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Que Ondee Sola - May 2005

Michael Reyes

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THOSE WHO PROTEST AT INJUSTICE
ARE PEOPLE OF TRUE MERIT
WHEN THE PRISON DOORS ARE OPENED
THE REAL PITIRRE WILL FLY OUT

LOLR

The Colonial Question?

Editorial By Michael Reyes

I am often intimidated by writing QOS editorials, because the mechanics of writing is a strength I feel I have not developed fully. But in this May edition, I find myself wanting to write and express myself. The reason being that this special edition provides an extended discussion of colonialism and its many forms.

In a sense, I can imagine being in a jungle — like the Zapatistas condemning neoliberalism or Che writing in his memoirs about the revolution or maybe I am even Julia De Burgos weaving poems about the experience of the Puerto Rican Woman or Frieda smearing paint across an empty canvas creating worlds upon worlds — communicating in a majestic and mystic fashion. But I am none of these so I must settle by coping with the reality of colonialism in the only way people struggle against oppression and that is to resist whether through poetry, community building or writing.

We are told we live in a postmodern world, in which colonialism no longer exists; that our enemy is no longer colonial domination. Instead, class is now supposedly the issue since the world is no longer defined by racial domination. Apparently, white privilege has been replaced by green and plastic and now the world moves to the rhythm (or lack there of) of the WTO, G8 and neo liberal actors. Forces, which somehow operate without historical perspective,

leaving our analysis of the current political/economic situation completely decontextualized, since they dismiss the racial and colonial relationships of the past and present.

As I write this editorial, and later, as you read this, the border is being controlled by white supremacists condoned and encouraged by the United States government, the prison continues to warehouse 2 million people, disproportionately people of color. As I take a breath to give oxygen to my lungs, the US government hides away Puerto Rican political prisoners in cells, hoping they will be forgotten. And, as we lay our heads to sleep, a war over oil is taking place and the process of gentrification and displacement is destroying communities of color.

If it is a postmodern, postcolonial world, then why do the wretched of the earth still toil? Does their blood no longer nourish the earth, not so the sun may rise but so the market may? I would never simply state that class struggle has nothing to do with the conditions of oppressed people or that capitalism is not a key component to the horrible human condition that exist in the present. I am simply stating that the struggle for freedom in communities of color in the United States is a colonial question from Blacks being brought as slaves to Mexicans and Native Americans lands being stripped away. And one very obvious example

is Puerto Rico, which is a U.S. colony (even those for Statehood recognize that much).

We assert that the history of the United States has been one of colonial domination using the tools of capitalism, racism and white supremacy as its foundations to destabilize and exploit the economies of much of the world, including our homelands in Latin America.

With this special May edition is a series of reflections by NEIU students on their understanding of direct colonialism, neo colonialism and internal colonialism. We hope to help facilitate an understanding about a question that is to often not answered for Puerto Rican and Latino students on campus, what is colonialism?

Also be sure to check out what Chicago youth are doing for the 6th World Festival of Youth and Students to be held in Caracas, Venezuela (details on page 10).

About the cover: "The Real Pitirre" by Puerto Rican Political Prisoner Oscar López Rivera, part of the traveling art exhibit "Not Enough Space- An art exhibition commemorating 25 years of political imprisonment". The exhibition is presently scheduled to appear next in Philadelphia during September 2005.

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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.

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MISSION

Que Ondee Sola is a 31 year old Puerto Rican/Latina/o monthly student magazine. Our mission is to provide our campus with a relevant and engaging publication that deals with student issues, particularly those of Latinos and issues that are of importance to our communities.

Que Ondee Sola continues to affirm the right of Puerto Rican self-determination.

The following reflections about direct, internal and neo-colonialism were a partnership between students and professor José López as a part of Colonial Systems class that is a part of the Center for Inner City Studies.

Puerto Rico and Direct Colonialism

Melissa Rivera

Direct Colonialism

Direct colonialism is going into a place for maximum exploitation. It is direct administration by one state to another for multiple motives such as religion, culture, economic, strategic, surplus, population, or prestige. Directly forcing their domination overpowering the other state. Their power is exemplified through Puerto Rico's common wealth. They have been controlled by the United States for the past eighty-eight years as a result of the Spanish American war. Puerto Ricans have been under direct colonialism since 1917.

Where is Puerto Rico?

Puerto Rico is the easternmost island of the Greater Antilles in the Caribbean Sea, approximately a thousand miles southeast of Florida and just east of the Dominican Republic and west of the U.S. Virgin Islands. The island is approximately 90 miles wide, and 3,435 square miles. The coasts of tropical Puerto Rico are flat but most of the interior is mountainous.

About eight percent of the land is arable for agriculture. Droughts and hurricanes are the major natural hazards that Puerto Rico faces.

Quick Facts

Populated for centuries by aboriginal peoples, P.R. was claimed by the Spanish Crown in 1493 following Columbus' second voyage to the Americas. There are almost four million Puerto Ricans, which would make the island the 23rd most populous state (between Alabama and Kentucky). San Juan, Puerto Rico's capital is located on the north side of the island. And their population sums up to about 438,000. The Island's population is quite dense, with about 1100 people per square mile Spanish is the primary language on the island and for a short time earlier this decade; it was the commonwealth's official language. While most Puerto Ricans speak some English, only about a quarter of the population is fully bilingual. The population is a mixture of Spanish, African, and indig-

enous heritage. About seven-eighths of Puerto Ricans are Roman Catholic and literacy is about 90%.

Some History

In 1898, Puerto Rico was ceded to the US as a result of the Spanish-American War. Puerto Ricans were granted US citizenship in 1917, and elected governors have served since 1948. In 1952, a constitution was enacted providing for internal self-government. In plebiscites held in 1967, 1993, and 1998, voters had to retain commonwealth status. Puerto Ricans have had the struggle on whether commonwealth status stays. This has been a problem due to the reality of the form of direct colonialism. Puerto Rico has been run by the United States since before 1898 when they were granted citizenship in 1917 only as a reason to enroll them in the First World War. This served the United States well considering that now Puerto Ricans can pay a blood tax for the U.S. without representation.

Since 1898, nothing has changed there has been many revisions and substitutions to amendments and their constitution but nothing for praise or celebration. Puerto Rico's Constitution establishes a democratic and republican form of government just like U.S. divided into three branches: the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, each of equal importance and equally subordinated to the superior power of the people. The legislative branch consists of a primary Legislative Assembly with a Senate (27 members) and

a House of Representatives (51 members). A constitutional condition requires the total membership in the assembly be expanded, if necessary, to increase minority representation whenever one party controls more than two-thirds of the seats. A resident commissioner, who serves as the island's only delegate to the U.S. Congress, holds limited powers as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. Executive authority is vested in a governor. The way Puerto Rico's is run makes it easy to understand who

in reality has the power.

The issue is that the U.S. has a direct affect on all that Puerto Rico does. U.S. controls most of P.R goods and economics. They basically run everything under cover. So why does it have to be this way. If the United States has a say in everything that Puerto Rico does is Puerto Rico acting independent? The relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States exemplifies the need for them to reconsider their country's status.

"Not Enough SPACE"

Melissa Rivera

As I walked into the art gallery early afternoon in April, I realized what I was looking at wasn't laughable material. I was entering a space occupied by a majority of Puerto Ricans empowering themselves to make a difference in these two specific individuals lives. This room was filled with articles and wonderful paintings made by Oscar Lopez Rivera and Carlos Alberto Torres these men have given up the most precious thing one can give their lives. They have been incarcerated for about twenty five years. Struggling for political freedom the United States has snatched their freedom because they didn't want to be made to accept the only offer that the United States was given them. I felt a sense of incompetence not understanding why this happened to them. Through out the speech

given by Mr. Lopez I realized that there were more people that this happened to but they were let free because of families struggling to bring back their loved ones. Then I imagined what it would be like if I had to deal with this political mess. How would I have coped knowing that my brother is incarcerated and I have tried everything and they still won't let him go. I know that these political fighters did not kill anyone nor have they committed any horrendous crime that would lead them to death. So why have they taken these intelligent men and locked them up to suffer and agonize over the fact that they will not corporate. Because they can the U.S wants everyone else to know that they should not mess with powers higher than themselves. Are they statistics in

this cold world? What kind of society are we living in if we can not even voice our opinions? I thought it was a law to have freedom of speech apparently not. As I continued to walk through I saw the lovely paintings made by these gifted individuals. And felt horrible knowing that they have struggled to make this place better for their children to live in. I know now that Mr. Rivera and Mr. Torres have done nothing but good for not only themselves but for their people. I feel very privileged in knowing that I tried to help them over power this rugged government and maybe one day all this work will pay off and these freedom fighters can have a chance to go home and finally feel pride in accomplishes such a fantastic flight.

Definition of Internal Colonialism

Stephen Menyhart

Internal colonialism, like direct colonialism and neocolonialism, is a framework for maximum exploitation of resources and labor. Internal colonialism disproportionately affects certain populations within a nation, through the social institutions, economy, and legal framework of that nation. In the United States, systems of internal colonialism work jointly with capitalism to exclude and limit opportunity for marginalized groups. Early examples of colonialism in the U.S. include the enslavement and oppression of African slaves and Native Americans. These systems were integrated into economic and social systems that

served to continue the status quo and preserve the power of societal elites. Recent immigrants also encounter internal colonialism as they navigate the complex social and legal framework of the U.S.

Internal colonialism is marked by the destruction of indigenous religious, familial, and educational systems. Internal colonialism typically involves mandates of cultural production and uniform development, and forces a shift from one's own culture. Culture may be expressed through music, food, dance, and language, and

must be nurtured and passed on in order to survive. So one way to resist the forces of assimilation and colonialism is to preserve the traditions of one's own culture against the onslaught of the dominant culture.

At its most profound and personal level, internal colonialism affects the psychology of individuals, making them feel innately inferior to the culture of the colonizers. Tools of internal colonization include standardized educational systems, hospitals and health care systems, and the prison system.

Overview-Race and Class in the Prison System

"American urban poverty is a racialized poverty, inflicted upon blacks, latinos, and immigrants, due to their dominated status in the structures of racial relations of economic and political power."

-Loic Wacquant

Despite the appearance of a free and open multicultural society in America, the divisions and ruptures of the system are clear. The racial divide in prisons is a clear example.

African-Americans and Latino incarceration rates are much higher than the incarceration rates for whites. As a result,

prisons are becoming holding pens for racial minorities and the urban poor. This is due largely to the structures of the legal and justice system, and greater police enforcement in inner-city areas. An example can be seen in the case of New Jersey, where in a 1997 study 82% of the prison population was non-white, and only 18% white. This is in a state where white residents outnumber non-whites 3 to 1. A person who is indoctrinated by internal colonial systems might look at these statistics and infer that non-whites are inclined to commit more crimes. A more thorough analysis would look at economic statistics, the urban/rural divide, and the legal codes that can lead to imprisonment in

New Jersey. However, this type of analysis is rarely undertaken. Why? The structural problems of a widening gap between rich and poor, high unemployment, widespread poverty, and the failure of educational systems are difficult problems to address. Building more prisons that will isolate criminals from the rest of society is a short-term fix, but is not a sustainable solution. The current prison population in the U.S. is 1.6 million and rising, and overcrowding issues are affecting almost every state. The rising prison population has also affected the families and friends of inmates. Despite the high level of inmates from urban areas, the actual prisons are often located in extreme rural

areas, making family visits difficult and costly. The experience of visiting an inmate is mentally and emotionally taxing, as strict security methods are employed. There are also an increasing number of women in prison, which means that there are more children growing up without their mothers in the household.

Why do people commit crime? The answers are complex, but are often economic in nature. According to Amos Wilson in his book *Handbook for Black Power*, the unemployment rate in the inner city areas is kept at an artificially high rate. This creates a labor force that is always accessible when needed for corporations to tap into, but is ultimately dispensable. This allows companies to pay very little and provide minimal benefits for employees since there is such a large labor force in need of work. The manufacturing economy in the United States has been at a steady decline for decades, and the service sector is the fastest growing economic sector. However, even entry-level service jobs are increasingly requiring an education and some degree of technological literacy. Thus the failure of educational systems in the inner city also contributes to high unemployment rates, as the high school graduation rate for African-Americans and Latinos in the City of Chicago consistently hovers at around 50%. If educational systems fail an individual and that person is not able to find work as a result, then the need for economic sustenance can lead to participation in illegal activities. In many nations rehabilitation and education are an essential component of the prison system, with the intended goal of reducing the recidivism rate. At present, two-thirds of inmates are back in jail within 3 years of their release. Unfortunately there is not much of an emphasis on rehabilitation and education in the U.S. system.

Nationwide, Pell Grants for prisoners were eliminated in the early 1990's, and as a result many college programs in prisons were eliminated. It is difficult for ex-inmates to pursue a college education even after their release. Individuals who have been convicted of various offenses, including most drug offenses, are no longer eligible to receive federal student loans. This makes it difficult for most ex-offenders to pursue college as a legitimate option.

Tools of internal colonization include standardized educational systems, hospitals and health care systems, and the prison system.

It is also difficult for ex-offenders to re-enter the legal economy. A policy of expungement can give individuals who have been convicted of non-violent felony offenses the right to have those crimes cleared from their record. This can assist their chances of securing legal employment. Ex-Death Row inmate Aaron Patterson ran for the Illinois State Legislature in 2004, with expungement as a major issue of his campaign. Largely due to public demand, Illinois Governor

Rod Blagojevich recently signed into law Senate Bill 3007. The bill provides expungement as a possibility for individuals convicted of certain felonies. This is part of an attempt to reduce recidivism rates among ex-offenders, by increasing the chance of finding work in the legal economy. Blagojevich has also re-opened the Sheridan Correctional Center in Decatur to help provide some job training services to inmates slated for release. These are the positive happenings within Illinois, but they must be expanded and improved upon in coming years.

Drugs and Prison

Many prisoners in the penal system have been convicted of drug-related offenses. Drugs can be viewed either as a root cause of many other societal problems, or as the result of those wider problems. The blame can be put on criminals for their own criminal behavior, but an analysis of class and race structures, as well as economic and political systems, shows a story in which many inmates are themselves victims of structural oppression, racism, and internal colonialism. At their most basic level, drugs offer a way to escape from the frustration and powerlessness of the individual in society. So instead of devoting so much law enforcement and funds to cracking down on drugs, we should begin to address the structures that cause continued class and racial divisions, and the unequal distribution of wealth. If some of the structural problems afflicting individuals are improved, drug use would certainly decline. The failures of state-sponsored welfare systems and educational systems, in combination with a limited entry-level job market, have left many urban residents with no choice but to enter the underground economy as a means of survival. The most lucrative sector of this underground economy is the drug trade,

since drug prices have been driven up by high levels of enforcement at the federal, state, and local level. The demand for drugs remains high, but supply is limited, so selling drugs becomes a profitable, if risky, business venture.

Decriminalization of drugs would decrease the profit margins made on illegal drug sales. By saving money on law enforcement and judicial hearings, the extra funds could hypothetically be directed towards positive programming such as job creation, placement, and training. Cities such as Vancouver, Canada, and London, England, have enacted programs that “decriminalize” marijuana, after they calculated the incredible waste of resources that was being used to bust and prosecute small-time drug users. The irony of the drug business is that a person with access to funds or medical insurance can purchase a bewildering variety of psychotropic substances and mood-enhancers, also known as “prescription anti-depressant medications”. Yet the mood-enhancing drugs which have been deemed “illegal” have landed hundreds of thousands of people in prison, thus reducing their chances of improving their education, job skills, and chances for economic success. This is just one example of the structural systems that maintain a rigid race/class system in the U.S. These systems aim to keep the poor and marginalized sectors of the population in perpetual poverty and segregation.

Prison Privatization

Many prisons are now operated on a for-profit basis by private corporations. Nowhere in America is the collusion of capitalism and colonialism as evident as in these private prisons. The growth of private prisons is a relatively recent phenomenon. In 1984, Hamilton County, Tennessee awarded the first local prison-privatization contract, and

in 1985 Kentucky awarded the first contract at the state level. Between 1984 and 1997 the population of local prisons rose 100 percent and the population of state facilities rose 213 percent. The Memphis-based company known as the Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) is one of the largest of these corporations that makes a business out of incarceration. With inmate populations booming, companies such as the CCA continue

The problems of the prison system are indicative of society-wide problems that are being inadequately addressed.

to expand their operations. According to a recent study, private prisons in the United States currently house more than 85,000 inmates. This represents about 4 percent of the total prison population, but this number is growing steadily each year. Even in publicly run prisons, for-profit private companies are often contracted out to provide food services, facility management, and extra security operations.

As prison populations rise, more and more states are turning over the construction and operations of new prisons to private companies. Once the state contracts a private prison operator to build and operate a prison, there is economic incentive for these private prison operators to keep recidivism rates high and keep the prisons full. Prison privatization truly reduces the incentive for prisons to offer programs of rehabilitation and education, and the treatment and conditions for prisoners in many of these

private prisons is suspect.

The Death Penalty

“An execution is not simply death. It is as different from the privation of life as a concentration camp is from prison. It adds to death a rule, a public premeditation known to the future victim, an organization which is itself a source of moral sufferings more terrible than death. Capital punishment is the most premeditated of murders, to which no criminal’s deed, however calculated, can be compared.”

-Albert Camus “Reflections on the Guillotine, Resistance, Rebellion & Death” (1966).

“In the 25 year period between the restoration of the Illinois death penalty and Governor George Ryan’s blanket clemency order, 298 men and women were sentenced to death in Illinois. Of those, 17 were exonerated and released — a rate of 5.7%, the highest exoneration rate of the 38 states with death penalties on their books.”

-From a 2004 report by The Center for Wrongful Convictions at Northwestern University

If a prisoner has been accused of truly horrific crimes, they can be sentenced to death in most U.S. states. The death penalty is an archaic and unnecessarily brutal practice, and it overwhelmingly affects poor people and people of color. The continued existence of the death penalty assumes that Death Row inmates have no hope of rehabilitation, and also assumes that everyone on Death Row has been justly accused and convicted. These are both erroneous assumptions. It is shameful to admit that our government is killing people on a regular basis.

In Illinois, the death penalty was reinstated in 1977. In the 1990’s, a group

of college students and lawyers at Northwestern University proved conclusively that several prisoners on Death Row in Illinois were in fact innocent of the crimes they had reportedly committed. These findings led to Illinois Governor George Ryan commuting the death sentences of 171 Death Row prisoners in the State of Illinois in early 2003. These prisoner's sentences were commuted to life in prison without parole, pending further appeals. To date the Center for Wrongful convictions at Northwestern's law school has helped to free 18 Illinois Death Row inmates who were scheduled for execution.

Note: Despite a rising tide of protests and legal actions against the death penalty, between January 1st and March 16th 2005, 12 people were put to death (all by lethal injection) in the United States.

Incarceration in U.S. Global Policy

We live in the foremost colonial power of the modern era. The U.S. has consistently violated international treaties of human rights, as witnessed by the widely publicized case of torture in the Abu-Ghraib prison complex. Many nations have condemned our use of the death penalty and described it as "inhuman". Yet the U.S. has occupied Iraq under the banner of democracy and human rights. We must hold our government accountable for their action, as the United States military acts as a global police force. We claim to be democratizing and liberating other nations, while committing serious human rights violations within our borders.

Many people who have spoken out against the U.S. government have been imprisoned for their political beliefs. With the increased funding and power of the "Department for Homeland Security", government regulation has reached a new level. It has become easier for the government to monitor our thoughts and interactions, as more of our interactions are regulated through the medium of the telephone or electronic communication. In George Orwell's vision of the future in his book 1984, he predicted a world in which all activity was carefully watched and monitored to ensure complete capitulation by citizens. With increasing surveillance on any activities considered un-American or potentially threatening to national security, the "thoughtcrime" predicted by Orwell threatens to become a reality. The Bush administration has used this rationale to detain thousands of prisoners in U.S. military complexes in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The international community is now coming out in force against this continued detainment of prisoners, many of whom who have not been indicted of any specific crimes. President Bush has justified their imprisonment by proclaiming these prisoners to be "threats to national security". Thus the U.S. domestic policy of incarceration has been expanded to the global arena.

Conclusion

Internal colonialism affects each of us as individuals, as well as our family and friendship networks. The most profound manifestation of internal

colonialism is when a colonial mindset enters the psychology of an individual, and makes that person truly believe that they are inferior to their oppressors. This is the final victory of colonialism, and is compatible with a capitalist system that emphasizes competition and greed. The most frightening possibility is that humanity and kindness will become lost within the forces of economic and psychological colonialism. Humanism and compassion are not encouraged by the structures of a competitive urban world and economy.

Northeastern Illinois University is geared primarily towards providing people who will serve in the social service sector of the economy, as educators, social workers, psychologists, caretakers, and government employees. The problems of the prison system are indicative of society-wide problems that are being inadequately addressed. As college students we must recognize our powerful position and responsibility to effect change in the world. As scholars it is our duty to criticize the thoughts and actions of others, especially when they are in conflict with our essential beliefs. This critical resistance and analysis become a way of life, and a way of perceiving reality. Long term sustainability has to be a part of any successful plan to effect change in society, yet it appears to be lacking from our current structures of imprisonment and incarceration. As we each progress to our chosen field, we must learn to recognize the structures and mentalities of internal colonialism, and combat colonial systems in their many forms.

Neo-Colonialism/ El Salvador

Jason López

The tiny Central American country of El Salvador is a perfect example of how neo-colonialism is played out in Latin America. Neo-Colonialism is a new form of colonialism where the dominant country does not particularly have to send in U.S. military directly to control it. Currently El Salvador is independent in the sense that it has its own puppet government and flag to show that's its "free", but the truth is that economically it is dependent on the U.S. because of the conditions that have been forced upon the people of El Salvador.

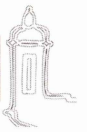
One of the first events that the United States dipped its hands into was during the 1930's. At this time The Pipil Indians (in the Izalco region of El Salvador) who were impoverished peasants were rebelling against the landlords and were organizing in a small communist party run by Augustin Faribundo Marti. The U.S. backed General Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez who shortly after gaining power murdered over 30,000 Pipil Indians. With the support of the U.S. Maximiliano was El Salvador's dictator from 1932 to 1944, under his rule the fourteen elite families took control of so much of El

Salvador's land that it caused 350,000 Salvadorans to leave to Honduras and work in the banana plantations. This caused much tension between the two countries went to war seen by the U.S. and others as the "Soccer War". As you can see U.S.'s involvement in El Salvador was highly present from the 30's to the 70's war between El Salvador and Honduras.

When thousands of Salvadorans were forced back to El Salvador, many left to Mexico and the U.S. and those who stayed only seemed to add on more problems to the tiny countries. Since thousands of people were left without land or jobs, they had huge demonstrations and the government responded by sending the death squads into the street. Keep in mind that the U.S. government funded all of the weaponry to kill of peasants This caused five different guerilla opposition groups to form together called the Faribundo Marti Liberation National (FMLN). The Salvadoran government did many atrocities such as killing Archbishop Oscar Romero and later four American Catholic nuns were raped and killed which brought much attention to the world. Anyone rational would of course support the

FMLN but instead the Bush and Reagan Administrations rewarded the Salvadoran government because they felt that the oligarchy was the only anti-communist power. So the U.S. traded in humanity for their right-wing politics!

El Salvador received the biggest U.S. aid with a record 3.7 billion dollars!! All of which was used for weapons and war assistance. The U.S. indirectly killed innocent people, which caused many Salvadorans such as my parents to flee the country for their own safety. These are all of the horrible outcomes of the U.S. getting involved in El Salvador



Batey Urbano and Zócalo Youth:

To Represent Communities at 16th World Festival of Youth and Students in Venezuela

Yvonne Nieves

Puerto Rican youth from Café Teatro Batey Urbano in Humboldt Park and Mexicano/Chicano youth from El Zócalo Urbano in Pilsen, are preparing to take their first international voyage together. These youth, who have been working in solidarity with each other around the issues of the undocumented, the gentrification of their communities, and the clean up of Vieques, will be landing in Caracas, Venezuela on August 7 for the 16th World Festival of Youth and Students.

This annual international gathering of progressive young people around the world has previously been held in countries like Cuba and Algeria. It has attracted youth from all over the world, including Korea, New Zealand, and South Africa. This time, Batey and Zócalo hope to join up to 20,000 other youth to discuss the conditions that our Puerto Rican and Mexican communities are facing in the United States, the solutions that we have come up with to resist U.S. colonialism, but to also gain new insights and learn new approaches of how to help our community.

The Puerto Rican and Mexican youth of these two spaces have begun engaging in critical dialogue about the realities of our youth and our communities. As youth, they know they can look to countries like Venezuela and communities like Chiapas for solid examples of what autonomy and self-determination are. By going to Venezuela, these Latino youth hope to learn, share, and bring back experiences that will positively change their lives and their communities.

The Batey Urbano and Zócalo Urbano with the NNNN will be holding a Youth for Alternatives Celebration to raise funds for the 34 students attending the trip. To find out how you can sponsor a youth, please contact (773) 394-5206. All support will be greatly appreciated.

NNNN's Youth Action and State Rep. Cynthia Soto to Sponsor YOUTH FOR ALTERNATIVES SHOWCASE

On Friday, June 24, NNNN's Youth Action and State Rep. Cynthia Soto to sponsor, along with Batey Urbano and El Zocalo Urbano will sponsor the 1st Annual Youth for Alternatives Showcase. The events motto is "Gathering in the spirit of creating and maintaining youth alternatives to violence, drug, tobacco and alcohol use, as well as the lack of quality education."

This historic youth event, will feature a fair of area youth services and opportunities, as well as a poetry, spoken word, hip-hop and Latino music concert with some of the best talent in Chicago.

The proceeds of the show will go toward various youth projects and initiatives in the community, particularly helping a group of youth, who do a great deal of volunteer work in the community, to go to an international event youth gathering in Venezuela in August.

These youth organizers have used their strengths and talents in order to defy the stereotypes about youth of color being lazy, apathetic, and criminals by working on improving the state of our community. They certainly deserve this grand, educational experience. The event will be held at Roberto Clemente High School, located at 1147 N. Western. Doors will open at 6p.m. will end at 11p.m. Tickets can be found at Batey Urbano 2647 W. Division for just \$10 a piece.

For more information on how you can help call 773-394-5206 or email: chibateyurbano@hotmail.com.

flyer on page 13

Rooting ourselves in the history of Puerto Rican and Mexican solidarity in Chicago, the Batey Urbano, a project of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center and El Zócalo Urbano, a project of Centro Sin Fronteras, have chosen to create a unified delegation to attend the 16th World Festival of Youth and Students to be held in Caracas, Venezuela in August 2005.

We, Latino youth of Chicago, call on our communities nationally to join us in raising the following:

<p>MEXICANS: We affirm that the Mexican people on both sides of the "Mexican/U.S. border" have the inalienable right to self-determination:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We demand legalization with a road to citizenship for the 12 million undocumented people living in the US; they have the right to: work; cultural and national identity; education; and to maintain their families without fear of deportation. • Recognizing the historical reality of the Mexican/ U.S. Border; we demand the demilitarization of the border and free flow of people. • We stand in unity with the indigenous people of Mexico, including Chiapas, and recognize their struggle and right for autonomy. 	<p>PUERTO RICANS: We affirm that the Puerto Rican nation of 8 million, both on the island and the Diaspora, have the inalienable right to self-determination.</p> <p>The exercise of Puerto Rican self-determination can only take place first with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Puerto Rican people— not the US Congress— initiating and determining the process of de-colonization. • The cleanup of Vieques, health compensation, and return of the land to the Viequeses. • The immediate release of the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners, Oscar López Rivera and Carlos Alberto Torres.
<p>LATINO UNITY:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognizing the Latino population growth and the current political climate in the U.S., we assert that Latino unity is essential. We are committed to building Latino Unity in the U.S. through authentic solidarity to achieve our collective self-determination. • In addition, we oppose U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of Latin America, including the embargo on Cuba. We support Venezuela and the Bolivarian Revolution and the many Latin American struggles for national sovereignty and indigenous autonomy. 	<p>CITIZENSHIP OF THE AMERICAS:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We reject the hypocritical logic of neo-liberalism, by which the U.S. has systematically forced the Americas to embrace the free flow of goods, while denying the free flow of people with dignity. • In response, we propose a dialogue between Latin@ and Latin American youth on the possibility of envisioning a "Citizenship of the Americas," as a method to ensure the human rights of all the people of this hemisphere. • During this political juncture, we hope to build solidarity between our people inside the U.S. and Latin America.

Youth for NNNN Youth Action Team's First Annual Alternatives Showcase

Gathering in the spirit of creating and maintaining youth alternatives to violence, drug, tobacco and alcohol use, as well as the lack of quality education.

Friday, June 24

7pm-11pm

Roberto Clemente H.S.
1147 N. Western Ave

The showcase will coincide with the end of the school year and we are asking community youth, university and high school students and community organizations to help bring the summer in, in a positive way. This youth celebration will have a four fold purpose: 1) address the lack of university outreach/ retention of Latino youth particularly that of Latino males in the inner city; 2) to highlight the various alternatives youth have in our community, while addressing the many alternatives needed to combat youth violence as well as drug, tobacco and alcohol use; 3) provide a positive space for youth voices through a host cultural and artistic expression; 4) and to present the Chicago youth agenda for the World Festival of Youth and Students to be held in Caracas Venezuela.

Featuring

Hip-Hop • Spoken Word • Breakin' • Culture

Rhyme Scheme, Kwake & Beatboxers, Jam 1, D.J. Ozone, Horsemen, Arson, Ill Bred, Truthfully Untouched, Batey Poets, Zocalo Poets, D.J. Wreck, Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos H.S. Youth, Reyes, Janeida Rivera, Yvonne Nieves, Matt Rodriguez, Decay, Pockets of Resistance, Live Poets Tribe, Resque, Judy Diaz, Melissa Cintron, Bomba, Son Jarocho (Afro-Mexican), Rudy Aguilar, Jessie Iniguez...

A fundraiser for youth attending the World Youth Festival of Youth and Students to be held in Caracas, Venezuela, August 2005



\$10 a ticket

sold @ Batey Urbano

2647 W. Division

@ El Zocalo Urbano

2300 Blue Island

If your organization is interested in participating or making a donation, please call (773) 394-5206, or email cafebatey@prcc-chgo.org

Sponsored by NNNN Youth Action Team, Café Teatro Batey Urbano and El Zócalo Urbano
Co-Sponsored by Illinois State Representative Cynthia Soto

What Will We Leave, What Has Been Left and Where Will We Go: An Examination of the Chicano Movement

The Chicano Movement
224-31
Professor Ortiz
April 21s

Michael Reyes

If we are to look at humans as producers and products of human interactions, experiences and relationships we will find that at the core of this equation is a sense of belonging. As human beings we are universally driven to make sense of our reality whether it is the Mexica creation myth of Quetzalcoatl bringing corn seeds to the gods to chew into maza in order to give sustenance to the young human race or a book such as *occupied America* that attempts to put in order the chaotic history of the Chicano identity in occupied Mexico and the diaspora. As humans we are internally driven to understand not only where we belong but also how we belong. Simultaneously within that belonging comes an entitlement to historical and cultural legacies that in turn are used to create new history and new cultural realities and identities. The Chicano movement is no different with many voices, histories and herstories all telling the same story and a different story at the same time, intertwined in a complex fabric of producers and products creating and recreating what it is to be Chicano and/or Mexican within the borders of what is presently known as the United States.

To understand the Chicano movement from the 1920's and beyond of course we must examine the historical conditions of Mexico and its historical relationship to the United States. In a piece from *Between Borders*, Elizabeth Martinez and Ed McCaughan sum up the reality of U.S, Mexican relations and the Mexican experience with in the U.S, by stating ⁱ "The essential

relationship between Mexico and the United States, in turn, defines the inter-relationship between Mexicans and U.S. populations of Mexican origin."

They go on to state

ii "Mexico stands as a semi-peripheral country in a neo-colonialist relationship to the United States. As a consequence of the historically unequal exchange relationship between the United States and Mexico, deliberate North American policy, and the more recent transnationalization of capital, a transnational labor force has been created. It serves primarily as a reserve army of labor for U.S. agricultural and manufacturing enterprises."

For many years Mexicans and Chicanos have been used as cheap labor for the U.S. economy. But as stated Mexico is a neo-colony to the United States, and thus Mexicans/Chicanos living in the U.S are transformed into internal colonial subjects. In turn the objectification stretches much deeper than labor but to all aspects of Mexican/ Chicano daily life from poor educational opportunities to the lack of basic housing.

I would like to start my analysis of the present day Mexican/Chicano in the United States by examining the lack of political participation of Chicanos, historically as well as presently. I use political also in sense of the ability of civil society to organize itself through a collective conscious-

ness. Acuna writes

iii "The Mexican community had a smaller but vibrant middle class that was becoming organizationally sophisticated. Especially, the emergence of LULAC focused attention on civil rights issues such as inequality before the law, segregation, and unequal education as well as other issues. Meanwhile, many in the elite Mexican refugee population had either returned to Mexico or were assimilated into the U.S. Mexican community. In the field of labor, U.S. Mexican organizers were adding to the historical memories and experiences of miner labor organizers of the 1910's. The writing and work of groups such as the Partido Liberal Mexicano (the Mexican Liberal Party) influenced a critical core of activists, although the 1920's themselves saw a decline in radical activity."

Though the 1960's were a time of civil unrest and radical activity I feel we should not over essentialize this history understanding that most Mexican/Chicano people were not involved in political activity. On the same hand taking into account there did exist a heightened sense of political responsibility in part a response to the harsh racism faced by Mexican/Chicano communities. The 1920's and particularly World War 1 and into the days of the depression following into World War 2, all played a vital role in

the building of the Mexican/Chicano consciousness. War veterans found a bitter reality, fighting for rights abroad but not having those same rights upon their return. Auna writes ^{iv}“The shocks caused by the war exposed contradictions in the American paradigm of equal treatment and opportunity”

We can see the 1920's as a glimpse of what was to come during the great movements of the 1960's and 1970's just as we can view the 1960's as small stepping-stones into the present and into the future.

But I am left to ask what are the implications of these jumps in time? And are these jumps from decade to decade leaps in progress or just the same fight with different conditions? Many people feel that Mexicans/Chicanos have “come along way” and yet there is still a very little Mexican/Chicano political representation. And just as the political machine in places such as San Antonio, Texas made sure that Mexicans came out to support the good old boy candidate today exist the same dichotomy. Often just as in the past Mexican elite or Ricos as they were known, are able to obtain positions of power. Today we have people like Gonzales in the Bush administration that do not represent the Mexican people but represent instead the power structure and political order but are still brown enough to eat a taco here and there.

Education is often argued to be the great equalizer in regards to inequality, and with this the belief that if Mexicans/Chicanos were more educated we would see that they would have more access to political power. And again today if Mexicans/Chicanos do “make it” to an institution of higher education, it is difficult for those to student to actually graduate or move on to a graduate program. The higher you go in education the less you see Mexicans/Chicanos.

Many scholars would argue that Mexicans/Chicanos are not “succeeding,” and I am using “succeeding” by the white standard of success in the United States, because of cultural traits that do not allow Mexican/Chicano people to view education as important for their children and themselves.

We can see this ideology of the “culture of poverty” that Oscar Lewis devel-



oped so well used to explain Mexican/Chicano poor academic standing. The “culture of poverty” theory has its roots in many earlier studies by Anglos in an attempt to explain the failures of Mexican/Chicano children and the Mexican population in general. Dennis N. Valdez documents this very well in Perspectives On Midwestern Chicana/o History.^v“Several contemporary midwestern studies manifested racial basis theories. In a 1926 article, sociologist Ruth Carbon asserted that Chicago Mexicans were overwhelmingly descendants of Indians, which accounted for cultural traits including “mysticism”

Valdez goes onto document the work of geographer Earl Sullenger who studied Mexicans in Omaha and accounted for Mexican migration patterns by explaining it was the mix of Spanish and Indian blood that produced what he called the “migratory Mexican” He also urged greater institutional intervention to offset cultural deficiencies, including “passive” and “mental lazy” natures that he thought hindered self advancement and partici-

pation in Americanization programs. Anthropologist Robert Redfield, Paul Taylor and Manuel Gamio all were scholars that where transitioning from racist biological inefficient traits justified through eugenics to the racist explanation of cultural deficient traits to explain Mexicans poor academic and social standing.

Today we can see these racist beliefs resonate in the present with writers such as Harvard's very own Samuel Huntington in which he attempts to explain the “Hispanic Challenge.” Huntington speaks to Anglos fears of a new America that may no longer be the English speaking white kid next door but a taco eating brown kid speaking Spanish. Huntington like his contemporaries blames the Hispanic culture as the basis for the problems facing Latinos and their inability to assimilate into American culture and life.

Rosaura Sanchez writes, referring to an article written to explain Chicanas high drop out rates ^{vi}“What is important in this article is that the writer proposes that the problem needs to be explored in terms of a number of factors. It does not propose one particular framework but does reject the fragmentary and atomistic way in which various studies seek to explain the problem of low educational attainment. The implication is that all of these issues are highly complex and must be seen as part of the larger historical context.

To simply explain the Mexican/Chicano reality as being one of culturally deficient traits and assimilation into mainstream America should be what Mexicans/Chicanos strive for is not only a naive notion but also a racist notion. Just a Sanchez states drop out rates and lack of college bound Mexicans/Chicanos can not be summed up by some notion of backwardness but must be examined from a variety of angles that include the complexities of racist institutions and

policy, racial stigmas and stereo types, a colonial reality and class distinctions. These conditions are just the tip of the iceberg when attempting to explain the socio economic reality Mexican/Chicanos face today.

Housing and labor go hand in hand with this reality. Mexicans/Chicanos migrated because of necessity and often living arrangements centered around employment. Communities were formed in undesired areas close to foundries and factories and often there was no choice to live anywhere else. Segregation was the norm. *Ciro H. Supulveda* writes, ^{vii}“Although it is unclear what specific steps were taken to segregate Mexicanos and Blacks, the results were very effective. Segregation of non whites continued for many decades to come.” Today a reality faced by many communities of color.

In comparing living conditions for Mexicans/Chicanos over the last 80 years I would like to reiterate the common belief that “we have come a long way.” But what is amazingly scary is the following description a Mexican laborer gives regarding living conditions of Mexicans in the 1920’s, documented by *Paul S. Taylor* in which he states ^{viii}“Most of the Mexicans live in back rooms, upstairs, and in basements. They are usually crowded; some live four per room 12 feet by 12 feet” If we were to ask the conditions of undocumented Mexicans in regards to housing today you would find some of the same conditions, crowded basement apartments four families in one home etc.

Labor conditions are often along the same lines *Mark Reisler* when writing about the Mexican laborer of the 1920’s writes ^{ix}“Unlike the European immigrant, employers explained, the Mexican did not compete with American workers but rather took only those jobs which Americans

could not or would not perform” Once again accurately scary to the condition of undocumented Mexican workers presently.

I started this paper stating humans are

The Chicano movement has no end and names will be forgotten and people will be left out but hopefully our children will be sheltered by what we have built and continue to plant the seeds of resistance for an even larger forest.

producers and products of human interactions, experiences and relationships and that at the core of this equation is a sense of belonging. “Knowing” history is just not enough as *Sanchez* states ^x“The word history has two principle references: a) objective (non-discursive) reality (i.e. everything that exists (or has existed) and that is constantly in the process of becoming, of developing, is history) and b) the discursive process of describing and interpreting this reality.” I feel we must use historical knowledge in both the non-discursive and discursive sense of history.

My sense of belonging is not simply based on a historical legacy nor will it be for my children, I would hope. But

my sense of belonging is based on the entitlement to a history of struggle and resistance against a colonial reality.

Just as *Quetzalcoatl* brought corn seeds to the gods to chew into maza to give to the human race my ancestors gave to me a rich history that helps me find my self in the world and explain my origins. It is not my ability to say “we are all the same” that gives me my humanity but my ability to express those differences that make me Mexican that gives me my humanity.

Many conditions for Mexicans/Chicanos have changed but far too many conditions remain the same over the last 80 years to say we reached a level of equality. I will end with something I read from the *Zapatistas* and I will paraphrase, *Marcos* story about what he called the “crazy” man. *Marcos* states “the people would see the crazy man planting trees and the people would say to him “why not plant coffee or something you may have now, why spend you time planting something you will never be able to enjoy in your life time.” The crazy man continued to plant and years and years passed and one day some children went to the mountains where that crazy man spent all his days planting trees and saw a beautiful forest that shaded them in the sunlight, covered their heads from the rain and blocked the wind from hitting them. The children returned to the village and the people asked who planted these trees and after some discussion there was an elder that remembered the crazy man and the people honored the crazy man because of what he left them’ The Chicano movement has no end and names will be forgotten and people will be left out but hopefully our children will be sheltered by what we have built and continue to plant the seeds of resistance for an even larger forest.

Footnotes available upon request.

Voices for the Puerto Rican Diaspora: A Message from Batey Urbano

The following message was read before the first “Encuentro Nacional” of young *independentistas* organized by the Accion Juvenil Independentista (AJI)—the youth wing of the Movimiento Independentista Nacional Hostosiano (MINH) on March 5, 2005.

Greetings *luchadores*
por la independencia!

Thank you for allowing us the space to share our perspective with you— a Puerto Rican perspective shaped in the Diaspora. While we are unable to be present in the flesh, we are present in spirit and in struggle.

As the revolutionary poet Jose Martí once wrote, we too, write you from the entrails of the beast. We are the granddaughters and grand-sons of the first Boricuas forced to leave Puerto Rico on *la guagua aerea*, exiled by U.S. colonialism to live on the cold, hostile streets of Chicago.

In struggle, we write you from our beloved home, *Paseo Boricua*. Our “*peda-*

cito de patria,” located on the oldest historically Puerto Rican street in Chicago— “La Division” is marked by two gigantic steel monuments to our national symbol— monuments which happen to be the world’s largest to any flag.

On this same street, where in 1966, against police brutality, racism, poor housing, and unemployment, Puerto Ricans staged the first Puerto Rican riot/rebellion in the United States, 25 years later, Puerto Ricans would adorn the street with our most beautiful name: Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos.

On this same street, Puerto Ricans, by the tens of thousands, were the first to welcome home our patriots, the Nationalists on September 10, 1979 and 20 years later, joined to celebrate the release of the next generation of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners. Most of these patriots came from the *barrios* of Chicago and New York, two of whom, Oscar López-Rivera and Carlos Alberto Torres remain imprisoned after 25 years.

On this same street, now

known by so many names, we have worked to build a community of resistance, upheld by 30-year-old parallel institutions like the Juan Antonio Corretjer Puerto Rican Cultural Center, Pedro Albizu Campos Alternative High School, Centro Infantil Consuelo Lee Corretjer, La Casita de Don Pedro, Vida/SIDA, and the Lolita Lebrón Family Learning Center. It is these institutions, based philosophically on the principles of self-determination, self-actualization, and self-sufficiency of the Puerto Rican people, which maintain alive our *borincanias* and discipline for struggle.

In 2002, from this fountain of patriotism, with the guidance of great leaders like José E. López, we founded Café Teatro Batey Urbano. Yet, our Batey is not found in a *Taino yucayegue*, but in the concrete jungle of Chicago’s Humboldt Park area. Batey Urbano is a site of creative expression and community activism, which is developing young Puerto Rican and Latino activists concerned with our people’s cultural, political, and communi-

ty and national development. *Here, we see tomorrow in today.*

Our voice has not weakened, for we have not forgotten who we are: we are Puerto Rican! Furthermore, we have earned the right to speak, since we continue the good fight against the forces of internal colonialism that confine our Diaspora, as well as struggle for the liberation of our beloved patria: *Boríken rebelde*.

Some would deny us, like colonialism itself would, this opportunity to speak. You have not. Some would ridicule us, calling us less than *Boricua*, as if we were Puerto Rico's bastard children. We are not, we belong to the beautiful Puerto Rican family and nation, which today constitutes nearly 8 million brothers and sisters. Our diasporic anthem, penned by Juan Antonio Corretjer— "*Yo sería borincano aunque naciera en la luna*," continues to resonate in our hearts.

The North Americans have only separated us geographically. Though U.S. colonialism has robbed many of us of our native tongue, forced linguistic acculturation has been unsuccessful in robbing us of our ability to speak, think, write, feel, and live as Puerto Ricans.

We cannot forget the transcendental contribution made by our Diaspora, a contribution first marked over 100 years ago on December 22, 1895 by the adoption of our national flag in New York City. Every major struggle of the Puerto Rican people, especially the primordial struggle for national liberation, has counted on *los de afuera*. The struggle to free the Nationalists and the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, like the campaign against the Young Bill in 1998, and the struggle to end the bombing of Vieques were proof of a simple, yet hard to accept fact. The formulation of any serious movement for Puerto Rican freedom cannot be done without the Puerto Rican Diaspora's indispensable input and participation. The island and Diaspora are but two prongs of the same Puerto Rican, and, we would add, Latin American liberation strategy. What a legacy we have behind and before us. What an impact we have made in the Diaspora. Some of our most prominent contributions to our national identity and struggle include political and social leaders like Congressman Luis Gutiérrez, Antonia Pantoja, Assemblyman José Rivera, Alderman Billy Ocasio, Jesús Colón and Archbishop

González; cultural icons like Eddie Palmieri, Miriam Colón, Andy Montañez, and Willie Colón; literary figures like Piri Thomas, Nicholasa Mohr, and Esmeralda Santiago; poets like Pedro Pietri, Miguel Piñero, Aurora Levins Morales, Martín Espada, artists like Juan Sánchez; journalists like Juan González and Geraldo Rivera; actors and actresses like Rita Moreno, Raúl Juliá, Benicio del Toro, and Jimmy Smits. Like the very rhythms of salsa and hip-hop, the Diaspora is not a mere reflection of Puerto Rico, but an extension of it.

We are encouraged by this historic *encuentro*. Our generation, found in the Diaspora and on the island, has a paramount responsibility. As Frantz Fanon, the anti-colonial philosopher wrote in his seminal work, *The Wretched of the Earth*, "Each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it." We believe that those of you gathered today, as well as the many others in struggle, know precisely what our mission is. In our case, we need not discover it, only fulfill it.

Our mission is the same as that of previous generations:

defeat the plague of colonialism and secure our inalienable right to self-determination. As our mentor José E. López insists, our political analysis must not divorce colonialism from racism from capitalism. They are the unholy trinity of the last 500 years of conquest, subjugation, and exploitation. The historic problem of 1492 insists of being resolved. But this can only come to pass if we are equally committed to the obliteration of sexism, homophobia, and our greatest capitalist foe, individualism.

We must live out our commitment to a world where nothing casts shadows on humanity, a world in which many worlds fit, as the Zapatistas have argued. We must begin to live today as commanded by Consuelo Lee Corretjer: Let us reject the cynical notion “live and let live” and embrace the revolutionary ethics of “live and help to live.”

Since the mission is clear, the only question is how it is to be accomplished. Certainly, there are going to be many methods, but only one unity. Our experience of resistance in Chicago is one of many of paths. It is from this humble experience that we ask the independence movement—the

conscience of our people—to be creative. Here our generation has the largest potential for impact. *El independentismo* must be put into practice in the towns, communities, and *barrios* of resistance, those that today exist and those that we must build together. *La resistencia vive no en la polémica, sino en la construcción diaria de una visión alternativa, posible y libre.*

In these turbulent times, we are engrossed in a historically imperative struggle to preserve the very community that has given birth to so much resistance. Gentrification and displacement, both manifestations of colonialism and neoliberalism, are threatening to destroy what our able hands have built over the last 50 years.

But we are hopeful—not in stars and wishes—but in the determination of our community to fight. We are hopeful of the commitment of young Puerto Ricans on the island and in Diaspora to struggle for an end to colonialism. We are hopeful of the imaginative struggles in Chiapas, Venezuela, Brazil, and all over Latin America against neoliberalism. In the United States, we are hopeful of the possibility of creating, alongside our

Latin@ companer@s, a movement that realizes Bolívar's great dream of *la patria grande* inside, and in spite of, the United States empire.

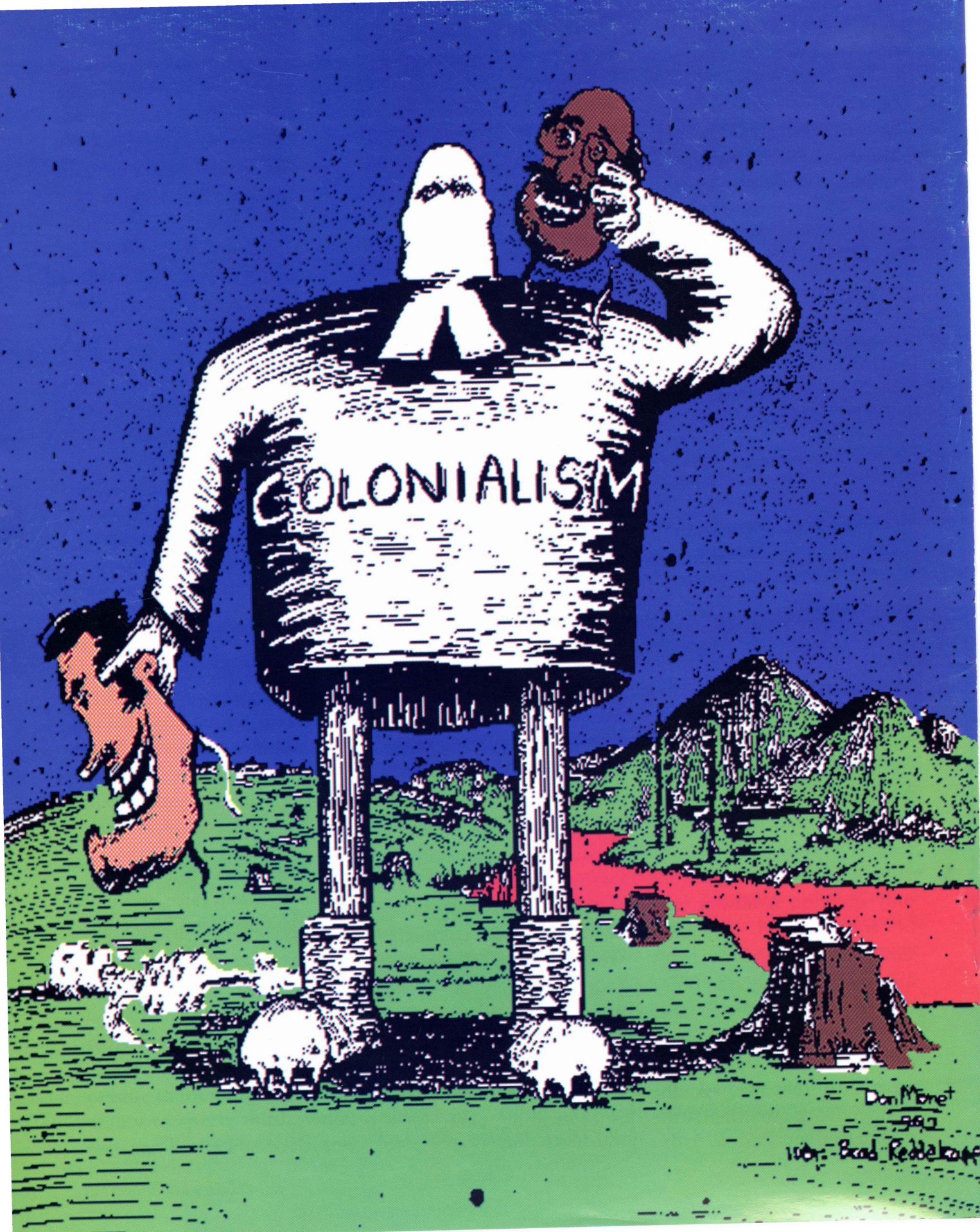
May this be the beginning of a meaningful dialogue between young *independentistas* across the United States and Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico's history is incomplete: its chapters of freedom, liberation, and independence are yet to be written. Its authors are ready... and they walk the streets of Lares, Rio Piedras, Spanish Harlem, North Philly, Villa Victoria, Villa Sin Miedo, Mayagüez, Loraine, Ponce, Paseo Boricua, Jayuya, and Ciales. We are all daughters and sons of Borikén!

¡Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre!
¡Libertad para los Presos
Políticos Oscar López Rivera
y Carlos Alberto Torres!

Michael Rodríguez Muñiz

On behalf of the Batey Urbano
Collective from Paseo Boricua,
Humboldt Park in Chicago, IL

Judith Díaz
Matt Rodríguez
Melissa Cintrón
Michael Reyes



COLONIALISM

Don Monet
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100% - Brad Reddelkopf