

^t^heZapatistas

or 71 long years Mexico's ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) showed just how institutional it could be by bringing a reign of repressive terror to the indigenous peoples, peasants and workers of Mexico. By means of murder, extortion and intimidation, the PRI ruled with an iron fist until in July 2000 not even their notorious party machine was able to reverse the tide that brought Vicente Fox to power. Fox's arrival ushered in a false hope in Mexico that a resolution could be found to the 6 year struggle of the Zapatistas (the EZLN, or Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional) for "the recogni-

tion, within the constitution, of indigenous rights and culture" (Subcomandante Marcos, January 2001).

A NAFTA SURPRISE

The Zapatista army took everyone by surprise on January 1st, 1994. Timed to coincide with the first day of NAFTA, the North American free trade treaty, as a protest of it, they blew a hole in the celebrations. No one had heard of these indigenous peasant communities, they were "the voiceless". They began to make their voice heard, around the world. They initiated the anticapitalist movement, in the

sense that their initiatives have grown into Peoples Global Action, the first international organisation struggling against global neoliberalism. Ya basta!, the Italian white overalls movement, takes their name from a Zapatista slogan. Their bravery and will to continue their struggle against the odds has inspired thousands of activists around the world. Soon the government recovered from its surprise, and since then has pursued a campaign of back stabbing hypocrisy, signing peace accords whilst carrying out state sponsored murder. land occupations and looting. In 1997, for example, 45 women and children

CAPITALISM: A SILENT GENOCIDE

In a speech at last year's UN Convention Fidel Castro made the remark that capitalism had "made the insane sane". While recognising the undemocratic and anti-revolutionary nature of Cuba and Castro, a quick glance at the world can only confirm this. 30,000 children die every day due to mal-

nutrition and a lack of basic medication such as sugar solutions that cost around 1p per person. In Sierra Leone the average life expectancy is just 28, lower than it was in the Stone Ages! This is due to a war, one of many that wrack the planet, fueled by states' massive military spending. The environment stands on the brink of ruin, with the destruction of the world's forests, combined with the unrelenting consumption of fossil fuels leading to the Greenhouse effect. Many world scientists believe that this could end 'life as we know it' within the next 100 years. Billions of animals also suffer torture and cruelty



in the factory farms and medical research labs. And in this time of unprecedented technological potential 80% of the world has never even heard a dialling tone; there are more telephone lines in Manhattan than the whole of Africa. As Castro also stated we have "such an extraordinary capacity to produce riches and well-being, but never before have disparity and inequity been so profound in the world...the world economic order leaves out, demeans and degrades eighty percent of the entire world's population".

Yet the capitalist system, through the media and education system, presents a world that looks vastly different from this reality. We are bombarded with images of wealth and prosperity and on the rare occasion that a glimpse of the real world is shown, we are given the same old story of bread and justice being just around the corner. Any objections to the capitalist economic system and the neo-liberal state are dismissed as unrealistic, not practical and utopian. However, the recent anti-capitalist movement which has led to events such as Seattle and Prague is showing that people are no longer prepared to ignore this genocidal suffering that capitalism is inflicting on the world. Again as Castro puts it, "The

pictures of mothers and children under the scourge of droughts and other catastrophes in whole regions of Africa remind us of the concentration camps in Nazi Germany; they bring back memories of stacks of corpses and moribund men, women and children ... a system that is killing of hunger and curable diseases more people every three years than all those killed by World War II in six years". People are no longer accepting this barbaric system as inevitable and are striving for a system which will right these wrongs. We are in a better position to struggle for Socialism than for decades. There is a real chance for us to pull ourselves free from the chains of capitalism that Marx so often talked of. The anti-capitalist movement is exposing this silent genocide to the world and the first shoots of a socialist movement can be

seen growing fast through the cracks which are becoming all too apparent in the capitalist system. As socialists we should grasp this chance to end this terrible oppression as we shout Viva la Revolution!



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were massacred by pro-PRI paramilitaries while the police stood by and watched.

DO WE WANT THE POWER?

The Zapatista leaders, and many of their supporters, say "we do not want

to struggle for power". They say they are a new kind of organisation that breaks out of the old models and limitations of the "old left", with its parties and struggle for power. What this means is that they have been driven back into the hills by the power of the capitalist state. There's no way to deal with the capitalists' power except to create a power of our own - to resist it and overthrow it

Now 24 Comandantes of the EZLN are to travelto Mexico

City on the 7th March to participate in talks with Fox. Fox and his cronies will

The anti-capitalist movement has arrived in Britain. Over 1,000 people turned up to the Globalise Resistance counter-conference in London, Hundreds more went along as it toured Britain. Immigration officers tried to stop one of the main speakers, Kevin Danaher, from entering the country, and New Labour got on the blower to pressure local universities and councils to

pull the plug at various venues. When the capitalist state and the ruling party want to stop free speech ... it's because we've got some-

thing important to say and they're scared of it!

The conferences were organised by the Socialist Workers Party and their were certainly many highlights. Kevin Danaher gave us a flavour of what's going on in the anti-capitalist movement in America. He was one of the key organisers of the Seattle protests that shut down the WTO in 1999 which kicked off the whole summit-blockading tactic. Another big attraction was George Monbiot who has exposed the corruption and greed behind New Labour's privatisation drive.

Having said that, the conferences

use it to look like they're listening, buying time whilst in practice changing nothing. Capitalism may say it's based on democracy and equality, but in reality it cannot give rights to the masses unless doing so benefits the system. Capitalism cannot allow anyone to fight back against this, like the



Zapatistas are.

WHAT IS THE GOAL?

The EZLN, for their part, are to be wholeheartedly supported in their cause but their goal raises questions. They limit themselves to furthering the cause of indigenous people within the capitalist constitution of Mexico.

> in a capitalist world. This will never happen. The oil companies, plantation multinationals and ranchers want the land, and will never let the indigenous people have any right to it. The Zapatistas should raise their sights: expand the struggle to bring in the working class and unite with their power. Destroy capitalism in Mexico and spread the revolution to

by Paolo in Peckham

Central America and beyond. not just Chiapas.

could have been a whole lot better. Build the anti-capitalist movement from below

like No Sweat! In every town, school and college. We need to make sure there are anti-capitalist ac-tions on May Day this year in every city.

The SWP have taken up the idea of

local activity focussing on protests of Gap and Nike and they've set up local Globalise Resistance collectives in order to build for a mass blockade of the G8

summit in Genoa in July,

where the rulers of the richest countries plan to divide and rule the rest

Revo will be there helping to organise as many people for direct action and to get to Genoa. What's more we are organising a global youth gathering for immediately afterwards in Italy, so everyone doesn't just protest together and go home, but gets an opportunity to discuss the movement, its issues and the way foward, and to build a revolutionary youth international. But to do that, the GR collectives will have to be open to other socialists and anarchists, not just reformists. And they will have to be truly democratic, not just run by the SWP. If they aren't not as many people will join them as would otherwise, and anti-capitalism will grow more slowly than it would.

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The top table was jam-packed with various reformist 'leaders' of the movement. Where were the anarchists or the socialist groups like Revolution? This isn't sour grapes if socialists fail to criticise the

could 'lead' us into a dead-end.

Jubilee 2000 leaders had talks with the IMF in Prague and the American sweatshop workers union UNITE sat round the table with the bosses in Davos rather than join the protesters. But their project for a less oppressive and exploitative capitalism can never be achieved. Capitalism by its nature maximises profit and centralises wealth and power in the hands of a few. If we don't fight the reformists' ideas we'll let the bosses off the hook.

Secondly the conference didn't discuss any proposals for direct action. To build a big anti-capitalist movement in Britain we need campaigns

ideas to use against global capitalism

Last issue we looked at capitalism's violent origins in revolution against feudalism and throwing the peasants off the land and driving them into the factories. This issue we continue the series, with a look at how capitalism is based on a big rip-off, and a big lie to cover it up.

When people complain that they are being 'exploited' at work, they usually mean that they are being treated unfairly or being ripped off.

For instance, Burger King used to make workers clock off when it wasn't busy, though they had to stay at work. One young worker made less than the price of a burger in an 8 hour shift. Pizza Hut offered a young Spanish woman a job - but the first 2 weeks would be without pay, to "help" her improve her English! Some places make staff work unpaid overtime. Nike pays Chinese workers just 16 cents an hour for a back-breaking 70 hour week while its president Phil Knight is worth \$6 billion. People hear about things like this and they say "That's exploitative it's taking the piss."

But if we want to understand what makes capitalism tick, we need to go further than this simple idea of unfairness – it naturally implies that there can be a fair wage, a job where we aren't exploited. Is that true?

Karl Marx said no. He was the first to analyse how the capitalist system works in depth, and how exploitation was central to it. That was what made him different from many anti-capitalist thinkers who have followed him. Simple theories of exploitation say capitalism can be made fair by making the worst capitalists behave. The Marxist theory of exploitation means that society can be made fair only by overthrowing the capitalists and getting rid of their system.

So how does the Marxist theory work?

Capitalists invest money in factories, materials and hiring workers to produce goods for sale. When goods are sold they make a profit. The capitalists' money, repeatedly invested in production and recouped in the form of profits, is called capital. It grows constantly by going through this cycle.

Marx set out to discover where this

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expansion of capital came from. To do this he looked at the basic unit of all things produced – the commodity.

Capitalism is a system where almost everything we produce and use – from a Big Mac to a pair of Nike trainers – take the form of commodities. Commodities are produced to be bought and sold before they are used.

Every commodity has two essential aspects to it. On the one hand, it must be useful – it must satisfy a need. Here



its physical qualities are what is important. Does it taste good, look good, sound good, keep you warm, keep you clean?

This is what Marx calls its "use value". It is a necessary element of a commodity, since without it the final buyer, the consumer, won't need it and won't buy it.

But having a use value is not sufficient to make something into a commodity. For this it must possess another kind of value – one which can be compared with all the many and varied kinds of commodities. Only in this way can it be exchanged, through the medium of money, with other goods on the market. This value which enables us to compare is what Marx calls "exchange

value". It is what lies behind the commodity's price.

But the money value given to differing commodities is not arbitrary. A Big Mac is not worth as much as a pair of Nike trainers. But each commodity's value rests on something that is common to them all. So what do a hamburger and a pair of trainers – and the vast range of goods and services on sale – have in common which allows them be compared with each other and exchanged with each other?

Marx looked for the answer in labour – mental and manual work. But every individual's labour, every craft and skill, differs from every other. What can be measured is the average amount of time an average worker spends on a particular piece of work.

So where's the exploitation? It lies in the fact that the worker is not paid for his or her actual labour, let alone for the products of that labour. What the worker sells is a special commodity – the ability to work, what Marx calls labour power. The capitalist uses this to transform all the other inputs into production – raw materials, power, machinery, etc. – into a number of commodities. When these are sold it is revealed that the capitalists' original investment has grown substantially. Where did this increase come from?

The ability to work has a price like all other commodities. It is called a wage. What decides its basic level—the level below which it cannot fall? Whatever it costs to get bring the worker to work, day after day, able to do the work which the employer wants done. On the other hand wages cannot be so high that the worker escapes from the daily, weekly, monthly necessity to sell this commodity. In short wages are determined by the amount needed to produce and reproduce labour power.

To the individual worker, only if wages begin to fall below the level of what is needed to live normally, does this begin to look like "exploitation". Otherwise it seems like a "fair day's work for a fair day's pay".

But all is not as it seems. Labour power is unique amongst all the endless variety of commodities. It alone has the ability to create extra value out of all

TION the rip off at the heart of the system

the other inputs. It creates this value in the very process of being used up, put to work.

This sounds very mystical. But when you think about it, it becomes obvious. What would a fridge full of raw hamburgers, jars of pickle and stacks of sesame buns be worth without workers there to cook, package and serve them? What would an idle factory with palettes laden with labels, cloth and thread, and motionless sewing machines be worth unless labour power set them all going? Answer: the same as the capitalist paid for them. Only labour power can increase their value.

But workers are not paid the whole value that they create in production. They are only paid the amount needed to reproduce their labour power.

The extra value that workers create is effectively stolen by the buyer of labour power, the owners of the workplace – the capitalist. This "surplus value" is the sole source of wealth for the capitalists. It is the secret behind the constant growth of capital, behind the capitalists' profits. Whereas a worker at best "accumulates" some personal and household possessions – some savings, a retirement pension – the capitalists accumulate in their hands the entire vast means of production and distribution – the factories, offices, supermarkets, land, banking. We built it, they own it.

The capitalists don't do this because they are good or bad. They invest capital and make a profit neither out of their goodwill to 'provide jobs' or 'get the economy going' (as they always claim) nor out of a wicked desire to exploit people. It's more than just greed. The individual capitalist is compelled to extract the maximum surplus value from his or her workforce because of competition with other capitalists. The weak get swallowed up. The strong get bigger.

That means not just taking the profits and spending it all on yachts and banquets in posh houses. It means ploughing some of them back into the business to build more factories, better machines, create new products. And so competition drives develop-

In the Revolution...

The hazy view meant Tom wasn't entirely sure if this was all the making of some wish of the night. Conversely he had never felt more alive. Tiny waves rippled across the delicate blue pools of his eyes as the wind buffeted against his face. His heart pounded with adrenaline and his body felt almost weightless but ablaze with heat and passion at the same time. The thunderous noise made only a vague impression on his thoughts while the edges of his vision were intermittently distracted by flashes of red and the blur of what seemed like an infinite stream of people either surging past or falling behind. As plumes of smoke spiralled up on the horizon Tom contemplated that in all this chaos he had never felt more clarity in his entire life. A torrent of thoughts crashed through his mind, an unstoppable force of consciousness breaking down the barriers of oppression which had weighed down upon his convictions for so long. With every step a link of the chain seemed to fall away and the iron fist gradually loosened its tight grip around the soul of his being. The fact that he did not know where the crowds around him were taking him did not seem to matter as the path in his mind shone out like a beacon in a land that had been decimated by a bleak and often insane system. For so long love and compassion had been pushed to the side as a torrent of selfishness and greed had surged forwards to turn the wheels of power. And in their cruel and barbaric grind they had crushed the dreams of billions of beings as hierarchies of wealth and freedom pressed down on their hopes and aspirations. Indeed, Tom thought he could almost hear a collective cry of joy as this weight of oppression was blown away with the whirlwind of proletarian strength. This was revolution.

ment and further industrialisation and expands its capacity therefore to produce even more ... capital.

That is why Marx's criticism of capitalism as a system is not a moral or ethical one. These are just the natural dynamics of it as an economic system based on private ownership of the means of production and market competition.

Anita Roddick, who owns the chain of Body Shops, may sponsor the nonviolent direct action group the Ruckus Society and avoid animal testing, may or may not be a 'nicer' person than Phil Knight, who owns Nike. But both share a drive to have their commodities on sale on every high street and to maximise profits.

This competitive drive to accumulate, to make profits is absolutely opposed to the interests of the worker. The capitalist can increase surplus value only at his or her expense. This can be done in two ways. One is by getting more work out of us for the same wage - by increasing the length of the working day (overtime) or by making us work harder and faster. The second way to boost profits is to reduce wages - by cutting workers' wage packets, or sacking some of the workforce or moving production to a country where labour power can be bought more cheaply.

In this ceaseless struggle workers have only one resource – the fact that no surplus value will accumulate, no profits be made without their labour. If the individual worker is powerless, the workforce united is powerful. When bosses push workers too far they strike and remove the source of profit – their labour. Out of the need to resist the capitalists' remorseless hunger for surplus value comes the need for a collective fightback. Out of capitalist exploitation comes THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

by Richard and Andy

JOIN REVOLUTION

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Sheffield University's Student Union has banned US rapper Eminem, aka Marshall Mathers. The ban prevents Eminem's music from being played at union events, on student radio or from being reviewed in the student newspaper and follows complaints that the music is misogynist and homophobic.

EMNEM and his ENEMIES

Eminem's lyrics speak about fantasies of beating women and killing gay people, his songs are littered with words like 'faggots' and 'bitches'. Are these the actual views of Marshall Mathers or is it just part of the act - where he plays his chainsaw-wielding character Slim Shady? Does it matter?

The union says it is acting in accordance with it's constitution. which aims to "create an environment in which individuals and groups of students are free from discrimination, harassment and intimidation on Union premises or in events/activities organised by the Union". The Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual (LGB) committee have supported the ban.

But is censorship the solution to fighting homophobia and sexism? The answer has to be no! Totally removing something bad may seem like a good idea, but where does it leave debate and democracy. The union claims to be adhering to policies voted by a majority, but a poll in the student paper found that 76% of students oppose the ban. Eminem may well be homophobic and sexist and his ideas need to be challenged, but he is certainly not a fascist to whom we should give no platform. Some of the ideas he has expressed are unfortunately widespread within society and so we need to combat them with ideas of our own. We need to show how homophobia and sexism are a product of the social relations spawned by class society and how these ideas ultimately hold back all of us.



What is needed is an open and informed debate. Censorship is undemocratic and we need to use democratic weapons to fight oppression. Tom from Sheffield

TERMINALLY ILL?...YOU HAD BETTER BE RICH! Pharmaceutical Companies want to let the poor die

No less than 42 drugs companies are fighting the South African government through the courts in order to prevent it importing desperately-needed cheap versions of branded anti-HIV drugs,

They argue that "undercutting prices and ignoring patent rights is illegal under World Trade Organisation rules and will damage research and development". The defence claims its right to import or produce cheaper drugs in "exceptional circumstances", under the section 15c of the Medicines Act (1997) but the companies deny the existence of any "exceptional circumstances".

But 32 million people are infected with HIV in developing countries. They are being denied life-saving drugs (widely available over the counter in the West) because they are too poor to pay for them.

Take this example: Indian pharmaceutical company Cipla sells Fluconazole (an antibiotic used to cure meningitis) for \$0.64 (45p), but drugs giant Pfizer charges \$8.25 in South Africa and \$10.56 in Kenya.

The companies explain these prices by citing "high research & development costs". But research shows only 10% of their R&D expenditure is spent on drugs that fight 90% of global disease, with the bulk spent on first world afflictions such as obesity.

Furthermore, many medicines of vital importance to Third World countries were created with the use of public funds. Medicins Sans Frontieres (MSF) pointed out that anti-HIV drugs AZT and 3TC are both old and were developed with the help of public funds in the US. Glaxo Wellcome has already made millions out of them. "It cannot argue it needs to recoup its investments", an MSF spokesman said.

It's OK by the WTO for corporations to make huge profits from public money, but not for developing countries to protect their people from disease at the expense of these same corporations. The WTO's rules are designed by the West, to guarantee Western multinationals their fat profits.

Every now and then Western governments try to save face by offering loans - but these have strings attached. Take Clinton's £700m offer to South Africa to buy cheap drugs from the US - this was to be repaid at commercial interest rates and the drugs were at US market prices.

Brazil, where 3 million people were infected in 1997, ignored everybody and used a £115m loan from the World Bank to manufacture drugs, train professionals and guarantee free distribution, instead of buying expensive branded drugs. Brazil risks being brought to the WTO court for breaching trade laws and will suffer trade sanctions if 'convicted' - it might have reduced HIV infections by 38%, but the population risks death by starvation instead.

Life-saving drugs need to be distributed freely. Only by nationalising the pharmaceutical companies under workers' control can we make sure that money, drugs and research go where needed. The giants worry about losing 1% of their profits by cutting HIV drug prices, but they make billions in profits each year, while millions suffer and die for the sake of share prices.

by FRAN in PECKHAM

WOMEN: have we won equality?

Over the last fifty years, women have achieved a number of victories in the struggle for equal rights. Many more women have access to university as well as jobs and professions that were once closed to them, thanks in part to the post-war economic boom. The introduction of the Pill and access to abortions on the NHS in the 1960s gave British women vital control over whether or when they have children.

And yet despite these changes, women still earn on average just 60% of men's wages. In reality the new man – the one who does a Jamie Oliver in the kitchen – remains largely a myth, sustained by advertising gimmicks

and sociology text books. The vast majority of working class women still play out their traditional role as mothers and lovers. Women earn less than men because they are expected to be, first and foremost, homemakers. In fact a lot of work done by women is simply an extension of their domestic skills: caring, washing, cleaning, nurturing.

It is this uneven division of labour running through the core of society that shapes the gender roles behind women's oppression. The role of women in the modern family is an unequal one. It is women who stay at home to look after the kids or only manage to find part-time low paid work and this means they have to rely on men to provide their financial security, tying them together. This gives men the economic power within the family to exercise control over how their girlfriends or wives act and behave.

Of course, relationships and families can also provide us with protection and emotional security. If you've had a shit day at work or in class it can make all the difference to be comforted by someone who loves you. And, of course, in many relationships and families the woman may be the 'breadwinner'. But centuries of women being tied to men as an extension of their property means that men still often treat women like their property. Even if you've got a good relationship this social 'norm' will determine how the rest of society treats you. And widespread domestic violence shows just how 'nor-

mal' many men think women's subservience is.

These ideas are constantly reinforced by the images in magazines like FHM and Elle, on the screens of cinemas and TVs.

The dead wannabe doll

The message is clear: you are a sexual object, your aim is to please, your role is to satisfy. fact that men abuse women becomes more comprehensible when we begin to see how capitalism turns women into objects for men's consumption.

The

To break free we have to challenge the way in which society organises the family relationships.

For as long as a woman remains isolated in the sphere of the family she will continue to be denied the right to participate fully in social life. Free childcare will help by allowing some women the opportunity to pursue activities outside the home, to take up a degree in engineering, to build bridges, to travel continents.

But if we want to see a radical shake-up, it will require more than that. We will need to build a society where the responsibility for domestic work doesn't rest on the freely provided labour of individual women but on collective labour, with teams of workers, men and women, to do the cleaning, cooking and caring.

Could we achieve such equality under capitalism? No. The present system benefits the ruling class to such an extent that they have absolutely no interest in doing anything to change it. The family is key to maintaining their system of exploitation.

Firstly, the capitalists are provided with a clean, healthy and well fed workforce free of charge by millions of women across the globe. Not just today, but generation after generation. To pay for such services as part of welfare provision would be a massive drain on surplus profits.

Secondly, the divisions that sexism The winning striker creates within our class weakens our ability to act as a single united voice against the capitalists, our enemy. Its a classic case of divide and rule.

Working class women will never achieve equality under capitalism. It needs to be overthrown and replaced with a socialist society that is committed to the struggle for real equality for women. Time and again women workers have shown we are ready and up for such a fight. Our allies, however, will not be the Lady Dianas, the It girls, or the successful career women Cherie Blair and Anita Roddick. Our allies will be the millions of working class men who have nothing to lose but their chains and a whole big world to win.

by Kirstie in Pimlico

DEVOLUTION 10 0 -





made by KIDS in SWEATSHOPS around the world

East London Gap invasion!

No Sweat got together with the East London Socialist Alliance to hit the GAP and its bastard son Baby Gap at the posh Canary Wharf shopping centre on February 10th.

Protesters slipped into the window displays and became living mannequins sporting giant contracts that read 'I will not have a baby', 'I will work a 72hr week' and 'I will not join a trade union'.

Outside a banner was unfurled saying 'No Sweatshops', while everyone else invaded the shop. Some informed customers and staff about the appalling working conditions in Gap sweatshops. Others slipped leaflets into sweaters, pants and displays for future shoppers. When we were kicked out before we could get BOY, THEYRE SURE GETTING SERIOUS ABOUT THIS "CORPORATE BRANDING."



management to phone Millard Drexler, head of Gap, so we could ask him what his problem was, we decided to march past the guards and straight down the mall shouting all the way, straight to the Baby Gap where we did it all over again.

Hundreds of youth and families from the East End stopped shopping to watch, ask questions and take leaflets, and workers from shops and restaurants came out to see what the noise was about. Let's start making the slogan, think globally, act locally, a reality.

For No Sweat activity in your area phone 020 7793 1468

They were totally positive and agreed with us that sweatshops abroad and low pay here were crap and we should do something about it.

Similar protests have taken place around the country in recent weeks. In Cardiff, Birmingham and Sheffield No Sweat groups already exist and further actions are planned to coincide with International Womens' Day on March 8th.

We are only one part of an international struggle. The workers are not taking this lying down. In Indonesia they have organised strikes and demonstrations and in February 2000 hundreds of fed up and angry workers in Cambodia torched Gap clothing before going on strike.

Join us and the growing worldwide fight against sweatshop brand-names like Gap. The best way to do this is to bring thousands into the movement to expose the hypocrisy at home and link up with the workers in strug-

gle overseas.



come play monopoly on IV

think globally, act locally: