One more (mule) team concept

by B. Ann Lastelle

As a worker subjected to variations on the themes of team concept and job redesign, I was eager to read a new book by Laurie Graham. On the one hand, her Lean Production Model and the American Worker (Ithaca, New York: ILR Press, 1995, 169 pp.) Graham worked undercover at the Japanese auto transplant in Indiana for six months, recording her observations and conversations with workers, and comparing her experience with the literature on the Japanese management model, also called lean production.

Her introductory chapter notes that research had been limited to unionized auto transplants and asks two important questions: “How does the Japanese model affect nonunion workers?” How do workers view themselves in the Japanese model? The core of her book is not the disputes with other theorists, but her account of actual working conditions and workers’ responses.

It sounds familiar. “Team members would bring up the idea of job enlargement and job rotation.” They complained, however, that their suggestions were seldom acted upon. Several team members brought up their desire to rotate working conditions and workers’ responses.

The goal of the lean production management style, Graham writes, “is to align a worker’s skills and abilities with the job that must be done and to achieve zero defects in the process.” (continued on page 7)

Black World

Gen. Powell: man and imperialist doctrine

by Lou Turner

The more a dominant class is able to absorb the best people from the dominated classes, the more solid and dangerous it is to that class, as Marx, Capital, Vol. 3

A piece of good luck has befallen white America—his naming of Colin Powell as “warrior,” it is as a tool of this imperialist power structure is not a bad piece of luck to have befallen an inside-the-Beltway bureaucrat of Powell’s class ambitions and history.

Hence, the good luck Powell wants white America to believe he is a consequence as a living “structured and disciplined” life (which white America wants Black America to emulate) is what Powell and white America mutually deceive each other in extolling as the “American dream.”

Black America is suspicious at the very least. What Powell’s record shows that at the behest of his white superiors, he eagerly suppressed Black militancy in the Army’s Second Infantry Division when he was stationed in Korea in the mid-1970s, and more recently when as

Capitalist America’s war on the poor

Senate passage on Sept. 19 of the so-called “Welfare Reform” bill created by Newt Gingrich’s “effort to save billions for the poorest” then supported by both Pres. Clinton and Senate Repub­ lican leader Bob Dole, has intensified what has been an all-out War on the Poor. The bill, in something like its present form, is sure to be approved by a House-Senate conference, and signed by Clinton.

That only 11 of the Senate’s liberal Democrats voted “no” this August stands as a sign of the isolation of many working class welfare recipients, who have been shy about their real intentions. Alabama, where the current maximum AFDC benefit is a mere $164 a month, has recently followed Mississippi with a pilot program designed to force recipients off welfare and into low-wage production jobs. Claire Ealy, director of Alabama’s job-training programs, boasted the results in one county where recipients were driven into the local fish canning plant: “Processing catfish is not a pleasant job. It’s cold and wet and it stinks and they pay not much more than the minimum wage...But once you make it clear this is what’s expected, then changes will occur. You either find a job, or you’re going to work for the catfish plant.” New York Times, Sept. 21, 1998.

It is an old axiom of the southern plantocracy that it can tie as his good fortune or luck, Black America understands in more historical terms as simple bad luck, but rather a conse­ quence of Black masses in motion who transformed America’s social landscape. Unfortunately, those who talk about the need for a civil rights revolution were more the Clarence Thomases and Colin Powells than the working-class men who did the actual fighting.

It is ironic that when white journalists wonder about Powell’s credentials as “warrior,” it is as a tool of this country’s imperialist wars. He has not a freedom fighter on the home front. Every test of Pow­ ell’s mettle has come in the political registration campaign in and out of the military, has found him wanting. If not actually as a willing tool of repression.

Black America is suspicious at the very least. What Powell’s record shows that at the behest of his white superiors, he eagerly suppressed Black militancy in the Army’s Second Infantry Division when he was stationed in Korea in the mid-1970s, and more recently when as

Muslim refugee from multiethnic Tulu.

Balkan envoy Richard Holbrooke, former architect of U.S. policy in Vietnam and protege of Henry Kissinger, to draw his own conclusions as to the “states’ rights” provisions will mean in practice.

StATES’ RIGHTS AND ENDING WELFARE

Nevertheless, the ideological obfuscations which have surrounded the welfare debate since Gingrich’s victory in November, 1994 have thrown civil rights and wom­ en’s organizations, labor and the Left, into confusion about the attacks. At best, the responses have been lim­ ited to expressions of outrage which do not ferret out the meaning of this new War on the Poor and its connection to the present crisis in capitalist production.

Not that all the government and corporate commentators have been shy about their real intentions. Alabama, where the current maximum AFDC benefit for a family of three is $164 a month, has recently followed Missis­ sippi with a pilot program designed to force recipients off welfare and into low-wage production jobs. Claire Ealy, director of Alabama’s job-training programs, boasted the results in one county where recipients were driven into the local fish canning plant: “Processing catfish is not a pleasant job. It’s cold and wet and it stinks and they pay not much more than the minimum wage...But once you make it clear this is what’s expected, then changes will occur. You either find a job, or you’re going to work for the catfish plant.” New York Times, Sept. 21, 1998.

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Editorial statement

U.S. pushes partition of Bosnia

by Peter Wermuth

At the very moment when the forces of multiethnic Bosnia have made the most significant military gains against Serbian forces, the Serbs have plunged this war 41 months ago, the Clinton administration has plunged headlong into the Balkan imbroglio—not, however, in order to end it but rather to force it to agree to the central aim of Serbian expansionism: the carving of Bosnia into distinct “ethnic” units.

A U.S. “peace plan,” provisionally agreed upon by the warring parties on Sept. 8, calls for Bosnia to be divided between a “Croat-Muslim” Federation and a Bosnian Serb “Republic” which will be allowed to unite with Ser­ bia. Though many of its details remain to be fleshed out, the U.S. plan is being widely criticized in Bosnia and elsewhere for allowing the perpetrators of genocide to achieve a “Greater Serbian” state.

In true Orwellian fashion, this “peace plan” was im­ posed on the contending parties through an intense bombing campaign by NATO against Serb positions in early September. The bombing campaign was supposedly undertaken to punish the Serbs for launching a murder­ ous mortar attack upon unarmed civilians in Sarajevo on Aug. 26, 1995. Yet the real aim of the bombing, however, was to force the Serbs to the negoti­ ating table and pressure the Bosnian government into accepting a plan that would plunge Bosnia into partition of their country.

The U.S. plan is fraught with contradictions and the ongoing negotiations over it could unravel in light of the military advances being made by Bosnia and Croatia, on the one hand, and the opposition of many Bosnian Muslims to the plan, on the other. To discern the direction of events to come, however, it is necessary to understand the meaning of the last two months, especially because the NATO bombing campaign has fooled many into thinking the U.S. has in­ tervened in order to support Bosnia.

THE PATH TO PARTITION?

The process which led to the latest U.S. foray into Bosnia dates from late July, when Clinton instructed

(continued on page 7)

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Women speak out from NGO forum in China

Message from East Timor women to conference:

Nearly 30 years ago Indonesia invaded my country, East Timor, planes dropping paratroopers from the skies and artillery in the streets. As a woman, I can only imagine the horror women suffered. We women have gone through anything a military invasion and a military occupation machine sets up: rape, imprisonment and death.

During the most difficult days in the late 1970s and early 80s, the Indonesian military used to kill husbands and children in front of the wives and mothers, and literally burned them to death. In Indonesia, we had to sortBy sex: women and girls, then bury their husbands and children. Unborn babies were disfigured from the womb, and all this was done to respectable women. Even the military would smash against rocks!

My most moving moment was meeting a 95-year-old woman who said, "I came to Beijing with the International Lesbian and Gay Rights Alliance. I'm here to challenge people with my very presence. One thing really terrorism people with my very presence. One thing really


counties from Bonnie, Rwanda, Algeria and Korea ("comfort women" survivors of World War II) about genocidal rape and systematic sexual abuse. The same day Women's Binh held a vigil and march that attracted thousands of women, when hailed by Chinese of­

The horrific accounts of women caught in the cross­

fire of warfare, including those described here, have set the stage for the women of East Timor to speak to the conference. Women have gone through anything a military invasion and a military occupation machine sets up: rape, imprisonment and death.

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Southern labor battles anti-union assaults.
Alabama union-buster hired at Delta Pride

Indiana, Miss. — The struggle with Delta Pride catfish company is a continuous fight. We’re in new con­
tractions and we’re determined to hold the line we’ve got and continue to grow. In 1990 we went on strike be­
cause management at Delta Pride was misusing the grievance procedure in order to avoid the contract’s provisions.
They were zeroing in on people who had representation until the decision. We’re still going off the decision from the Labor Board and hope we win. We delivered her petition for her during company time.

We delivered a petition for her during company time. The chief steward’s friend, a supervisor, handed her the petition for her during company time. She had them sign the paper by saying: sign this if you want to give people holidays. The insurance they are trying to get the union out because they do want us to band together in Fayette County.

Our aim is getting paid off by the company by having her piece rate go up. As long as they keep us under, they have no reason to fight us. They are telling us we have to stay out for a year I lose my seniority. If I get well and go back to work, after one month they shoot me back over within the catfish industry. If I get sick and don’t come back, they have me sign a paper that says I want to work in the catfish industry, that I want to work in the catfish industry, that I want to work in the catfish industry.

Our county is getting worse. We have to stay out for a year I lose my seniority. If I get well and go back to work, after one month they shoot me back over within the catfish industry. If I get sick and don’t come back, they have me sign a paper that says I want to work in the catfish industry, that I want to work in the catfish industry.

I want to ask this: is there an avenue left to the working people to take back the governance of their union? Labor laws in general, they gave a $1.50 per hour raise after three years of no raises. They want you to be very, very unhappy. They want you to be very, very unhappy. They want you to be very, very unhappy.

When UP was finally recognized as the “black hole” that it is, the employees decided to turn to organized la­

can work on the inside doing food, prep and other things. And you have the people who work on the inside doing food, prep and other things. And you have the people who work on the inside doing food, prep and other things. And you have the people who work on the inside doing food, prep and other things.

They want us to come back to work on the inside and hired on the outside. If they can get these guys in to work inside during their down time, they can lay off the supervisors. They can lay off the supervisors. They can lay off the supervisors. They can lay off the supervisors.

In the meantime, the work pace has been sped up. They gave a $1.50 per hour raise after three years of no raises. They want you to be very, very unhappy. They want you to be very, very unhappy. They want you to be very, very unhappy.

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One thing that’s true about these people is that they try to put us in the position where we have no voice in our workplace, better insurance coverage, to be treated with respect rather than as a brainwashed idiot and the right to go to arbitration for seven months to a year. Meanwhile the company is working to get the company to grieve these.

That’s a big thing. They are trying to take us back about 20 years. There is still fight left in the people. There is still fight left in the people. There is still fight left in the people.

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The present vilification of Jiang Qing as the leader of the “gang of four”—which pictures the allegorical radicals as Jiang's main power base—has been extended to the Chinese verve of catastrophes until sues Hua Guofeng—tells a great deal more about the contradi-

tions of Dr. Mao's “brilliant works” than from the lengthy, dis-

tant, genuine revolutionary feminist viewpoint and actual

AN ASSASSINATION SQUAD SQUARE PACT: "THE PEOPLE ARE WITH YOU: DEDICATED to the youth who are participating in the Hunger Strikers' group for democracy and freedom." 

A Tiananmen Square poster that reads: "The People Are With You: Dedicated to the youth who are participating in the Hunger Strikers' group for democracy and freedom."
Queer notions: Notes for a Marxist-Humanist philosophy of les/bi/gay revolution

by Jennifer Peirce

As the conservative Right swiftly batters its anti-humanism and racism in California's Proposition 187 and the attacks on affirmative action, note that this same Right is busy confronting the Left for quite some time. It was in the midst of combating the anti-affirmative action that a spate of public demonstrations of conservative attacks on Leftists' personal character began to appear in the media.

Given the multiple urgencies of the present, it is fruitfully to clarify the philosophic ground and affirm the importance of queer perspectives in revolutionary struggle. Where and how are we committed to a total transformation of society, and the creation of genuinely new social relationships?

The present situation of queer peoples in the U.S. is a function of the “naturalization” of the “natural” family. Our community has enough money to be sought after by advertisers. There are more lesbian and gay entertainers, characters in movies, and more. But these also represent a massive capitulation to the status quo, an obfuscation of the existential human-materiality. In building subjectivity from the body, the materiality of queer reality is in a given, awaiting our philosophic self-development of it.

For instance, Adrienne Rich discusses the revolutionary dimension of love while introducing a new book (Hedonia). Am I reading love in a Hegelian-Jordanian sense? For example, whose work captures “moments or ways of being which might make love—in many dimensions—more possible?”

But our self-definition is not isolated in gay communitarianism. It is not just the way we are socialized into the whole society. For instance, when, in the language of the United Kingdom’s openly repressive Clause 28, our community is taught to repress or “prohibited family relationships,” our conscious choices are disparaged against an ideologically constructed family. Our “self-constructed” entrance into human relationships lays bare the social construction of “the family.”

The movement towards self-definition as lesbian and gay (excluding an entire personal identity rests simply classifying various sexual acts) began in the late 19th century, and didn’t reach the acceleration of its 1917 Russian revolution.

Given these origins, what we have is a liberation movement—a distinct movement of human self-definition—that began only after a philosophy of liberation had been formulated. What does it mean that gay and lesbian liberation movement? This is certainly deserving of a new continent of thought?

In a landmark article, gay scholar John D’Emilio speculated that capitalism created the material conditions for gay existence, by economically freeing people from familial obligations. He also calls on the movement of self-identified homosexuals to change the economic and institutional policies of capitalism, to end the illness of the ideology of freedom.

The movement towards self-definition as lesbian and gay (excluding an entire personal identity rests simply classifying various sexual acts) began in the late 19th century, and didn’t reach the acceleration of its 1917 Russian revolution.

For the development of self-identifying critical of the family, the de-mythologizing of the word “family,” and the self-identification of the family—which is the basis of heterosexism. Specifically, Marx suggests that Man/Woman relations points to the “character of relation” between man and woman as indicating the degree to which “man as a species has become human.” One could infer that the relation of male to female needs to be that of human to human, deflating gender and sexuality as the sole (or even primary) determinant of social relation; therefore, Marx is jettisoning the heterosexual assumption that “man is for woman—she is either a mother or a wife.”

Likewise, when Marx discusses, in his critique of Feuerbach, that “human materiality is necessary for a total uprooting of the old. In building subjectivity from the body, the materiality of queer reality is in a given, awaiting our philosophic self-development of it.”

Of course, Marx does not address the issue of gay liberation directly, but, as Dunayevskaya points out, this is because “there was no gay liberation movement” when he was alive. Given that Marx’s Marxism and Marxist-Humanism, as developed by Dunayevskaya, develops theory and philosophy from active forces of liberation, this is a crucial point. It is not Marx’s responsibility to be a seer, to name the future before the first future liberation causes. This renders the specific historic appearance of liberation quite interesting.

The dialectic (is) the materially active mode of change: “the dialectic (is) the non-separated, ceaseless movement, the absolutely fabulous chaos of ceaseless movement—a distinct movement of human self-definition.”

The simultaneity of force and reason is central to the movement of the Absolute Idea, our self-conscious entry into human relationships lays bare the social construction of “the family.”

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As Hegel said about the Absolute Idea, it is “not so feeble as merely to have a right to exist without actually ceasing to be, not a mere possibility of movement but a fixed, merely to have a right to exist without actually ceasing to be, not a mere possibility of movement but a fixed reality, forces and passions which feel themselves to be fettered by that society.”

I would say that the revolutionary possibility of lesbian and gay liberation in the importance of revolutionary passion that includes both the love and creativity in a drive for the transformation of society and the creation of new human relations.

Feminist theorist Barbara Gittings once speculated that “lesbian reformism could not be submerged by the left” but I say that our ability, as a community, to simultaneously many organizations, to the most important thing new that we add to the self-development of the 19th and 20th Century.

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Richard Wright today

On Labor Day, during the evening news television program (PBS) honored Richard Wright by saying “Richard Wright: Black Boy.” PBS released little advance publicitv- y regarding this event. Interestingly, today the media has only a lukewarm interest in Richard Wright. “Richard Wright: Black Boy” was a best seller and his entire biography Black Boy and articles aroused the hostility of the government during the Cold War. Thus, the criticism and scandal from the Black elite.

Many journalists defined Richard “Black Boy,” “takes us on a journey through Wright’s life, starting with his birth on a plantation in Mississippi in 1908...” and then contrasted his life to another. Lacy’s story was converted into a film using old newsworthy coverage from the 1930s and 40s. Lacy and other those include the many stories and interviews. He included people who knew Wright personally and others who have opinions and theories about Wright.

It could be hard to choose where to begin Wright’s sto- ry. I would have preferred to start at the moment in 1939 when he discovered the character “Bigger Thomas” and wrote the novel Native Son. This was the turning point in Wright’s creative and intellectual life. From this point, one could trace the themes and ideas that occupied Wright’s consciousness and were woven into the plot of his novels. I thought that Maryyama Graham, Joyce Ann, and Michael Dyson were obscuring the complexity of Wright’s life and work.

Wright had become an important American novelist and his “Big Boy” had left home. The great Black migrati- on from the South was over, Wright had entered the world of his dreams and he could not find himself. He joined the Como class. Party, as Margaret Walker said, with the hope that it had a solution to the race problem and then he discovered “that it had no solution.” And the Negro, as Sylvia Clients has written, is a “living, urban, sub-plan Black youth. From this point, one could begin in May 1940 and which is now an undeniable feature of American society. The greatness of Wright is that he described the underclass not as pure negativity, but as a force that could oppose the existing society. This puts Wright on a par with Karl Marx when he said: “Bigger is not a specific single individual, but a personification of the relations of a specific society and, at the same time, he is the index of all working-class men who are cur- rently being crushed by an apathetic system of political-economic power structures and circumscribing press and public opinion of U.S. imperialist policy.” The actual Powell-wards is that the very post-Vietnam-era doctrine of integrating military and political power that has been tested and made operational for the 21st century. This is No Niles North of the Harlem river.

Thus, the last thing in which we can afford to indulge is the notion of “the hero’s journey.” Powell drew up and executed U.S. imperialist policy for the last 15 years for presidents. More im- portantly, Powell worked on the post-Vietnam-era doctrine of integrating military and political power that has been tested and made operational for the 21st century.

The explosive combination of drugs like cocaine, hero- in, and alcohol has been used as a weapon against the minds of our youth. “Black men are labeled threatening and dangerous. Anc...on a midnight creep. Construction, means a high level of much needed mass re- volt. Alcohol and drugs allow us to forget the abuses of the capitalist system practices a form of apartheid within the Black and Latino community. This poverty exists because the system is in crisis. This is destruc- tion, means a high level of much needed mass re- volt. Alcohol and drugs allow us to forget the abuses of the capitalist system practices a form of apartheid within the Black and Latino community. This poverty exists because the system is in crisis. This is destruc- tion, means a high level of much needed mass re- volt. Alcohol and drugs allow us to forget the abuses of the capitalist system practices a form of apartheid within the Black and Latino community. This poverty exists because the system is in crisis. This is destruc- tion, means a high level of much needed mass re- volt. Alcohol and drugs allow us to forget the abuses of the capitalist system practices a form of apartheid within the Black and Latino community. This poverty exists because the system is in crisis. This is destruc- tion, means a high level of much needed mass revol-
Strikers cost Detroit newspapers dearly

Detroit—On Saturday evening, Sept. 30, over 500 strikers from the six newspaper unions and their supporters rallied at the Detroit riverfront printing plant. According to the strike command, the lockout had cost Detroit readers four days of newspapers. The strike was the result of the companies' refusal to negotiate on the contract that expired in July.

The DNA's aim is from the start to break the union, organizing line teams to stop the assembly line....Instead of management devoting time and energy to controlling the workforce directly, workers control another control mechanism, began after Graham left. The practice, of team concept: workers do know best how to do their jobs should be done. Capital merges that truth they are reaching the audience they want. Even an independent audit, the papers will be unable to establish more in advertising and circulation. More than 200 ad.

The spin on newspaper strike stories has been so obvious that even total outsiders question the credibility of the DNA and New Press and Free. "They have no credibility. It's right down the tubes," said one editor who like many of his colleagues—who are now producing the two papers in the absence of reporters—is working six days a week and 10 and 15 hour days without any premium pay. But the newspaper managers are pouring millions of dollars into prosecuting the strike and risking millions more in advertising and circulation. More than 200 ad-

Stop the harassment!

Chicago—The problem is one of our foremen at Si.

Under the joint operating agreement, approved by the

We gave up the raise, 140 an hour, until January. We're tired of being threatened. When my kids are day 32. It's put a sense of urgency on the struggle with Staley. We tried all along to have this sense of urgency, but now we want other people to sense it and call Pepsi and Coke and tell them to dump Staley. Instead of calling them, we're going to send letters and petitions, and if you know someone's life is on the line. Since the fast began, we know that letters and calls to Pepsi and Coke have been reaching them. We need to get this agreement in contract, and he's not doing this to kill himself! We're tired of the Deplorables. We've been supported by members of the local, spouses, and community people who signed up for one to three days to fast and even took turns eating for three days. On Wed., Dan threatened to end the strike if the company would not accept the contract, and Dan started. He announced it would be open-ended.

A new line has been created to take in the newspapers from paying taxes for equipment and machinery. Staley applied for a five-year exemption in 1989 supposedly to re-

International Marxist-Humanists

Chicago, IL 60605
P.O. Box 3345
510 658 1448

BCM Box 3514, London, England WC1N 3XX

How to contact

We're tired of being threatened. When my kids are 12 erly shift, we're making sure that they all get all the things they get in the plant. We're now on the three get tired and don't put the meat in correctly, she fixes it. She also takes out green meat. A few weeks ago one of the Polish women from another line came over to help pick up pockets the extra wom-

Sinai Kosher worker

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ON OUR PERSPECTIVES: CAN THE IDEA OF FREEDOM REMOZILIZE TODAY’S MASS MOVEMENTS...

Reading the 1995 Plenum Call and the works of Dunayevskaya was like receiv­
ing clear and fresh water from the mountains, from an ignored and hidden spring. Imperialism has globalization hur­
ged to the point where the ruling class offers them as scapegoats to the workers, and if workers have no income how can they buy all the stuff? Surely I’m not the only one bemused by all the "post-industrial" talk. The computer is.

If you put your finger on it: computerization and robots replace living labor but the plastics have to be fabricated from petroleum, which has to be extract­
ed and transported, and metals, which have to be smelted and transported. The post-industrialists also don’t seem to notice that we continue to need to eat and that growing the food that is transported requires food to go on.

Our task is not to articulate a philoso­phy of working people. It is to teach them how to articulate their own ideas, so they can critique those ideas for themselves. We must teach how to think, not what to think. The best teachers are those who are able to imagine by example. We should therefore be more concerned with developing a practicing philosophy that we hope will inspire others to action.

The paper has been of great use to me. It tells you about the world — not only what’s going on but what the future is going to be. Most of my friends get the paper and it is something they read it every week. Long live the struggle!

I’m disturbed by Farrakhan’s "Million Man March," but not because of wheth­
er he called things by their "right" name. What concerns me is the whole anti­
woman massaging, with women told to stay in the background and share their wealth with the unprivileged. We have created a country within a country — ying-yang — which explodes on the whole.

What Raya Dunayevskaya called "the psychology of Jim Crowism" in Ameri­
can Civilization on Trial is reinforced by the police, a standing army that tells us.

The police, the sleeping giant in the United States, was brought into being by the ruling class not for the Black community, he is the police, the standing army that tells us what the Black intellectuals and a large part of the community goes for?

The xenism of this society deeply worries me.

It’s sad that Mark Fuhrman’s tape rep­

I'm amazed at the propo­
cision that this is a crisis of immigrants and refugees who have con­
trived their own language and richness of experience. They have come to this country full of hope and desire for a better future. They are not a free ride.

I ignore anyone who seems to think that immigrants have no desire to learn Eng­
l. They are keenly aware of the doors that are slammed in their face when they cannot function in the dominant language, but they also quickly realize that it is as much the color of their skin as it is their linguistic competencies which result in this discrimination.

right language which surpasses all barriers and is understood the world over by all people. This is the language which we must be preserved.

Mr. Giuliani, is depicted elsewhere as a liber­

tal, a standing army that tells us what the growing fas­

No matter how well "reasoned," they are under the guise of a rationalization for acts of sheer madness. The Absolute Freedom and Terror of hitting a vanquished foe ushered in not only the nu­

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UNIONS

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other 400 million people will improve—Lech Walesa’s. At this rate in 600

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control of 30% of Bosnia, have brought this closer to fruition. The Croatian forces have shown no inclination to integrate the lands they have seized from the Bosnian Serbs. In fact, they have begun to fortify them.

Tudjman let the cat out of the bag at a state dinner in Sarajevo when he responded to the question of what Bosnians might look like in ten years by drawing a map on the back of a menu showing Bosnia divided into four parts. Indeed, at the state dinner in London this former Communist leader has been "reborn" as a narrow nationalist owed to Milosevic as "one of us".

This is not the first time the Western powers have promised to throw their weight behind the Bosnian government. Thus, even though the Bosnian government found itself boxed into a corner by the Vance-Owen plan, the Owen-Stoltenberg plan and the "Contact Group" plan of 1994, the Western powers and President Slobodan Milosevic, NATO agreed to call off the air strikes on Serb positions unless they agreed to withdraw their weapons from Sarajevo.

Many Sarajevans wondered what the bombing campaign in exchange for a promise from the Serbs to withdraw their heavy artillery 12.5 miles to connect a philosophy of liberation with revolutionary practice. In each case, to dismiss the Bosnian struggle as one more form of narrow nationalism instead of grasping the truth is based.

This is not only due to the external pressures applied by the State Department and Kremlin in spewing invective against Bosnia—especially when, as currently envisioned, it is to be carved up in four parts. That is precisely why we must go beyond the motto of "no victors, no vanquished" that is central to it. The idea of a multiethnic society can be realized. The original spark and incentive of the Bosnian struggle, the idea of multiethnicity, leads one to embrace the stance of the Islamicists. In each case, to dismiss the Bosnian struggle as one more form of narrow nationalism instead of grasping the truth is based.

Though there are many lessons that can be learned from the crisis in Bosnia, three especially stand out in light of the U.S. military intervention as the ground for this view.

1) Today's events prove the emptiness of taking the "peace process" seriously. The U.S. military intervention was the ground for this view. Yet the bombing was directed, at least in part, at the Serbs to ensure that they would come to the negotiating table on U.S. terms. The intense negotiations that took place behind the scenes as the bombs fell reveals the real reason for the bombing campaign in exchange for a promise from the Serbs to withdraw their heavy artillery from Sarajevo.

2) Tito's legacy is still very much alive today. The inten...
by Maya Jhanji

I recently ran across a new book called Anarchism: Left, Right, Green (1994) by Ulrike Heider. Since all the critical thinking regarding anarchism has made the issue of anarchism such a pressing one, I was interested to note there are books that took up both left and right-wing anarchism.

What makes Heider so compelling is her unflinching analysis of the whole gamut of anarchism, from the oversensitivity of anarchists to any critique and to an excess from the other side. Other writers call for a critical engagement with anarchism much like Marx’s in The German Ideology or like the Frankfurt School with its critique of the political nihilism of the right.

Heider begins by situating her book within the context of the current wave of interest in anarchism. She notes that anarchism has historically been an alternative to both Communism and free-market capitalism, she says, i.e., “making life easier.” However, “the broadest definition of anarchism is the rejection of the ‘market,’ the system which controls the economy.”

Since then Farragut has gotten a new principal, the umbrellas of the United States.

proached them, they leveled criticisms at the deceptive proposals to create small “alternative schools.”

Moreover, Daley chose to announce his new discipline proposal to save his life had made it too embarrassing for the judge hearing arguments for a new trial—the need to be more “vigilant” of ideological shifts. Fast-growing national and international movements to free Mumia and calls on all of us to continue and deepen our activities.

Japan anti-nuke solidarity

Tokyo—Fifty years after the bombing of Hiroshima, the anti-nuclear demonstration held on Aug. 6. Around 1,600 workers, students and citi­zens, rallied at the Education Hall in Tokyo. A voice named “Nuclear Free World” said the book in order to legitimate his authoritarianism. Two more were shot in thenees of public­­ized race riots, after the rivalry between a Black gang and a Latino gang erupted into a brawl at a school assembly. The cop says that Jacobs, who was Black, pulled a weapon on him, but only a cigarette lighter was found at the scene.

Griffin. The cop says that Jacobs, who was Black, pulled a weapon on him, but only a cigarette lighter was found at the scene.

No ‘stay’ in struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal

Editor’s note: On Sept. 15, Judge Sabo denied Mumia Abu-Jamal the right to a new trial. This brings new urgency to the battle to free Mumia and calls on all of us to continue and deepen our activities.

Philadelphia—Some 5,000 people demonstrated on Aug. 17 in a protest to save Mumia Abu-Jamal from the death penalty. Mumia is denied not only the right to live but also the right to be exonerated and freed from prison. The motion for a new trial has since been denied. It will now go through appeals.

The demonstration came a few days after his execution, scheduled for Aug. 17, was temporarily stayed by the judge hearing arguments for a new trial—the same judge who presided over his railroad to convicting. Past-growing national and international move­ments to free Mumia and calls on all of us to continue and deepen our activities.

The demonstrators marched through downtown Phila­delphia, waving banners, holding signs, and shouting lines that “the 1860s had taken care of social justice issues once and for all.” Following this was a video on the beating of Rodney King and over ten poems and skits. Some of the performances were taken from the actual text of Mumia’s book: one characterized the present generation as “the children of the Los Angeles rebellion” and that “we are free to do what we wish.”

This event should be performed all over the city as a harbinger of things to come; another portrayed the rac­ial divide between the cop and the black man.

The march of one thousand demonstrators took place in Miami on July 26 to decry the killing of 17-year-old Tor­rey Jacobs by police exactly one week earlier. Jacobs was shot in a Coral Gables parking lot by officer Charlie Griffin. The cop says that Jacobs, who was Black, pulled a weapon on him, but only a cigarette lighter was found at the scene.

Black youth threw rocks and bottles at police on July 26 and 27 in Indianapolis after the savage beating of 21­year-old Danny Sales in the course of an arrest. The re­sponse of Mayor Steve Goldsmith was to dispatch a force of riot police to cordone off the predominantly Black neighborhood surrounding the intersection of 30th and Meridian, the area where the arrest occurred, for several days.

What we need to recuperate, she argues, is the radical politics of the German government under the nazi­tumellen of the United States.

—International Anti-War Assemblies in Japan

South Korean students battle riot police in Seoul on Sept. 28. The cops attacked the 300 student march­ers with tear gas on the day of the inauguration of the homes of former Presidents Chun Doo-hwan and Lee Myung-bak. The two former generals turned up to view Chun and Roh be punished for the murder of 230 ci­vilians during the pro-democracy Kwangju uprising of 1980.

Youth in Revolt

by Kevin Michaels

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—Sonia Bergonzi
Government cut 'but workers bleed'

Chicago—On the 29th floor of the federal building where the government's personnel office used to be, all the desks are gone. To let close observers hear, it can say hear it, to no one and everyone at once, "Welcome to the automated job information service." Until this week, workers had no idea that this office was even in existence.

For two and a half years Clinton and Gore have been "reinventing" the government. That means only one thing: to cut jobs. The pay has not been forgotten, but even before the Republican landslide last November, our politicians had the habit of saying that those who had not done something from either the PATCO debacle or the NAFTA flasco, have kept quiet during this onslaught while others have joined in on a "collaborative" role as "partners" in running the government. Now when a so-called "Public Service Recognition Week" is held, the House threatens to shut the whole government down, the job cuts being forced down our throats by the Republican leadership. And yet, during the Ike- and Lyndon-days, taxes look like child's play.

These cuts are not about reducing the deficit. While seemingly focused on cutting "administrative overhead," they are in fact preparing for huge layoffs, the Immigration and Naturalization Service being hired so many new immigration agents that you might have been preparing for another Gulf War! And lastly anyone think being "fed up" with them, "take them to the cleaners" from taking "our" jobs, just remember that the INS knew about that slave labor camp in El Monte.

"They only need to look at some of the cuts already ap-

S.F. march for health care

San Francisco—Over 10,000 health care workers and concerned advocates marched down Laguna St. from the Laguna Gate Bridge, Aug. 20. They were protesting runaway profit-grouping that has been structuring throughout the health care system. "We, the nurses, one nurse put it, "To them managed health care means only managed profit." On the march, Service Employees Union Local 250 members, health care workers, physicians, and others came together to create a new category, "sub-acute care," in order to kick patients out of hospit-

Starvation welfare

Oakland—As of Oct. 1, about 11,000 Alameda County welfare recipients will see their general assis-
tance payments cut by 20 percent. This was the latest in a series of cuts that also includes 18 percent the previous month—the lowest among the Bay Area's urban counties, much lower than San Francisco's $545 and Santa Clara's $830.

Designed to save the county $90 million this fiscal year, the cuts are part of an attempt by county and state to get in fear of sparking a migration of poor people. Many wel-

VOICES FROM WITHIN THE PRISON WALLS

d.Y. A. Sheldon

Throughout my incarceration in this dungeon of mis-
er and shame, I have found that the best way to keep the guards and fellow prisoners is the psychological games prisoners and their lackies utilize in harassment and repression out of this system of exploitation. These are the major part of the ruling-class scheme in oppressing those who live in the prison system.

The severity which a prisoner may endure depends upon the level of rebellious attitude he/she has towards the system, though the majority of the prison population is real-

Gays protest bashing

Chicago—Sept. 28. Over 1000 people rallied and marched through the streets of the Lakeview neighbor-

Some of the 79 Thai workers who toiled behind razor-

NEWS & LETTERS

OCTOBER 199

Editorial

(continued from page 1)

tional, rather than an exclusively southern region. This year’s rides, completed by a group of 131,000 cyclist, spread the entire state of Florida. The event begins in Miami and travels with the wind and the sun. The event raises money to support AIDS research.

Several other events occur throughout the year, including the South Florida AIDS Walk, the Miami Beach AIDS Walk, and the Florida AIDS Day. These events raise awareness and funds for AIDS research and support organizations.

NEWS & LETTERS

OCTOBER 199

The War on the Poor

In his Grundrisse, Karl Marx described the England <

IDEOLOGICAL WAR ON THE POOR

In his Grundrisse, Karl Marx described the England <

- Sharon Cannery

Edial (continued from page 1)

At the same time, other measures are being taken to reinforce this coercive program: 1) legislation now before Congress will gut Medicare, the only medical insurance available to the poor. 2) 'discrim-

- Sharon Cannery

Editorial

(continued from page 1)

What separates that era of government intervention in the present case, is that the state and local governments that would have given the workers and families the right to organize and take collective action are either no more, or their police powers are severely restrained. It is not the state but the corporations and their agents that are the primary target of the workers' struggle.

The War on the Poor was not the first ideological attack seeking to demonize Black men and women, and it will not be the last. The War on the Poor is a direct attack on the idea of Black people as a nation within a nation, as Black community, as Black family. It is an ideological attack designed to break down the Black community and divide it into small, isolated segments, each of which can be more easily managed and controlled. It is also an attack on the Black youth, who are the future of the Black community, and the future of the world. It is an attack on the Black youth because they are the future of the world, and because they are the future of the world, they are the future of the Black community.

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Pan-Africanism and the British 'Left'

by James D. Young

In October 1945 the Fifth Pan-African Congress took place in Manchester, England. It was the largest congress of the African continent and made an important contribution to the political development of the African continent. The congress was called to discuss the economic and political problems of African peoples and to call for the establishment of a Pan-African movement. The congress was attended by representatives from many countries, including African leaders, intellectuals, and workers. The congress also received a number of African ideas, including the pro-Irish and pro-Pan-Africanist views of the leaders of the African continent.

The congress was a significant event in the history of Pan-Africanism. It marked a new direction in the struggle for national liberation and independence in Africa. The congress called for the establishment of a Pan-African movement to fight for the rights of African peoples and to promote the development of African countries. The congress also called for the establishment of a Pan-African Union to promote economic and cultural cooperation among African countries.

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Latin teens tell of free trade zone hell

Chicago—Central American teens Judith Viera and Claudia Molina are contaminants in the free trade zone garment factories that assemble clothes for The Gap. In a recent interview, Judith said, "The worst part to me is that this supposed benevolence corporation is more than willing to inflict brutal poverty and slavery conditions on its workers to get its clothes for less."

The free trade zones, or maquiladoras, permit U.S. corporations to manufacture in foreign countries without incurring import or export tariffs. The price must grow is high.

Until she was fired for joining the union, Judith worked in the Mandarin garment factory in the San Marcos Free Trade zone in Mexico. "One day the foreman came to me and said that I was fired. I asked him why, and he said I was union. I heard the same story from my sisters in the U.S. They are asking them to contact the support of our government," explained Claudia.

"We have come here for help because we do not have the support of our government," explained Claudia. She and Judith have turned to their union brothers and sisters in the U.S. They are asking them to contact the company to contact with the local employer and demand to end their union-cruishing.

-Chicago unionist

FOR PENNIES AN HOUR

"Inside the plants it is hot and they play loud music to make us work faster, but the workers began fainting." A co-worker of Villa's, Jose Curiel, suffered the same fate. "We are allowed to use the restrooms twice during a 14-hour shift, and we are timed while we go. We are only allowed five minutes," she said. "If you are one minute late, you will lose a penny from your pay."

"I worked in the Mandarin clothing plant that contracts with Fruit of the loom, earning women workers—who make up the majority of the workers—$180 in combined wages.

"With so many families unable to afford meat, working families are forced to live in tin shacks without running water or electricity. And with so many unable to afford meat, working families are forced to live in tin shacks without running water or electricity."

-Young Central American workers

Deadbeat mainstay of an immigrant worker

New York—Welcome to the American dream, even though you don't speak English. We know that in our immediate environment it is impossible to find the economic means to live as human beings. Since these are the alternatives we are offered, I regret I miss my mother's apron as I use my not. But I can just get that job, I'll be fine.

Life here is more convenient. I take the train to work. I wash my own clothes, and I don't have to worry about getting a job the next day. But I still can't enjoy reality I have nothing, nothing but my labor to sell to society. And I don't have a family. I can't write home or use me or not. But I can just get that job, I'll be fine.

-Indian immigrant worker

Worker visitors challenge Chipas in struggle

Los Angeles—The 1994 Chiapas rebellion, a reaction to the unfair policies of NAFTA and one-party rule, set the country on a course that could lead to a new revolution.

"The Zapatistas and the EZLN, the armed faction of the insurgent militia, have prompted a human rights observers and peacekeepers within the community. The community where we come from, the Zapatista and the EZLN, the armed faction of the insurgent militia, have prompted a human rights observers and peacekeepers within the community as a response to the unfair policies of NAFTA and one-party rule."

-Young Central American workers

Chicago villagers voted in August to continue the rebellion.

Bianca fees workers

New York—For four months, Roberto Villa worked 10 hours a day, seven days a week, on a mushroom farm in the midtown Manhattan, picking and cleaning mushrooms for $30,000 worth of shirts in one day, but take home only $300 for the much needed solutions to living in harmony with the earth, working productively within communities, and integrating the political and the spiritual in such a way that we can learn to protect and celebrate the modern life while at the same time preserving our political, spiritual and cultural identities.

-Human rights activist

OCTOBER 1995

Fire breathed into UFW

Salinas, Cal.—Over 5,000 farmworkers and supporters marched Sept. 17 to kick off a new organizing campaign and the first to demand $15 an hour for Salinas valley vegetable growers like Bruce Church. The march marked the 50th anniversary of vegetable workers beginning their historic 1948 strike for unionization.

"We are demanding a new voice in the operation of the union. We are demanding a new voice in the operation of the union."

-Young Central American workers
Global warming: deaths in Chicago, capital's momentum

Chicago—After this summer's heat wave that killed over 700 people, few in Chicago doubt the reality of global warming. A 1994 report by a United Nations panel of 2,500 scientists from around the world concluded that global warming is a real threat. The increasing scientific consensus is that we are seeing the beginning of the climatic effects.

Theorists and scientists predict rising sea levels that will inundate some coastal cities, island and wetlands, creating millions of environmental refugees; frequent and more severe droughts, heat waves, floods and loss of some forests. Sometimes, scientists say, China has boldly decided to slash funds for reducing emissions of greenhouse gases! They have been slicing funds for research in climate change just as in every environmental area key are cutting research funds and restricting the public's right to know.

One pitfall of the environmental movement being on the offensive, as it is now, is the risk of our goals being narrowed to the protection of legal and regulatory gains won year by year. "Such a narrowly pragmatic view is potentially paralyzing," warns Bill McKibben (Not So Fast, New York Times Magazine, July 26), precisely because it's possible to avoid McKibben's "the only way out of this dilemma is to rethink what we mean by development.

The problem is that McKibben cannot conceive of a fundamental change in social relations, and therefore neglects the class basis of "civilization's momentum." Consequently the radical change he advocates is confined to individual behavior, as if that did not grow out of a social base. The agenda is one of reducing population and living standards: "an all-out drive for deep thrift, for self-restraint, for families." McKibben's economic critique is that "we are "adicted to growth," and the concept of development he advocates differs only quantitatively from the dominant one: "The systemic environmentalism...has one question to ask: 'How much is enough?'' How much convenience, how many progressions to the new?"

McKibben exhibits the capitalist ideology that equates living standards with consumption, and that submerges all other dimensions of life. This is a very familiar line of reasoning, siding away accumulation of capital. In capitalism, production drives environmental destruction, and it is prevention for production, and not for human needs. The overriding fact is that world carbon dioxide emissions continue to rise.

The sphere of consumption is bound to the needs of production. For instance, dependence on cars is built into the physics of such dependence, approved by the greed of real estate "developers," racist white flight and capital flight from other less toxic areas. Consequently, nothing short of a revolutionary re-structuring of society, from production to man/woman relations, can stop this delusional and self-serving momentum. It is true that we are faced with systemic environmental crises, from global warming to toxic dumpsites, but they are a radically new kind of development. Narrowing the new concept of development to austerity only allows the right to be in charge of the man development.

—Franklin Dimitriev

Anti-Gingrich fightback

Chicago—i went to a protest rally against Newt Gingrich who was in town "willing tax breaks" for the rich, as one of the signs said, with a dinner fundraiser for the Republicans. What stood out was an unfortunate absence of youth, but a wonderfully strong presence of Black and white senior citizens from at least three different communities.

They were shouting as loud as they could till their voices were hoarse, and shaking their fists, but Newt didn't notice. One Black senior said to me that she was not so much for herself, but for the young people whose welfare benefits have already been cut to an unlivable standard. She said when the Republican plan goes into effect, it's going to be even worse; this "is nothing but class warfare.

Many of the seniors were wearing their retiree AAW jackets and hats. The Teamsters were there too, as well as SEIU members. But most of the older people together at a demonstration, their militancy made sense when I thought about all the struggles they have been in throughout their lives—from the civil rights movement to the union movements.

There were also a lot of people in wheelchair protesting the cuts in disability who appeared to be in a stand-off with the cops who were trying to push them back. A cop even bumped into one of the women and trapped her between it and the curb.

On my way home, there was a man who didn't have an arm, he was half sitting, half laying on the side of the road, his arms, head- and speech; he was half sitting, half laying on platform of the "EI" bag for money. It made me think: What will happen after these cuts get even deeper, after the Republicans get their way? The only answer is that we have to go on fighting.

—Sonia Bengarzi

Why this special 16-page News & Letters?

In the August-September issue of News & Letters we shared with you the Draft of our Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for the 1990s, the need for "an idea of freedom to re-mobilize today's mass movements?" At a moment when we confront nothing less than a proud stage in the ruckus' way — both abroad as seen in our lead on Bosnia, and at home as in our editorial on the war on drugs, the question is clear that the need for a revolutionary new beginning allows for no separation between theory and practice, as we have been trying to do here. "Politics and "outside," philosophy and organization. It is why we consider it important to share with you the presentation that we wrote ("Civilization's Basic Reparations"), and ask for your participation in the decisions reached at the National Gathering held in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend.

Our perspectives for the year ahead revolve around the focuses of the three sessions:

First, what we call "politicization," which we have defined as the vanguardist practice of program-hatching, and means the needed concretization of the philosophy of revolution for our age in all our activities and discussions with as many as we can reach.

Second, the writing and publishing of a Statement on the Black Dimension for the 1990s, the need for which is underlined, on the one hand, by the stark reality of two societies, sharply divided, that reflect the crisis of capitalism today, and on the other, by the new pressures and forces we have seen arising — as witness the organizing activities of Black women in the South that you have read about in our pages.

And third, a new Collection of Writings by Raya Dunayevskaya on the Dialectic, the study of which we see as what can point us beyond today's retrogression toward the new beginning the revolutionary movement is demanding.

It was the output of material from both "inside" and "outside" that followed the National Gathering that impelled us to publish this special 16-page issue as both a manifestation of the determination not to retreat, but to expand in the face of today's retrogression, and an appeal to all leaders to help us advance in a resounding affirmative "Can the idea of freedom re-mobilize today's mass movements?" It can help in a number of ways:

- A financial contribution will help us cover the $500 for printing, and several hundred more for postage and dissemination. They can help to pay for photo-copy fees for this special issue cost.

- You can send this issue to a friend or library through a gift sub, or order a small bundle to distribute in your area.

- Most of all, we need the contribution of your ideas, your participation in the discussion that only began at the Labor Day meeting and will be worked out in the year ahead.

Why this special 16-page News & Letters issue?
Canadian police attack native peoples' occupation

The killing of Anthony (Dudley) George on Sept. 6 by Ontario Provincial Police revives attention on native peoples' struggles for land and life against the Canadian government. George was shot to death by the police during the occupation of the Kettle and Stoney Point Ghippewas. He was killed outside the park and two others with him, including a teenager, were wounded and arrested. Police have admitted not seeing any firearms among the occupation forces. The takeover began over land claims. The Kettle and Stoney Point Ghippewas is a First Nations reserve in the Huron region of Ontario. It is still happening. The occupation continues.

Sudanese student uprising

The Sudan, along with Iran a training ground for Islamic fundamentalists the world over, has suddenly had to face an internal, class conflict emerging from the very "masses" the fundamentalist reactionaries claim to represent. Responding to a decree allowing breed prices to rise 50% and to arrests of opposition leaders, thousands of Sudanese students came out into the streets of Khartoum and other cities to battle the regime beginning on Sept. 12, chanting slogans such as "The People Are Hungry" and "No to Peddlers of Religion." Attacked violently not only by police but also by fundamentalist goon squads armed with iron bars, the students, soon joined by the urban poor, gave a good account of themselves. At the end of the first day at least one fundamentalist thug died.

The military regime, propped up ideologically by the bloodily suppressed an armed, mainly Muslim, movement in 1980s, is battling the students for the survival of its oppressive, anti-libertarian social order.

The Zapatistas have not abandoned armed struggle. In September, the Zapatista delegation which was asked to lead the march while simultanously weakening Mexican government's position, demonstrated the same day, singing out not only in Francese but also Cubane. A day earlier, French commands had threatened the Greenpeace ships off Murmuro, arresting their crew, who were refusing to reveal the details behind the "对自己的" demonstration movement which has massive international support at times. This same sort of public itself is increasibly hostile to nuclear testing.

Israel-PLO agreement

The Sept. 24 agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization could prove to be a major turning point in the peace process begun two years ago. However, as we go to press, few details of the agreement have been made public.

In Papeete, capital of the French colony of Tahiti, there were mass demonstrations and clashes with riot police by youth. In the mistaken belief that Gaston Flosse, a top colonial official was on board, crowds attacked the French naval transport. The turning point of the uprising is the French President Jacques Chirac's promise to hold "referendum on independence" in two French territories in the Pacific region. In Tahiti roads were blocked and a general strike disrupted "Tia i ma," the pro-independence trade union federation. These Tahitian demonstrations were truly international, with delegations from numerous European countries, Latin America, other Pacific countries such as New Zealand and Australia, and most notably a large Japanese delegation which was asked to lead the march while simultaneously weakening the Mexican government's position.

In Mexico, two events underline the continuing social unrest.

In Chiapas, Zapatista negotiations have been reported. The agreement is expected to be a major turning point in the peace process begun two years ago. However, as we go to press, few details of the agreement have been made public.

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