Again, thank you for reading and see you next month!

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Dialogue about the Mexican/Caribbean Studies Minor

By Effie Kalkounos

For over two decades, Latino students and the administration have been on opposing sides regarding the Mexican/Caribbean Studies Minor. This Minor was not created by university initiative, but rather by a student movement that insisted on relevant academic programs for the Latino population and other students interested in Latino Studies. During these years, the University administration did not support this studies program, its core course or its core professor. In fact, only CICS- the Center for Inner City Studies, a satellite campus of Northeastern Illinois University located on the south side of Chicago, supported and housed the minor.

Furthermore, university funding for the program was so scarce that the students themselves generated brochures and course listings. In addition, awareness of the Mexican/Caribbean Studies program has been so low in the past few years that announcements for the minor were held in Chimexla (Chicano Mexicano Latino Student Organization) and UPRS (Union for Puerto Rican Students) meetings where students were encouraged to sign up for the program.

On December 15th, 2000, this situation changed. The Student Steering Committee, consisting of the student organizations Chimexla, the Union for Puerto Rican Students, and *Que Ondee Sola* met along with Provost Estela López, Dean of Arts and Sciences Hoda Mahmoudi, members of the Criminal Justice Department, a member of the For-

eign Language Department, CICS, and other NEIU faculty and staff. The purpose of the meeting was to further dialogue between the students and the administration.

"The purpose of the meeting was to further dialogue between the students and the administration."

Upon entering the meeting, one of the main concerns of the Student Steering Committee was the proposed move of the Minor from CICS to the College of Arts and Sciences at NEIU's main campus. While the Student Steering Committee never opposed the minor being housed in the College of Arts and Sciences, the students were concerned that CICS would no longer play an integral role in the development and continuation of the minor. It is important to state that the minor has been supported by CICS for well over twenty years. The Student Steering Committee voiced its opinions that CICS should and must have continued involvement with the minor in the future. Without the involvement of CICS, the Student Steering Committee would not be able to support the move to the College of Arts and Sciences or any other changes to the Minor.

Another concern articulated at the meeting was the hiring of a coordinator for the Mexican Caribbean Studies minor. In the past, no official coordinator or full-time advisor existed. The coordinator's main function will be to develop the Minor and attend to all its needs. Currently, the minor is comprised of one core course: History and Culture of Ethnic Peoples, and five electives totaling 18 credit hours. Perhaps the role of the coordinator will be to add more core courses to the curriculum and/or to streamline the electives offered for the minor so that the program fits with the needs of the student population.

In short, here is a summary of some of the conclusions of the meeting drawn up by the Student Steering Committee.

- The name of the Minor will continue to be called the Mexican/Caribbean Studies Minor, at least until the issue of the name is resolved by the parties involved.
- The Criminal Justice Department will begin to fill the coordinator position. Dr. Conrad Worrill from CICS has agreed to be on the coordinator search committee.
- CICS will continue to house the core course and be involved in the development of the Minor. Professor José López will continue to teach the core course.
- The students will continue to play

Continued on next page

an important role in the future of the Mexican/Caribbean Studies Minor.

The Student Steering Committee, assuming that these conclusions are correct, is now willing to support the direction the Minor is taking. This student committee has struggled for along time with the administration over this program, and is committed to working for a minor that is reflective of, and relevant to, NEIU's Latino population.

In closing, the December 15th meeting was successful in furthering communication between the students and administration. Provost Estela López and Dean Hoda Mahmoudi were both gracious and honest with their support and suggestions for the minor. The Student Steering Committee acknowledges the Administration's position and support of the development and expansion of the Mexican/Caribbean Studies Minor. It is important to note that North-

eastern should have programs such as the Mexican/Caribbean Studies Minor already in place, and the newly pro-

"It is important to note that Northeastern should have programs such as the Mexican/ Caribbean Studies Minor already in place, and the newly proposed Africana Studies program initiated at CICS."

posed Africana Studies program currently being initiated by CICS. The Student Steering Committee would like

to state that it supports the CICS and Africana Studies Program, and hope the University takes the necessary steps to make that program a reality. It is important to have these programs because they reflect the needs and diversity of the student population; bridging the gap between academia and the community. Currently, Northeastern has the most diverse student population in the Midwest. Therefore, programs such as the Mexican/ Caribbean Studies minor will hopefully continue to receive full support from the administration in the future. Based on a student/faculty/administration dialogue, this productive and encouraging meeting is surely heading the Mexican/Caribbean Studies Minor in the right direction. This just the beginning...

QOS will continue to publish updates about the Mexican/Caribbean Studies Minor.

Looking for classes? take...

ICSE-202

Section 01

Prof. López

Colonial Systems*

9:25-10:40a

TR

SCI S364

Ref# 11332

PSCI- 365

Section DA

Prof. Leaman

Pol&Gov MEX, CEN AMER, CARIBBN

7:05-9:45p

W

CLS 2031

Ref# 17457

*Required course for the Mexican/Caribbean Studies Minor.

These two courses are part of the Mexican/Caribbean Studies Minor. There are many more courses that are being offered under the Mexican/Caribbean Studies Minor in the Spring Semester of 2001. For more information contact Carlos Lebrón at the Summer Transition Office at A-111.

FIFTH PIECE:

The legitimate violence of an illegitimate power?

By Subcomandante Marcos - Ejercito Liberacion Nacional (EZLN)



The fifth piece can be shaped by drawing a pentagon.

In neoliberalism, the state not only becomes obsolete, but is exposed as a stripper peeled down to her minimum indispensable garment: repressive force. With its material base destroyed, its possibilities of sovereignty annulled, its political classes blurred, the nation state more or less rapidly becomes a security apparatus of neoliberal megacorporations. Modern states call themselves "professionals of legitimate violence." But under the violent laws of the market, what is legitimate violence and what is illegitimate violence? The modern market has put violence up for sale. Within the polemics using "legitimate" and "illegitimate" violence there is also a distinction made between "rational" and "irrational" violence.

A certain sector of the world's intellectuals pretends that violence can be exerted against the evils of society in a "rational" manner, administered "selectively" and applied with "surgical" precision. And so the struggle between rational and irrational violence opens an interesting and lamentable path of discussion. Take, for example, what is considered "rational." If the response is "reasons of state" (assuming that such entities exist and you, could recognize some reason in the actual neoliberal state), then you can ask if these

"reasons of state" corresponds to the "reason of society." In truth, the "reasons of state" in modern times are none other than the "reasons of the financial markets." How does the modern state administer its "rational violence"? And paying attention to history, how long does this "rationality" last? How many acts of violence by a nation state applauded as rational yesterday are considered irrational now?

Lady Margaret Thatcher, "acceptable" in the memory of the British people, in her foreword to *The Next War* by Casper Weinberger and Peter Schweizer, advances some reflections about three similarities between the Cold War and post-Cold War words. The first is that the "free world" will never lack potential aggressors. The second is the "democratic" states' need for military superiority over possible aggressors. The third similarity is that this military superiority should be, above all, technological. Finally, the so-called Iron Lady defines this "rational violence" of the modern state. She says, "War can occur in many different ways. But the worst ones usually happen because one power believes it can advance its objectives, either without a war at all or at least with only a limited war that it can quickly win - and consequently miscalculates."⁶

Neoliberal logic argues that in this era financial power knows that it can only

reach its objectives with a war. Not with a limited war that can be won rapidly, but with total war, worldwide in every sense. If we listen closely to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright when she says, "One of the primary objectives of our government is to ensure that the economic interests of the United States can extend itself to a planetary scale," we will understand that this war's theater of operations is nothing less than the entire world.⁷

We should understand, too, that if the struggle for "monopoly of violence" would not take place according to the laws of the market, but is rejected and defied from below, world power will "discover" in this challenge a "possible aggressor." This is one of the defenses launched by the armed indigenous rebels of the Zapatista, National Liberation Army against neoliberalism and for humanity.

This is the symbol of North American military power: a pentagon. The new "world police" require that any "national" army and police become nothing more than security firms guaranteeing order and progress in the neoliberal megalopolis.

⁶Regnery Publishing, Inc. Washington: D.C. 1996.

⁷The Wall Street Journal. Jan. 24, 1997.

Next Month
Sixth Piece of the
Seven Loose Pieces of the Global Jigsaw Puzzle

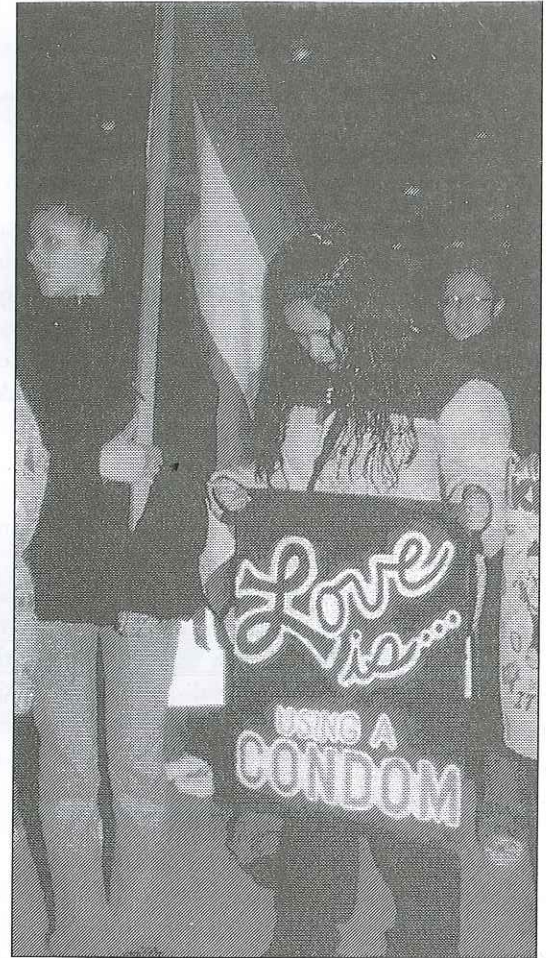
CIRCULATION/CIRCULACIÓN:

An Art Event that mobilizes the Humboldt Park Community on World AIDS Day 2000

Vida/SIDA director Viola Salgado does not recall a **World AIDS Day** event so attended in the past. Over 300 people participated in this year's candlelight walk and visited the art event that Vida/SIDA traditionally coordinates every December 1st in support of the **World AIDS Day**. In an effort to make this year's event one attended by the whole community, Vida/SIDA invited school groups and community based organizations to join and participate in this year's candlelight walk. The presence of all sectors of the community was evident but this year stood out due to the presence of the youngsters of the Humboldt Park Community. "We wanted people to move and speak out about HIV and AIDS in our community and I am happy to see that the community was receptive and joined us" said this year's event coordinator Jorge Félix. Jorge, an artist and curator of art and cultural events said, "this event got all sectors of the community together because HIV and AIDS has touched this community."

Not bothered by the cold and the snow people started gathering at the corner of Western Avenue and Division Street to join the candlelight vigil & walk. The walk counted with the presence of city officials and representatives from several agencies and groups that serve the Humboldt Park community. This year was notable by the coordinators of the event a strong attendance of neighbors that moved by the significance of the event voluntarily asked for a red ribbon and a candle and joined the procession-like candlelight walk. "We need to march together," said Irma Romero who joined the walk in her wheelchair. Nayda de la Rosa, the coordinator's assistant, who used a megaphone to call the names of people who have died of AIDS complications, preceded the walk. The week prior to the walk, Vida/SIDA received constant phone calls from community people who wanted to include names. This a very important and significant part of the walk says Nayda, "the names on this list are people who were neighbors of this community and now they are gone. The names in this list connects each one of us personally and gives special significance to [this] event." The candlelight walk made a stop to listen to the messages of City officials who attended the event and then the group continued walking towards the exhibition space of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center to open the art exhibit: **CIRCULATION/CIRCULACIÓN**.

The curator of the exhibit, Jorge Félix explains that the name of the exhibit makes reference to the necessity for more open dialogue and exchange of HIV/AIDS



"this event got all sectors of the community together because HIV and AIDS has touched this community"

- Jorge Félix

information. "There are so many people in our community are dealing with this disease alone. We need to inform and educate people of the realities of HIV and AIDS." This is how he came up with this art project. The exhibit curator invited a group of Chicago Latino artists and asked them if they would be willing to produce an art piece in collaboration with a non-artist member of the community who is living with HIV. Five artists accepted the challenge. The curator came up with a plan that would relate the artists with the collaborators. The curator facilitated group meetings between both groups to talk about issues and to promote discussions. This helped the artists to understand the realities of being HIV positive in our community. This process helped the artists to identify with an issue to represent in their artwork. Some artists after listening to the personal stories of the collaborators decided to become the hands of the collaborators and reproduce visually what the collaborator would say. Other artists, after group and personal sessions with the collaborators, would make their own opinion on the issues and produced an art piece that reflected the interaction of the creative process. Either way the artists engaged in a challenging process that like the human circulatory system was exchanging nutrients without end. The artwork in this exhibit is the result of a real collaborative process and produced in the context of the Hispanic community in Humboldt Park. "This is why this exhibit is so significant: the project is conceived in terms of our community, involves people from our community and the message targets our community" says Jorge Félix. In spite of the specificity of the project, it deals with a universal issue and that's why is so appealing to all of the community. After the opening reception, the exhibit is receiving the highest visitor attendance by people who are not residents of the area.

"I am very proud of the work done by the artists in this project. They were up to a very serious challenge and they delivered artistically and mostly as human beings," said Jorge. Proof of the success of the exhibit was the constant feedback of the exhibition visitors identifying with the artistic message. Also visitors constantly approached the organizers and asked how to become volunteers and or make donations to Vida/SIDA. Vida/SIDA also plans to move the exhibit to other locations after several organizations expressed interest in presenting the exhibit.

Vida/SIDA and the organizers of the event want to express their gratitude to all the people involved in the project and that in many ways contributed to the success of the project. Jorge Félix also wants to thanks the HIV positive collaborators of this project. "They are the most courageous group of people I have ever encountered. They are heroes of our community and the ones who made possible that **CIRCULATION/CIRCULACIÓN** presented a real and valuable message to our community."



CIRCULATION/ CIRCULACIÓN

dates were extended unit the end of January. The exhibit will remain open Friday and Saturday from 11:30 to 5:30 PM. The exhibition space of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center is located 2739 West Division Street, Chicago. For more information on the exhibit and/or to schedule a visit to the exhibit in non-regular hours call Jorge Félix or Nayda de la Rosa at VIDA/SIDA - Telephone: (773) 278-6737.

Slowly And Silently, Navy's Bombs Kill Islanders

By RONALD FERNANDEZ

The Hartford Courant - December 01, 2000

"The Navy leave? Heaven knows they'll wait until it snows." In a plain wooden frame, this line is tacked to a telephone pole on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

After 60 years of ceaseless bombardment by U.S. military forces, many residents of Vieques are understandably pessimistic. Snow is as alien to Vieques as peace, and even more important, the world is losing interest. Activists are switching to another tragedy because Vieques is yesterday's nightmare.

Thus, Vieques protesters commandeered the Statue of Liberty on Nov. 5, climbed through a window in the lady's head and, using their shoelaces, tied the Vieques and Puerto Rican flags to the points of her crown. The protesters had hoped that Lady Liberty's flame would refocus the world's attention on one point: The residents of Vieques are slowly dying.

Take a deep breath in the barrio called Esperanza and you instantly inhale the wastes of war. As children happily play games, high doses of arsenic lodge in their bodies.

Like cigarette company executives, Navy admirals deny responsibility for the harm. And even though the Puerto Rican government could prove the Navy wrong, it refused to widely disseminate a letter of intent to sue the Navy, dated June 10, 1999, that accuses the U.S. military of "creating

imminent and substantial endangerment to the civilian population of Vieques."

These are serious charges indeed, but as Gov. Pedro Rossello explained in the letter, the accusations are firmly rooted in facts provided by the Navy.

Theoretically, the Navy has a legally binding agreement with the Environ-



mental Protection Agency. It bombs Vieques on the basis of permits granted by the EPA. But when the Navy's weapons "routinely discharge toxic pollutants" into the waters in and around Vieques, it must notify the EPA that it has polluted the environment.

Attached to Rossello's letter are eight

pages of the Navy's rule breaking, including the consequences of the "open burning" of excess weapons. In the case of arsenic, the Navy was only slightly above the legal limits in 1990; by 1998, it was discharging more than 6.6 times the legal limit of arsenic into Vieques.

Lead is worse. There are 25 reports; none is within the law and one cites discharges of 105 times the legal limit.

Finally, the Navy submitted 30 reports between 1985 and 1999 on cadmium levels. None was within the permit level, and the violations sometimes reached 240 times the maximum allowable limit. Overall, the Navy's reports incontestably show violations that extend over 15 years. The irony, of course, is that the Navy dutifully reports endless violations of the pollution laws but nobody enforces them. Why not broadcast the terrible news? My guess is politics. If Puerto Ricans pester the United States about the imminent threats to the people of Vieques, Congress may get angry with Puerto Rican politicians. It will cut off federal funds, so the politicians cut off debate about the lethal consequences of living in Vieques.

They know the world will switch channels. And they can then publicly count the money as doctors silently count the levels of arsenic and lead in the bodies of Vieques residents.

One of them, a friend of mine, recently took a crash course in heavy metals. He logged onto the Internet and for weeks tried to comprehend the consequences of breathing in his own home. Ultimately, my friend cut off bits of his hair, sent them to a medical lab in Florida and got the toxic results.

Arsenic? My friend is off the charts; the printout lacks enough room for his lethal line of arsenic. He's also quite high on lead and aluminum, so he now searches the Net for ways to avoid the cancers sometimes caused by arsenic and the hypertension, numbness and tics and tremors that can be produced by high concentrations of lead in the body.

My friend bought medicine. But the medicine has side effects. Before he shares a potential cure with his grandchildren, my friend is waiting to see if the cure is worse than the disease. So far, he is surviving - both the medicine and the continued bombing of the Navy.

This leaves President Clinton with a real dilemma. For 102 years, the United States has claimed absolute power in Vieques. The president's representatives again made those claims as recently as Oct. 4.

So, if the United States has absolute power, it must, if reason is our guide, accept primary responsibility for the exercise of that power. Vieques is the Navy's responsibility. It put the toxic wastes into the bodies of the pregnant women of Vieques. Mr. President, make a miracle. Bring on snow.

Ronald Fernandez is director of the Center of Caribbean Studies at Central Connecticut State University in New Britain. His column appears the first Friday of every month. His e-mail address is: pepito105@hotmail.com

Artwork taken from www.viequeslibre.org.

MESSAGE

from

THE UNION FOR PUERTO RICAN STUDENTS (UPRS)

On behalf of the Union for Puerto Rican Students (UPRS) we hope you had a joyous holiday and a very happy New Year. We would like to welcome the students and faculty back to Northeastern Illinois University and also, welcome all incoming students. We hope that last semester was successful for all the students, faculty, staff and each of NEIU's student organizations. We anticipate that this year will be very fruitful and exciting.

This message is not solely to welcome you back to NEIU, but, also to welcome you to come and visit us here at the Union for Puerto Rican Students. *Que Ondee Sola* or any other student organization that you might be interested in. The Union for Puerto Rican Students has a rich and long history of nearly 30 years of campus and community involvement. We have participated in many student struggles and have made a point to provide our student population with information on many important topics. We have also been instrumental in bringing resources from our Latino communities to provide the Latino student population with knowledge of their history and culture.

Here at UPRS, we plan to have several activities this semester that we hope you will attend. For example, we hope to have our Annual Bombazo, which is an exiting celebration of the Afro-Puerto Rican culture. We will have drumming, dancing, singing and a little bit of history to go with it. Also, we are planning other activities including discussions and video presentations. We will sponsor two bake sales during the semester, so come buy some *flan* and *arroz con dulce*! We invite you to help us with any activity and, it would be helpful if you provided us with suggestions as to what activities you would like to see. UPRS would also like to address any student-related issues and concerns throughout the semester, so feel free to voice them.

The Union for Puerto Rican Students thanks all the members, students and staff for their support. We would also like to give a special thanks to CHIMEXLA for their continuous support. Finally, a very special thanks and much respect to Michael Rodríguez for all the work he has put in.

Written by Angel Fuentes, President of UPRS and staff member of QOS.
See back page for more information on UPRS.



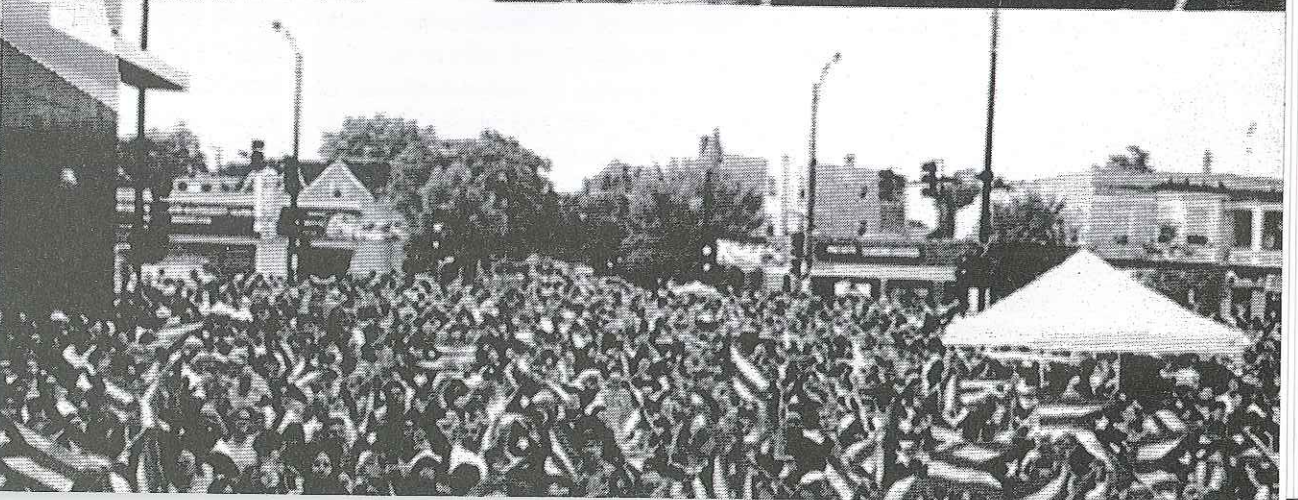
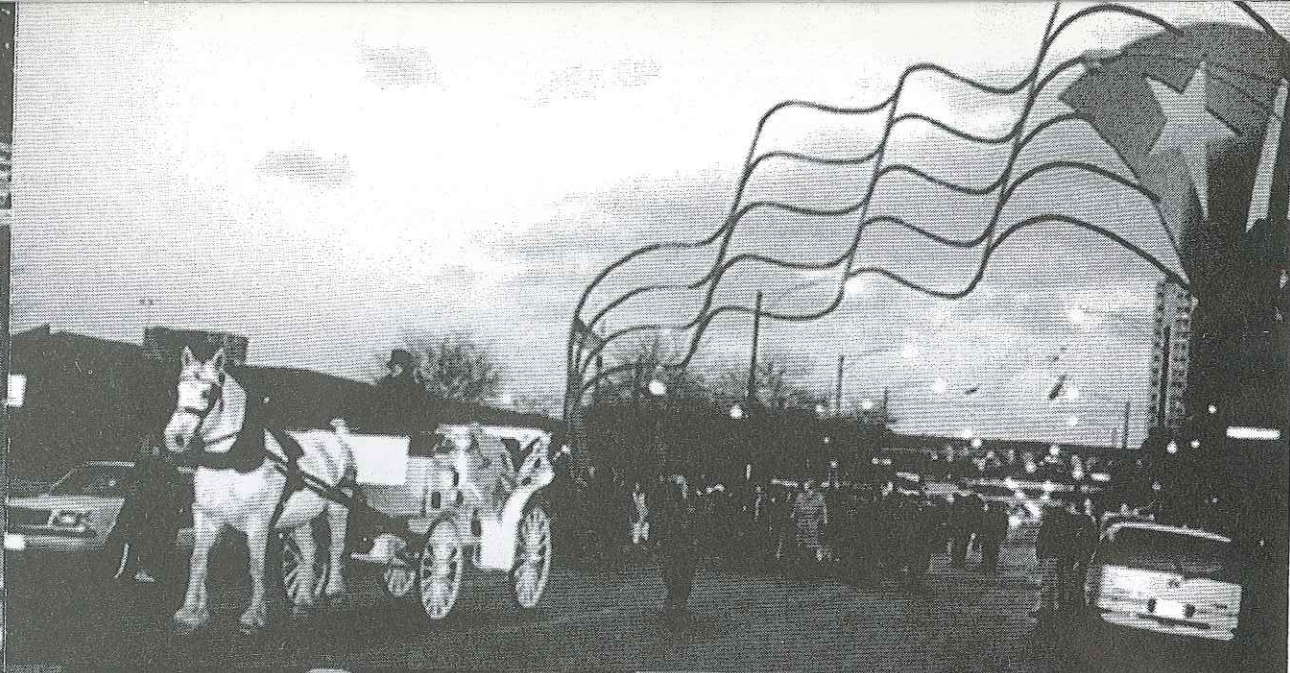
Near

Union for
Rican St



2000

Puerto
udents



The following monograph is the testimony of the Executive Director of the Juan Antonio Corretjer Puerto Rican Cultural Center and NEIU's very own professor, José E. López, during the International Tribunal on US Violations of Human Rights of the People of Puerto Rico, including the People of Vieques that took place during November 16-20, 2000.

At our request, Professor López has allowed us to publish his testimony, thereby opening up its contents for campus discussion. We hope that our readers find this testimony interesting and educational. QOS thanks Professor López for this testimony and also for his many years of service to NEIU and the Puerto Rican/Latino community of Chicago.

made of steel and placed as archways over the entrances to Paseo Boricua in celebration of the adoption of the Puerto Rican flag by Puerto Ricans in New York City and of the Puerto Ricans who first came to work in the steel mills of Chicago.

Historical and Sociological Overview of Puerto Rican Displacement and Migration

As of March 1999, 3,039,000 Puerto Ricans lived in the US, constituting the second largest Latino group with nearly 10% of the total. The unemployment rate was 7.3 %, the highest of all ethnic groups in the US, compared to a national average of 4.6%.

US immigration history. As the Puerto Rican journalist, Juan González, has so aptly described in his seminal work on Latinos in the US, *Harvest of Empire*, Puerto Ricans, though citizens, are yet seen as foreigners.

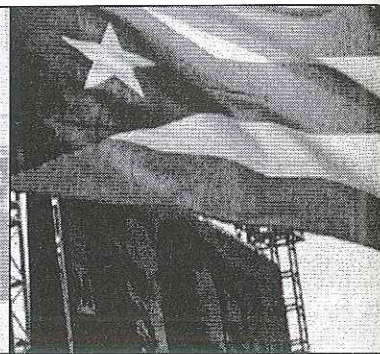
Thus, the Puerto Rican migration reflects a change in location but not condition. In other words, the more than 40% of the Puerto Rican nation that lives in the diaspora and which has been described by the sociologist Joseph Fitzpatrick as the "greatest airborne migration in history," were forcibly displaced, perhaps in some ways a modern continuation of the process which the US began against the native people.



The Puerto Rican Experience:

Migration, Urban Struggles, and Repression

By Professor José E. López



Introduction

I want to thank the organizers of this Tribunal for inviting me to offer my testimony on the forced displacement and political repression of Puerto Ricans in the diaspora. I greet you in the name of the Puerto Rican political prisoners remaining in US prisons, particularly my brother, Oscar López Rivera.

I also greet you in the name of the Puerto Rican community of Chicago, whose imagination has created a cultural and geographical enclave. Since 1995, this area has been demarcated by the world's two largest Puerto Rican flags,

11% of the white and 14% of the Black population lived under the poverty level, compared to 34% of the Puerto Rican population. While 14% of the white households were headed by a female, among Puerto Ricans it was 37.7%. Furthermore, in the April, 2000 data of the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, Puerto Ricans have the lowest median household income of any group, \$26,365 as compared to \$43,439 for whites. Any social index of US population — whether in terms of dropout rates, real income, health care, or housing stock — places Puerto Ricans on the lowest rung of the social ladder. These figures contextualize the premise that the Puerto Rican migration is a unique chapter in the annals of

There has been an outright attempt to remove Puerto Ricans from Puerto Rico since the beginning of US rule there. As the great Puerto Rican leader Pedro Albizu Campos once said, "The United States wants the cage but not the bird." In actual fact, this has been the history of US empire-building from the very inception of the US nation-state in 1789. The US is the only country in the world without a name. The "United States" refers to its federalist structure. From its very beginnings, it had an imperial vision based on a sophisticated democratic system which incorporates new lands but excludes the people who originally lived there. Every state, including Alaska and Hawaii, which has come into the union has done so

because the settlers, not the natives, desired it. In every case, the natives have been reduced to the status of internal colonies.

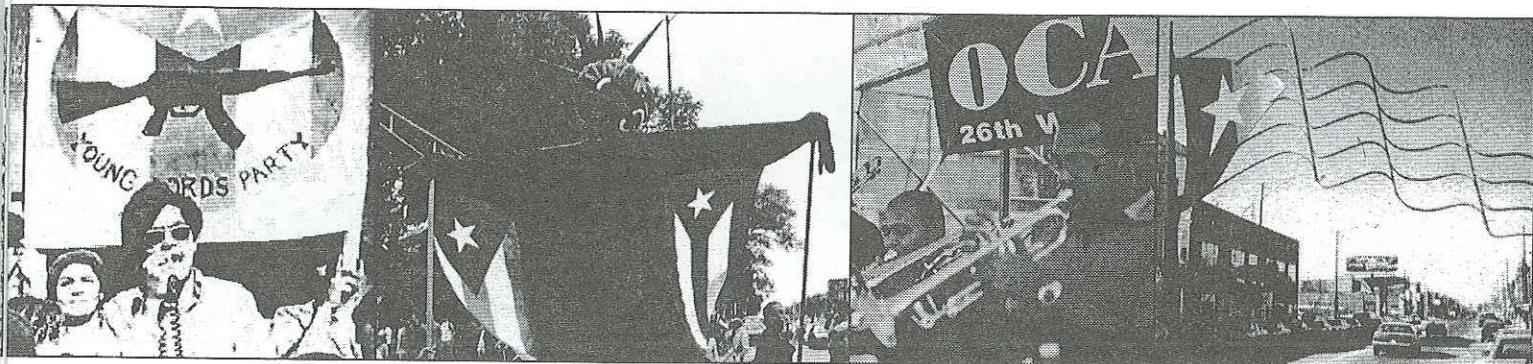
By 1900, it was pretty clear that the US was interested in the cage and not the bird. As you heard in the testimony of Dr. Catalá, within the first three decades of US rule, Puerto Rico's economy was totally subsumed under US interests, evolving from an agriculturally diversified economy into a sugar emporium. Thus, in 1900, the contours began to emerge of US plans to transform Puerto Rico into a direct colony and many Puerto Ricans into internal colonies.

That year, even the Hearst-owned *San Francisco Examiner* (Hearst was the pro-

contract laborers in Fajardo for jobs in Mayaguez, and once on the ships the workers found out that they were en route to New Orleans. From New Orleans, they were taken on guarded trains to San Francisco and then shipped to Hawaii. It is estimated that between 1900 and 1920, more than 20,000 — perhaps as high as 30,000 people — made this journey on this modern Middle Passage. A side-note to this is that in Texas, a few Puerto Ricans escaped, helped by Mexicans, and a testament to that Latino solidarity was the creation of the only town in the US named after the island, Puerto Rico, Texas.

"Puerto Ricans have been skillful in establishing their influence in Philadelphia, Hartford, western Massachusetts, Chicago, Orlando, and other cities."

but according to that same report, about 30 US cities had Puerto Rican communities of over 5,000. The continual dispersion of many Puerto Ricans over many US cities have raised new social and political questions even though about half of Puerto Ricans in the diaspora today live in or near New York City. Puerto Ricans have been skillful in establishing their influence in Philadelphia, Hartford, western Massachusetts, Chicago, Orlando, and other cities.



tagonist of modern jingoist media and the founder of yellow journalism) would chronicle in its front pages the heinous ways by which thousands of Puerto Ricans were removed to Hawaii, a great part of the native Hawaiian population having been decimated. On the heels of the US overthrow of their lawful government of the Hawaiian monarchy, US corporations began to look at Puerto Rico as a possible source of cheap labor. According to the newspaper accounts, agents of US corporations established themselves on the island's ports and would lure unemployed Puerto Ricans who were being excluded from their lands to sign up for jobs that were supposedly available in other parts of the island. For example, an agent would

In the 1930s and 1940s, New York City became the port of entry of Puerto Ricans. According to Prof. Clara Rodriguez, an expert on the Puerto Rican migration, in 1910 New York City had about 2,000 Puerto Ricans. By the 1920s, the first Puerto Rican colonias were established in that city, and by 1930, nearly 45,000 Puerto Ricans lived in New York, especially in and around Spanish Harlem. The largest numbers of Puerto Ricans left the island during the two decades following the Second World War, from 1946 to 1966. By 1960, one million Puerto Ricans were already in the United States. According to the US Civil Rights Commission in 1975, 1.6 million Puerto Ricans were in the US, still mostly in New York City,

New Locations, Same Conditions

Let us look at the forces which have shaped the Puerto Rican reality. Why did we leave our homeland in such large numbers? What happened when we arrived? How did others regard us? And how do we cope and survive? And perhaps most importantly, why are so many stuck in poverty, unable to climb the traditional immigrant social ladder?

As one of those hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans who made that sojourn, perhaps I can personally attest that Puerto Ricans change location but not condi-

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tion when we migrate. We move from Las Marias to Chicago or from San Juan to New York and we have changed location. But our colonial condition changes only in form, not in essence, from external to internal colonialism.

While Puerto Ricans are *de jure* citizens, the average person in the US sees Puerto Ricans as foreigners. Polish immigrants had more rights due to their white skin than Blacks or Puerto Ricans, although we were citizens. The emergent contradiction of being a citizen and a foreigner, coupled with the reality of being a racially mixed people, created in the Puerto Ricans a profoundly schizo-

New Consciousness

There was an upsurge of consciousness in the generation of Puerto Ricans that emerged in the mid-1960s. Tired of being objectified and marginalized, they declared, "We're not going to take this any more." Through their passion, energy, vision, and imagination, they added new dimensions to our Puerto Ricanness. Denied knowledge of their own history, Puerto Ricans began to define and redefine what it means to be a Puerto Rican by using the only symbol that most Puerto Ricans knew anything about — the Puerto Rican flag. They hung it from their rear-view mirrors and wore it on their hats and shirts. In the process, they rescued from

ieri, Tito Puente, and Willie Colon, and continue to this day with the fury and the anger and the hope of Hip-Hop.

This resistance takes many forms, including the political prisoners you heard from, some of whom were born in the US, and one of the most prominent and articulate political leaders of the entire Latino population, Congressman Luis Gutiérrez, whom you will hear from today.

Puerto Ricans began to organize, demanding Puerto Rican studies in the US before students demanded them in Puerto Rico. They developed bilingual education programs and self-reliant, autonomous institutions like Aspira,



phrenic identity similar to that of other internal colonies — African-Americans, Native Americans, and Chicanos.

These are people who have been marginalized, who have been left out of the American Dream, because they don't have white skin privilege. Like the African-Americans who migrated from the south to the north, Puerto Ricans came to do the dirtiest jobs in the US, just when the industrial jobs were disappearing. This created a new generation of Puerto Ricans who were facing a new set of economic problems, just when a new political consciousness was emerging. Puerto Ricans in diaspora, animated by the urban context, began to see new models and paradigms of freedom.

anonymity and censorship the most meaningful symbol of Puerto Ricanness.

Juan Sánchez would draw from the richness from the folklore and folk culture and give it urban dimensions, and Pedro Pietri and Piri Thomas would develop a new Puerto Rican literary tradition in English and Spanglish. The great African revolutionary, Amílcar Cabral, said, "The colonizer tells us we have no history. They lie. We were taken out of history and we mean to place ourselves back onto the stage of history." From the backdrops on the stage of history to which they had been relegated, Puerto Ricans thrust themselves onto the stage of history with the sounds and rhythms of the Salsa of Eddie Palm-

created by one of our renowned judges, Dr. Antonia Pantojas. Some of the urban riots that took place in the Puerto Rican barrios gave birth to political organizations such as the Young Lords, forming the beginning of a Puerto Rican political program.

Reaction, Repression, and Counter-Intelligence

The possibility of major strife in the United States that was being cemented among the liberation movements of the internal colonies, informed by international consciousness and fueled by the Viet Nam War, created a political atmosphere in the US which threatened many sectors of the elite. The FBI

moved quickly to implement its counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO), which destroyed or set back the American Indian, Black Liberation, and Chicano Movements.

For three decades, the FBI has carried out a relentless campaign against the political work that independentistas have organized in the Chicago area to neutralize and destroy political opposition, both in the United States and Puerto Rico. This repression runs the whole gamut, from the assassinations of several leaders of the Young Lords and of Rafael Cintrón Ortiz, a prominent member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, who was mysteriously killed in Chicago in 1975, to raids, media attacks,

Dr. Nilda Flores, a professor at the University of Illinois, recently conducted a study of the media portrayal of the public school reform efforts which took place from the 1970s to the 1990s. Flores noted that in the 1970s, the two major newspapers had attempted to neutralize our work by describing it as "radical." By the 1990s, this effort had intensified, eventually portraying us as people who not only use school funds to free political prisoners, but also to carry out bombings.

Since the mid 1970s dozens of Puerto

"Denied knowledge of their own history, Puerto Ricans began to define and redefine what it means to be a Puerto Rican by using the only symbol that most Puerto Ricans knew anything about — the Puerto Rican flag."

In the early 1990s, our work was disrupted by an FBI agent provocateur, Rafael Marrero. The FBI created a conspiracy, masterminded by Marrero, who orchestrated and executed a bombing in 1992. A number of subpoenas were issued, and the FBI threatened people with imprisonment if they did not cooperate with their investigation. Dr. José



the employment of agent provocateurs, and the use of grand juries for political harassment.

Between 1976 and 1980 in Chicago, a state of siege was created in the whole community in pursuit of people who supposedly belonged to the FALN.

I was personally followed, and homes were raided in the middle of the night. The FBI set up roadblocks at Division and Western, two main streets, and when we held our parades, there were sharpshooters with rifles on top of buildings. This level of repression was far greater than in New York and Philadelphia, both places where FALN activity also took place.

Rican independentistas and their supporters have suffered imprisonment as the grand jury has been used as another weapon of the FBI and US Attorney to disrupt, criminalize, harass, intimidate, and jail the independence movement. In 1977, I served six months in prison for refusing to testify before a grand jury.

In 1983, the FBI raided the Puerto Rican Cultural Center in Chicago, which I serve as Executive Director. Over 100 FBI agents and Chicago police, in an early morning raid, took over the entire Cultural Center, destroying a great deal of its property, and stealing everything that identified people, including the files of the Center's childcare center.

Solís Jordán, from whom you have already received written testimony, was convicted and sentenced for this bombing.

Marrero was also the key information source for both a Chicago Sun-Times article and a subsequent state legislative hearing sponsored by then-State Representative Edgar López, alleging that members of our community had misused school funds. Since Solís' conviction in 1997, dozens of subpoenas have been issued by the FBI and the US Attorney for people to appear before more than five grand juries which are allegedly investigating another alleged conspiracy that Rafael Marrero must

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CHIMEXLA: LA RAZA

A Struggle for

By Humberto Gutiérrez

The founding members of CHIMEXLA were originally active members of the Union for Puerto Rican Students (UPRS). These students formed the Chicana Caucus to deal with issues in the Mexican - Chicano communities. They dealt with issues such as unemployment, lack of proper education, and other problems that seemed to plague "LA RAZA."

It was in November 1973 when Maria and Juanita Saucedo, along with Mariestel Carabez and Elvira Carrazales set out to form the Chicano Student Union (CSU). With the help and support of their advisor Santos Rivera, they raised awareness and support for improvement in the Chicano-Mexicano communities in Chicago and at Northeastern Illinois University. They continued to work with and support UPRS and *Que Ondee Sola*. CSU was also part of and participated in many different committees on campus. One of these committees that had a profound impact at Northeastern was the Committee of Latin American Programs. This committee was made up of 7 faculty members and 7 students mostly from the Latino student organizations.

Their purpose was the enhancement and

greater understanding of the Latino population at NEIU. The Committee along with the CSU, UPRS, and Proyecto Pa'lante helped to bring about change and improvements for "La Raza" and NEIU. The Chicano Student Union continued to work with and support various programs and other



student organizations. It has continued to actively support the Mexican Caribbean Studies Minor by being part of its Student Steering Committee, which is comprised of CHIMEXLA, UPRS, and *Que Ondee Sola*.

With the increase of membership of Latinos from Central America and South America, in 1981 CSU changed. With a unanimous decision, the members changed the name CHIMEXLA, as it is still known today. Then President, Marta Montes came up with the name CHICano MEXicano LATIn American Student Union (still CSU).

The purpose of the organization remained the same. It was formed to help organize faculty, workers, and students on campus. It also worked to create awareness of identity, culture, history, and the struggle of the Latino working class. Throughout its history, we have made known to the University our need for professors, classes, and programs that better serve Latino students and other peoples of color. CHIMEXLA has always tried to show the positive side of our culture and tried to help break negative stereotypes about Latinos.

Hard work and dedication to CHIMEXLA are the reasons for its longevity. Many officers have sacrificed time from work, classes, and home trying to bring activities and speakers to Northeastern. CHIMEXLA will continue to

meet its objectives with the continued support from officers, members, faculty, and the staff.

CHIMEXLA wants to unite all Latinos at our University to become more aware of who we are. We need to discover the tools that are essential in life, so that we can awaken our minds and overcome any obstacle that stands in our way.

It is imperative for us to be involved with our families, communities, and here in NEIU in order to educate ourselves, as well as, others about the issues that continue to plague "LA RAZA." We need to change that what is not right and prevail as individuals in our culture and not a culture that has been forced upon us. It is time to take a stand and demand our identity back from those who have lied and mislead us.

Through the understanding of our own heritage and of others we will be able to find ourselves. Only through patience can we learn to appreciate our fellow brothers and sisters.

*LA RAZA gives to you
what you give to it!*

Editor's Note: QOS invites ALL students to share their perspectives and opinions with us. Also, let us know what you think about QOS and the issues we have discussed. Thank you.

CHIMEXLA

Meets every Tuesdays
during Activity Hour
(1:40- 2:50pm) in SCI S111

Visit them at:
www.neiu.edu/~chimexla



Get free condoms at E-041.
Supplies courtesy of Vida/SIDA.

Add YOUR e-mail to the NEIU Student e-mail list!

- find out what activities are coming up!
- be kept informed about happenings at NEIU!
- get in contact with other students!

This e-mail list is being put together by the student organizations of QOS, CHIMEXLA, and UPRS.

Send your e-mail to
queondeesola@hotmail.com

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have created, around the misuse of funds in the community.

The FBI, COINTELPRO, and Rafael Marrero have succeeded in disrupting, but not destroying, our work. Despite the ongoing repression, we are continuing to nurture our children and young people in embracing and affirming our Puerto Rican identity and history. We continue to help our community members achieve their high school diplomas, struggle against AIDS and the gentrification of our community, and join in solidarity to remove the US military from Vieques and to free the political prisoners who remain behind bars.

Despite the areas of attack, despite the marginalization, Puerto Ricans continue to struggle. In an excellent example of this is the diaspora's solidarity with the people of Vieques. From the Statue of Liberty to the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, from the streets of San Francisco to the murals in Chicago, from the gates of the White House to the hallowed halls of Congress, where three Puerto Ricans—Nydia Velásquez, José Serrano, and Luis Gutiérrez — serve diaspora communities, Puerto Ricans are using a myriad of means to demonstrate their solidarity and commitment to the struggle in Vieques.

We, the Puerto Ricans in the diaspora, are survivors. And we are imaginative. So much so that on two occasions during the last year and a half, we have been responsible for forcing mutinous-like activity within the Executive Branch: when the FBI attacked the President for the release of the political prisoners, and when the Navy openly criticized the President's original stand on Vieques. So indeed, we are placing ourselves back onto the stage of history, and we mean to stay there.

Desde La Cocina

ARROZ CON GANDULES

- A-** 1 libra de gandules, frescos, escogidos y limpio
2 litros (8 tazas) de agua
4 cucharaditas de sal

- B-** 1 onza de tocino
1 onza de jamón de cocinar
1 cebolla, mediana, mondada
1 ají dulce, sin semillas
1 pimienta verde, sin semillas
1 tomate, mediano
3 hojas de culantro, lavadas
3 ramitas de culantrillo, lavadas

TODOS EN PICADITOS/ sazone a gusto

- C-** 3 cucharadas de aceite vegetal ó manteca con achiote
3 aceitunas rellenas
1 cucharadita de alcaparras
1 taza de salsa de tomate

- D-** 2 tazas de arroz
3 tazas de agua (en que hirvieron los gandules)

1- Enjuague bien los gandules y escúrralos. Combínelos con los 2 litros (8 tazas) de agua y póngalos a fuego alto. Cuando hierva, tape y cueza por 30 minutos. Agregue la sal y cueza 15 minutos más. Escurra y reserve 3 tazas del líquido.

2- Mientras tanto, en un caldero, dore el tocino y el jamón. Añada el resto de los ingredientes incluidos en B y sofría a fuego bajo. Añada los ingredientes incluidos en C y mezcle. Lave bien el arroz, escurre y añada, mezclándolo bien. Agregue los gandules al arroz y sofría por unos minutos.

3- Añada las 3 tazas de líquido que reservó y cueza a fuego moderado hasta que seque. Voltée el arroz. Tape el caldero y cueza 30 minutos a fuego bajo. A mitad del tiempo voltée el arroz.

I Know Its Secret

Effie Kalkounos

I know why the caged bird sings,
Because one day it knows it will
Be free.

My life I lead as the bird
does in his cage.
Bars surround and constrict my being,
Their tarnished blackness threaten to invade
The white purity of my soul.
The air is stale,
Devoid of the supple breath of life.
The water I drink
Is only to prolong, to survive my existence,
An existence that presently has
no meaning.
The food has no taste,
Dry particles choking
My throat...

Then why do I continue?
Why do I suffer in this way?
It is because I know a secret...

I know why the caged bird sings,
Because one day it knows it will
Be free.
I peak through the bars,
And I see sunlight that shines upon my face
And goes further, further
And warms the constrained, anxious parts
Of my soul.

I smell the air,
The awaiting spring of blossoms,
April rain, and new life aching to come forth.
I imagine I am free of my cage,
And I am flying toward the sun like Icarus.
I am free, oh what a joy it is to feel this liberty!
I am free
The wind makes ripples through my hair,
My body is light, free of my physical confinement
My soul is weightless,
I am free!
I look around
Attempting to absorb the great expanse, and then
I realize that I am not soaring in the heavens,
I am in the cage,
Surrounded by my bars.

But I have a secret...
I know why the caged bird sings.
The caged bird sings because in his heart,
He knows he is free,
He has always been free,
And the bars to him mean nothing,
For physical barriers do not know how to overcome
The emotional boundlessness of the soul.

This poem is dedicated to all the Viequenses who have to
suffer as the caged bird does every day.

Poetry Section:

We invite all NEIU students to share
their words of poetry with us. Thank you.



The Union for Puerto Rican Students & Que Ondee Sola



*Meetings every Thursday at 7:40pm
during Activity Hour*

*at E-047 (located below Beck's Bookstore
across from the Student Lounge)*



E-mail: queondeesola@hotmail.com

Over 29 years of Student Struggle!