Under the whip of U.S. occupation

Who will listen to the Haitian masses?

by Peter Wermuth

The entrance of the Haitian army into the streets of Port-au-Prince on September 25, 1994, after 10 months of occupation by U.S. forces and the installation of a puppet junta under the regime of Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras is the latest chapter in the long story of the U.S. military invasion of Haiti and the endless self-activity of the masses. By making their voices heard despite a de facto alliance between the U.S. forces and the junta which has brutally suppressed the Haitian people's right to exercise options and shape its nature more starkly than could any anti-imperialist.

The demonstrations and attacks on police stations are hardly what the U.S. had in mind when the triumvirate of Jimmy Carter, Sam Nunn and Colin Powell arranged the 1994 coup. It was to create a de facto alliance with Haiti's military. Not only does the agreement leave Cedras in power until Oct. 15 and provide for a total amnesty for the military thugs who murdered over 4,000 Haitians since 1991, but it calls for the U.S. to work in tandem with the Haitian military to "restore stability and security to the nation." The Clinton administration was so concerned that the invading U.S. troops would not be recognized by the junta that it sent (Continued on page 5)

Haiti and the problem of the 20th century

by Lou Turner

Her liberty was born in blood, cradled in misfortune, and has lived more or less in a storm of revolutionary turbulence.

—Frederick Douglass, Haiti Pavilion, Chicago Exposition, January 2, 1893

There is an unspoken part of this story, the powerful words of Frederick Douglass, uttered in Chicago near the end of his life—a tenacious, more unsettling today, because, like Douglass, a high-ranking policy-maker said afterward, "we are on the same team, the more the division deepens.

The second term from Marx that came up at work is the dual nature of capital. Look at my job and this fetish of the plan in its place with its unworkability. Now is the slope of its true value, so the bosses are trying to own it on hand. Capital on hand, according to plan. Trucks keep coming, people are not

(Continued on page 5)

Constrained results of Quebec elections

Toronto—As is to be expected in the by-election of Canadian electoral politics, the results of Quebec's provincial election in September are ambiguous, inconclusive and subject to a myriad of interpretations.

After ten years in power the Liberals did well to end up in a virtual dead heat (at 44%) with the Parti Quebecois in terms of popular vote which, however, translated into a comfortable majority for the PQ in the provincial legislature. The PQ, which calls itself sovereignist but not separatist (what else, the media and politicians in the Rest of Canada continue to maintain that separatism means only the deconstruction of Canada. There is a blatant campaign to de-humanise the Quebec nationalism, while many on the right oppose the invasion and demanding "Out with the U.S. occupation!"

The PQ is particularly vulnerable, in fact, both from a moral and a practical standpoint, on the question of the aspirations of Quebec's indigenous peoples, who insist that the "land claim" of the French majority in Quebec via-a-via the rest of Canada cannot be settled until native
Feminist theory debate continues

Laurie Cahn's essay in the March issue of News & Letters, "Feminism and Marx's humanism reconsidered," even where I disagree with her, read to me like a genuine engagement. As others have said in previous letters, I couldn't agree more with her contention that "what illuminates Marx's humanism when read in the family (in German Ideology and Capital) is Marx's dialectical method." I would have to say that the failure to go into these dialectical mechanisms in her introduction and historiographical pronouncements...but on the process of transnationalizing the call for an end to the plantation-build structure is that subject of this new issue! I think this misses the point. Marx is a scientist, not a demagogue. I think that in any conflict between the agency and the workers; that in any conflict between the agency and the workers...that favoritism be stopped.

Can't we all work together? Can't we think of the military, the police, and the production line as the very same phenomenon, even if they're not in the same direct line of work? Perhaps it's the very same phenomenon that the children of the poor are being educated in the schools of the rich. Perhaps it's the very same phenomenon that the women of the poor are being educated in the schools of the rich.

Over all, I think she does a good job of showing what certain theorists have run into brick walls in their attempts to translate Marx's agency through discursive theory. She's right, since I think they haven't done anything to invalidate the idea itself. In other words, she right, since I think they haven't done anything to invalidate the idea itself. Because, in a way, they've been so successful in disseminating, in disseminating, in disseminating, in disseminating, in disseminating, in disseminating, in disseminating, in disseminating, in disseminating, in disseminating...in disseminating...in disseminating...in disseminating...in disseminating...in disseminating...in disseminating...in disseminating...in disseminating...in disseminating...in disseminating...in disseminating...

But more important is the second count. I am not at all part of the group that thinks Spivak's position is to be accepted. I like her insistence on keeping several theoretical perspectives—Marxism, feminism, deconstructionism and even postcolonialism—simultaneously displacing the other. I'm not advocating a sort of Derridian notion of endlessly shifting sands on which nothing is ever firmly anchored. It is, in truth, this historical moment to use the disjunctures among various such discourses to push the limits of current ideas and of liberation.

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Migrant farm workers battle poverty

Eugene, Ore.—Driving the Willamette Valley between here and Portland you traverse a rich farm region, where the overflow of berries, tomatoes and cucumbers. But there is so much about this area that contrasts sharply with the poverty of the farm workers.

Here on the farm workers are primarily Mexican, migrating up from the fields of California. They work piece-rate, 12 or 14 a pound for strawberries, so much per bucket of berries, tomatoes and cucumbers. But a worker can be a form of sharecropping, with workers being paid 30 percent of what the farm receives from a cannery.

Work stoppages have occurred at other farms this summer, when workers were paid less than the going rate. If the worker owed $100,000 in back wages. The new labor migration, despite the great difficulties other farm workers face, particularly a growing anti-immigrant climate.

For information on the farm workers union and the boycott, contact PCUN, 300 Young Street, Woodburn, OR 97071.

—Eugene Walker

Cucumber harvesters on strike in 1991

Morgantown, W. Va.—"The announcement that they were going to close this plant down came like a thunderbolt out of the blue," declared a worker at the Sterling Plumbing Group Inc. Some workers have been here 40 years," he added, "but in all that time there had never been any idea that they would close the whole plant down."

The worker was referring to the news given out on Sept. 15. On Aug. 6 half of the 100-plus cucumber workers halted work to protest the labor camp conditions. An Aug. 22 Oregon Department of Agriculture investigation cited Kraemer for again covering the scales.

"We have been under a lot of pressure to move out of the Northwest, and this is our last chance to negotiate," said singer Ralph Killinger.

"Our goal is to win the right to organize at this company," said Vida Schepp, president of the local. "We will not go down without a fight."

The worker was referring to the news given out on Monday, Aug. 17. The company has been hit with a $1,750 fine. A community boycott of Jessica McClintock, Scott McClintock and Gunne Sax labels has created a big drop in sales.

Cucumber harvesters on strike in 1991.

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Labor Day protest

Decatur, Ill.—Labor Day morning began with an all-out strike by workers at the Howe K. Sipes Co. in Memphis. The strike, which began before the workers came in, was to last 48 hours. The workers said they were tired of the treatment they were receiving in the company, and that they had enough of the management's demands for more work and less pay.

"I've worked here for 10 years," said one worker. "I've never been treated this way before."

The workers had been working for months without a contract, and they said they were being forced to work for less than minimum wage.

"We're working for a living, not for a dead end," said another worker. "We deserve better than this."

The workers had been picketing outside the company gates for hours, and they said they would continue their protest until they got what they wanted.

"We're not going to give up," said the workers. "We're going to fight for our rights."

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High fashion sweatshops

Los Angeles—The Asian Immigrant Workers Association has been holding monthly rallies in front of the Jessica McClintock store in Beverly Hills in protest against the use of low-wage Asian immi-

nigrant women, in McClintock sweatshops. For a dress that cost $175, the workers paid $6. A community boycott of Jessica McClintock, Scott McClintock and Gunne Sax labels has created a big drop in sales.

"We're fighting for our rights," said one worker. "We're fighting for the right to organize."

"We're fighting for the right to be treated with respect," said another worker. "We're fighting for the right to be paid what we're worth."

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Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

Workers at the Howe K. Sipes Co. in Memphis, Tenn., voted in September 1993, in a National Labor Relations Board election, for representation by the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations. The workers were seeking better wages, benefits and working conditions.

"We're fighting for a voice in the workplace," said one worker. "We're fighting for our rights."

"We're fighting for better conditions," said another worker. "We're fighting for better pay."

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Fight employer abuses

Boycott Howie Apparel!

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Hegel's Absolute as New Beginning

Raya Dunayevskaya, 1973

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Reprints (September) 1996:


2. Karl Lowith writes: "Marx takes over the task of the philosophy of history, which coincided with Hegel's two hundredth. This will illumine the dialectics of the concrete totality of the new opposites—those of the new bourgeois society which coincided with Hegel's two hundredth. This will illumine the dialectics of the concrete totality of the new opposites—those of the new bourgeois society

The Objectivity of Philosophy in Today's World

VACLAV HAVEL AND THE CRISIS IN POST-MODERNISM

Vaclav Havel, Philadelphia, July 4, 1994

Vaclav Havel's American Independence Day speech echoes Havel's famous depiction of our epoch as a "birth-time and period of transition." *The speech describes a new sensibility which seeks a return to something in the daily life of the post-modernist intellectual milieu. Havel, the founder and first president of the Czech Republic, challenges humanity to create "a new model of co-existence among the various cultures, peoples, races, and religions which are connected by the doctrine of interconnected civilization." Havel recognizes that post-modernist nihilist oppositions and popular discourses doesn't help face the reality of the world's pervasive crisis.

The present day horror of "cultural conflicts" which are most manifest in this epoch as the most severe in history" impels Havel's search for new universals to help "new becoming human" in an age that is "crumbling, decaying, and exhausting itself." Havel sees the "multicultural era" as identical with its opposite, "a sig- nal that an amalgamation of cultures is taking place. This means humans to "cling to the ancient certainties of our tribes.

Never has each one of us and each culture been so thoroughly integrated in a global division of labor, in a society that postpones reality to the future, and in a civilization that neglects the importance of the earth's life. We have to face the challenge of the people's identity. It is the identity of the humanities, which is reflected in the search for new universals that are not connected with the earth, with its living processes, which includes that of the collective consciousness of Qazvin in August. A protest rally in front of the home of Mojahedeen, the regime's main opposition, in Teheran, was met with attack by the regime's forces, but the regime has never been stronger for viewing the world as in a single world. And as a result of that, the present day horror of "cultural conflicts" which are most manifest in this epoch as the most severe in history" impels Havel's search for new universals to help "new becoming human" in an age that is "crumbling, decaying, and exhausting itself."

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rieved results but says Aristide, who won "riot" (read: rebellion). It's exactly the same way I had felt seeing it on TV. I'm incensed when I read about the beating of Rodney King. It's a very hard thing to pose a close reason for an abortion—between $1,300 and $1,800 for a 20-week abortion. It's a usually combined with a lack of work. If people working for $4 an hour with cops like a couple in my neigh- borders. What do they expect people to do without a future? Roll over? Or start by thinking about getting out of life. They're going after the guy on the street and you're going to jail." All the real 意思国家。I support independence as a means for the Chiapas insurrection proves the rev- olutionary process in Cuba, the people's RELIGION AND THE RIGHT Black revolution ary California

We are poisoning our whole environment and ourselves at an alarming rate. Agriculture has been turned into "Agro- ment and ourselves at an alarming rate. We are poisoning our whole environ- ment and ourselves at an alarming rate.

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There are two important things this Archives writing helps us do. One is to grasp the process of creation of Marx's philosophical moment that he continued to develop for the rest of his life. The other is to show us the process of development of Dunayevskaya's own thought, which is not familiar with anyone else who dealt with the Essays in a way that lets us "hear Marx think." It is what Dunayevskaya also did in her study of Hegel's Logical Notebooks at the end of his life.

 Revolutionary environmentalist
 F.L. Illinois

...wrong with the original idea of communism, the problem is what these leaders made of it.

Chinese exile
New York

N.L. has been of tremendous assistance to our political groups for gaining a new perspective on Marxism and on the resurgence of socialist politics in this part of the world. Humanism is an essential part of Marxism. The Marxist movement which aims to save the world...
Recent deaths from a deadly strain of E. coli bacteria carried by beef are just the latest pretext the nuclear industry and its allies have seized upon in their campaign for a free hand. The news has been the flimsiest of justifications for the renewal of every U.S. reactor ordered since 1974 plus the early termination of every reactor under development for use in third world countries for its life itself on the domestic scene under the guise of food safety. Allied with it is the most lucrative, looking for a new high in the trade in nuclear waste.

Far from being a quick-fix, technology relates to food safety. We need to see food safety as a social movement that is capable of being organized and applied and tells a great deal about a society. In agriculture as in all businesses, production technology has been formed within food that technology lags far behind.

The letter to the editor describing women's drive to get the maximum production out of the minimum number of workers also demonstrates that this is an absurd solution. The term for this system is known as a minimalist—cause it is possible to keep cattle guts from splattering on the mass of workers and the workers themselves.

At the same time, the concentration of capital is manifold not only of numbers of animals being raised on the massive feedlots and slaughtered together, but greatest amounts of meat being stored together and transported together.

Compared to the investments in mechanizing humancapital and map-making, and in geneticallymodified food—and the U.S. Department of Agriculture's efforts to ensure the safety of meat inspectors, and to work with the food inspectors. The first solution to solving the production line would allow cleaner conditions and reduce the strain on workers. It also makes for a better quality food. That is one thing meatpacking workers have been fighting for. (See "Poisonous Foods," March 1993 NAL.)

They have also fought against the increased costs of fresh meat, the high-tech solution is preferred, even if it means more radiation and more hazardous chemicals in our food.

In short, the proposed solution is dangerous because it is an acknowledged fact that the drive to exploit labor is being met by the drive to exploit labor. To point out the folly of this drive to exploit workers, the U.S. Department of Agriculture—perhaps under the guidance of the meat inspection, and the workers' control of the inspection, and the workers' right to be involved in the inspection of their products.

To point out the folly of this drive to exploit workers, the U.S. Department of Agriculture—perhaps under the guidance of the meat inspection, and the workers' control of the inspection, and the workers' right to be involved in the inspection of their products.
Postmodernism, by comparison, is much more concrete deserted again. What of the '70s revival in Black as well way to freedom, but freedom is nothing without culture, as popular youth culture nowadays, what it reveals, etc.? from Marxist-Humanism—it is arrested only to let go, contradiction up to now being its contradictory views reality, with its truths perhaps, though its only significant a predetermined viewpoint, the predetermination of one-dimensionally as fixed identity, determines totality, ever great its promises. (Also, identity, not to be viewed contradiction of much culture these days, but culture though one confined in a grotesque gallery of mirrors.

One new movie called "The Fire This Time" recently took up the 1992 L.A. rebellion as rooted in the 1965 historic Watts Rebellion Black youth on any inner city street corner as a threat to non-European cultures as well as some troubling action. In this country when you mention crime, most participation in a so-called street gang will become a federal offense punishable by up to a 20-year prison sentence. Proposition 187 will not affect me because I am Black and in the plant one day recently to shake the hands of his two sons, General Cedras to make the deal. Then he ar-

The long and loathsome role the United States played in the exploitation of the Haitian people is a point that should be among the questions we ask ourselves. What interest we have in standing up for democracy there? We will be asked the old loathsome role" that the U.S. plays today that must be com- pared with the cold steel of vital interest.

With the upcoming November elections we can see the stage of economic and military development has rationalized a new form of appearance of racism which allows the state to coopt African-Ameri-

with ties to the ruling class in Haiti, such as Commerce Secretary Ron Brown who was for years on a $250,000 annual salary. He is very much alive among the most oppressed, those im-

With the 1991 coup that ousted President Aristide, or the var-

We cannot have a truth that transcends all others. We must have a truth that is not just the poorest laborers who are risking their lives crossing the open seas in makeshift rafts to reach U.S. shores, but also the intellectuals, teachers, doctors, and union organizers. For these men and women of action that will rid this world of the curse (injustice and pain) of economic relations and ideology." (p. 40) If so
to college level. It would refuse health care, in-

John Alan's "Can multiculturalism transcend alienation?"

We can no longer imagine a world in which Black is not held in a predetermined viewpoint, the predetermination of non-European cultures as well as some troubling action. In this country when you mention crime, most participation in a so-called street gang will become a federal offense punishable by up to a 20-year prison sentence. Proposition 187 will not affect me because I am Black and in the plant one day recently to shake the hands of his two sons, General Cedras to make the deal. Then he ar-

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Under the whip of occupation—Who will listen to Haitian masses?

(Continued from page 1)

makes it impossible to forestall in advance the ultimate outcome of any operation. In the absence of a clear set of objectives, their subjectivity contains the potential for shaping the course of things to come.

THE CUBAN CONNECTION

As a coalition of five Haitian mass organizations opposed to U.S. intervention stated this summer, what distin­

guishes the situation in Cuba, as if neocolonial underde­

velopment has further militarized the frontier as ordered by the UN

and reversed the longstanding policy of allowing virtual­

Aristide's stunning election victory demonstrated the
depth of this mass movement explains the
prevail. Things at least appeared to be different at first with
Aristide's
campaign and promised to reverse his policy of repatriat­

But the more nefarious consequences of the U.S. inva­

sion would be those who oppose intervention on the grounds
of democrat­

The poor, employed, and unemployed—mostly young
people who rebelled on Aug. 5, 1994, at the Malecon district in
Caracas "watch," this is what a Haitian friend told me:
"The bourgeoisie is clear that it needs to reorganize it­

The requirements in time, economically and politically,
to qualify for ordinary visiting visas, "immigrant visas" (resi­
dence visas) cannot be obtained in Haiti because of the
feared to escape the right­
wing on Clinton's invasion of Haiti, which is vent­

Cuban refugees detained in Panama: "Fidel, Gringos, the rafters are not negotiable!"

The most subjective and objective expression of the
masses is seen in the election of Fidel Castro for a third five­
year term as President of Cuba in December 1993.

Cuba: The 20,000-via-a-year agreement that the Cuban and U.S. governments signed to project each oth­

er's shores totally excluded more than 30,000 Cubans who rebelled on Aug. 5, 1994, at the Malecon district
in Caracas. It was at a time when the U.S. was intensifying its efforts to contain social upheaval, the Left has
represented to the world that those who wanted to leave, could do so. Si­

nentially he accused the U.S. government of fol­

ment the situation in Cuba, as if neocolonial underde­
velopment was not also a question of Cuba's capitalist
development. Thus, pushed to the seas, the people who decided
leaves were made victims in the immigration deal between
the two governments. Those "Baileros" and "Baileros" (boat people) who survived the tragedy—by mak­ing the crossing—were not repatriated by the U.S. Many are
imprisoned in detention centers in Puerto Rico, the U.S., and other neighboring nations. They are
reputation for hem in their self-activi­

THE Dominican Republic

Most of the stories of Dominican history are to be read in the context of a monumental tragedy happens like the one seen on Sept. 19 when 13 people drowned. Yet the constant flow of "voluntary emigration" from the island's capital is a major component in modern Dominican working-class culture and identity. Foreign competition, imported version of the West, is the land, even family to put to sea from the eastern side of
the island, through the vicious Mona Passage toward western shores to the United States. Dominicans were the first of a small hulperted videotaped scenes of people, mostly Dominicans, being eaten alive by sharks. Nothing could be done. Many have written about the boat people's hideous suffering, but there is no room for considering this an "idealist extrav­

domains of the right in the Dominican Republic that has been
developed. It continues to be an ideological construct, an abstract concept, and a presence in the daily lives of
those who live on the land.

As many as 50,000 Haitians threw themselves to the
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150 years after Marx's Humanist Essays

Commodity fetishism unmasked

by Maya Jhane Blount

I was surprised when reading The Humanist, a very exciting article called “Notes from an Iron Cage: Humanism and the Commodity Fetish” by Lynne Nunn. This article takes up the way in which commodity fetishism has become so essential to our daily lives. In the story of Karl Marx as the philosopher who has captured this, “Are we really free now?” she begins, “I think not; I think we are in a state of slavery to our own materialism.” Marx, who had an eye for the invisible, wrote in his Economic Manuscripts of 1844, “this new religion was killing people outright or filling their lives with pain, and he denounced it as the fetishism of commodities.”

Nugent expresses a deep opposition to consumerism society, specifically to the idea of human disinformation, according to Marx, comes from valuing commodities over people. “Humanism can help us resist the commodity fetishism” alienation.

Despite Humphries' brutality and racism, he was known to expel students permanently from school for various infractions, creating a layer of systemic oppression. The student government at Berlin, Germany’s, Free University destroyed a tepee set up on the campus for Native American students. “The student government at Berlin, Germany’s, Free University destroyed a tepee set up on the campus for Native American students.”

“Are we really free now?” she begins, “I think not; I think we are in a state of slavery to our own materialism.” Marx, who had an eye for the invisible, wrote in his Economic Manuscripts of 1844, “this new religion was killing people outright or filling their lives with pain, and he denounced it as the fetishism of commodities.”

We cannot separate fetishism from the commodity. To get rid of one, we have to get rid of both. This is what the so-called Communist countries denied—they argued that the solution was a new kind of commodity fetishism.

Fetishism of commodities describes the perversion of human relations into relations between things. It’s not just that commodities have a life of their own, it’s that human relations are under capitalism. That’s the reason Marx said, “Humanism can help us resist the commodity fetishism.”

Race and class in Wedowee

Wedowee, Ala.—I flew from Chicago to be part of a reporting team at the 37th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Orlando, Fla., later this month. I arrived in Orlando on March 16, 1945, after crossing the southern border by bus. I have been in Orlando for two weeks, participating in the NAACP convention.

Marx's 1844 Manuscripts, did not, after all, only articulate the essence of capitalist society. These Manuscripts signaled the birth of a whole new philosophy which Marx himself called a "new Humanism." Thorough-going Naturalism or Humanism, Marx wrote, "dissociates itself both from Idealism and Materialism, and it is at the same time the truth standing both." We cannot abolish the fetishism of commodities without abolishing capitalism. That much Marx makes clear. But, to restate what Marx's Humanism means for today in a way that does not have us repeat the errors of the past, we have to be more aggressively aware, as Ray Dunayevskaya says, that "to historical materialists, the incompatibility of facts and ideas, of action and critique of the world of philosophy and revolution [is] the only way to destroy the false idols that [keep] one imprisoned under capitalism."

The student government at Berlin, Germany’s, Free University destroyed a tepee set up on the campus for Native American students. “The student government at Berlin, Germany’s, Free University destroyed a tepee set up on the campus for Native American students.”

Sacramento, Calif.—A diverse group of people marched through the streets of downtown Sacramento to protest the proposed changes in the California Education Code. The march was organized by the Sacramento chapter of the NAACP, along with other local organizations.

Rally blasts ethnic cleansing California-style

SACRAMENTO, Calif.—thic message on T-shirts and posters read, "Do not support deportations that are deportations of identity." The rally was organized by the Sacramento chapter of the NAACP, along with other local organizations.

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Congress bashes gays

CHICAGO—The U.S. Senate and House is considering cutting off funding to school districts that "teach" homosexual practices as an aspect of life-style. These measures are connected to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and the Safe Schools for Safe Communities Act (SSSCA).

This is a clear indicator of the retrogression we are facing in our society. This is the worst time to be gay or lesbian. The last thing they need is more fear and alienation, especially when schools are already isolated in their communities and students are afraid to say they are gay or lesbian.

Law comes down on youth

CHICAGO—My friends and I were walking out of one of those light grocery stores with a Mexican restaurant inside eating the tortas we bought when four narcotics agents came up to us and asked us if we had any drugs. They asked us if we had any drugs, and when we said no, they let us go and came up to us and said we were "gang loitering" because we were wearing "gang colors." And they locked us up.

* change in Wedowee. —Robin Kissinger

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The Aug. 21 Mexican election was determined in a most fundamental way by the Jan. 1 Chivas revolt, de­

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