

# ON THE LINE

published by the LIBERTARIAN WORKERS GROUP

Volume 4 Number 2 September 1981

25¢

## ON THE WAR FRONT

by Ivan Kalita

The halt in the bloody conflict in Lebanon should give us pause to reflect, to see through the official 'Truth' and understand what is really happening there.

First of all, the real weapons of war in this conflict are not the Israeli's American F-16 fighters or the Syrian's and PLO's Soviet Katyusha rockets. They are, rather, the bodies of the Syrian, Lebanese, and Israeli people. Accordingly, the real strategy here is not to defeat the enemy in the field but to bleed their

civilian population to death. But this must be a slow and deliberate bloodletting, not an intense or furious one as in the previous World Wars, for it is the nature of this, the Third World War, that it is fought under constraints, that the level of conflict is limited by the spectre of the nuclear arsenals of each of the opposing sides.

Thus the 'leaders' the press talks about, Begin, Assad, and Arafat, are little but field commanders. The military high

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## Transit Mess: Whose Fault?

by Ben-Mered

Recently, fares on all trains and buses in the New York-New Jersey area shot up 20%. At the bus stops and train stations, reporters armed with cameras and microphones solicited the always colorful responses of Mr. and Ms. Irate Commuter, usually with questions like: "What do you think of the new fare hike?" What they got were answers like this:

"It stinks! You keep paying more and more and what do you get? Nothing!"

"Yeah, these trains and buses always break down and are never on time. I was 20 minutes late for work today because of another delay."

"You know what I think? All that money goes to line someone's pockets, because it sure isn't being used to improve this farkockteh transit system!"

Meanwhile, the government and the transit officials make no bones

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# TRANSIT (cont. from p. 1)

about who they think, or at least want you to think, is really to blame for the recent fare hike and all the other problems that beset mass transit. They blame it on the transit workers.

In New Jersey, a few months before the scheduled fare hike and service cuts took effect, Conrail officials began accusing the unions of "featherbedding", thereby edging the railroad to the brink of collapse. The unions responded by putting up flyers on the doors of every railroad car, simply listing the pay for all non-union employees, including management personnel, with the message that management, and not the unions, is responsible for the current state of Conrail. After that, management was strangely silent on the subject.

In N.Y., Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) and City officials never miss a chance to point out that lack of 'productivity' on the part of the transit workers has led to the decline of the N.Y. transit system. According to a recent Village Voice article, at the MTA Board meeting which authorized the fare increases, MTA Chairman Richard Ravitch asked "our friends from the press to pay careful attention" to the next agenda item. This was the union's failure to cooperate with management on implementing new work rules for 'productivity's' sake. By way of example, MTA Executive Director John Simpson pulled out charts which he said proved that bus drivers had pulled working buses out of service on "phony road calls", thus disrupting service.

Members of the Board described the situation as a "slowdown" and a "guerrilla war" with the union leadership. The Board then threatened to withhold the Cost of Living Adjustment, which, according to the contract, comes due

October 1, if there were no major savings in the next three months. As one Board member put it, "To the degree that the public can become sophisticated about work practices, they can support management."

Later that week, two subway trains collided in Brooklyn, causing one of the worst accidents in New York mass transit history. 135 people were injured in the crash. Motorman Jesse Cole was trapped in his train cab and died. Passengers later recalled their helplessness and anguish listening to Cole's cries of anguish as he lay trapped in the small, box-like compartment, with no help in sight.

## BLAMING THE VICTIM

Nearly two hours before they could even free Cole's body from the wreckage, Simpson had announced to the press that Cole was in fact responsible for the accident. The motorman, he said, should have stopped his train when he saw dead signals along the track.

Simpson didn't choose to elaborate on the fact that the signals failed because the IRT's obsolete signal system has been rapidly deteriorating due to years of neglect. According to an article in Workers' Vanguard, the signal lights in 1918 and were not due for replacement until 1994. No mention was made about pressures put on motor people by supervisors to adhere to schedules, even in spite of safety problems.

On the day that Jesse Cole died the Daily News urged riders to "tar and feather the money-grubbing gold-bricks", that is, the transit workers. (That's the News, always a shining example of responsible journalism.) Needless to say, this attitude is actively encouraged by the MTA Board, which needs to cover up its own ineptitude by berating and bullying its employees.



Some time ago, ABC News did a special report on mass transit. They took their cameras to one of the largest bus repair depots in the city, and found that the building had been condemned as unsafe by the Board of Health. Inside, old buses were in varying states of decomposition as mechanics cannibalized the vehicles with make-shift tools, since there were no new tools to be had.

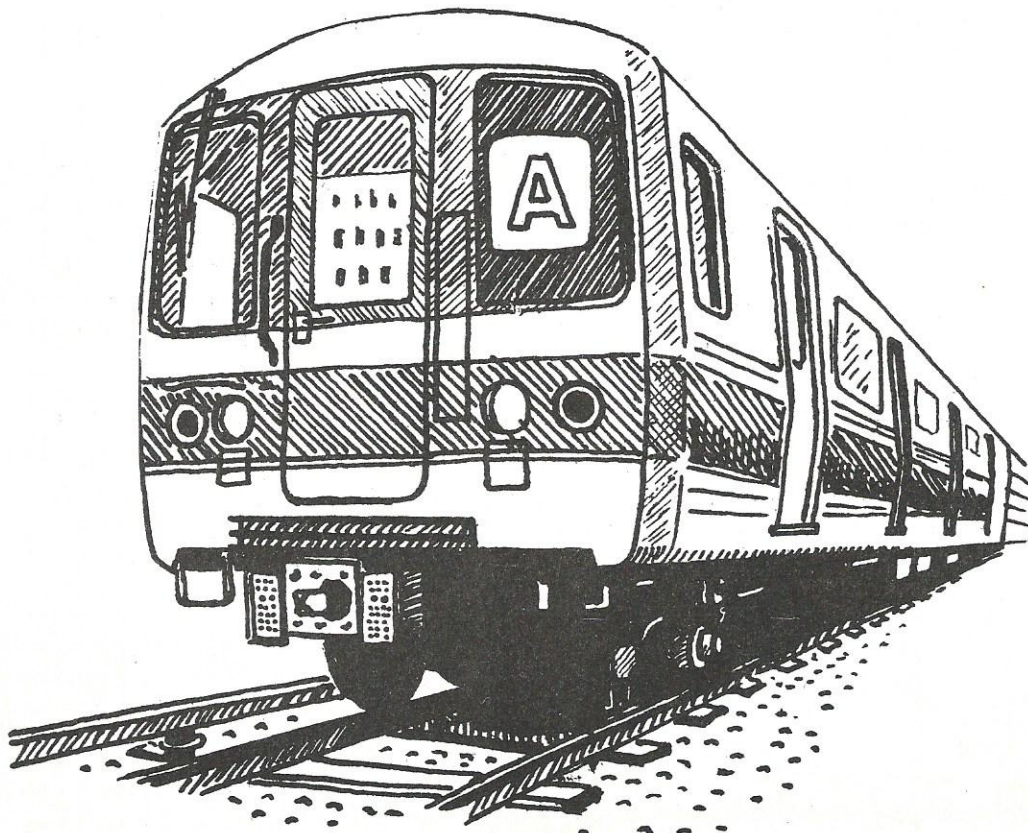
When the reporter asked the workers about productivity, they just asked, "How productive can you be when you don't have adequate equipment?" He received that reply in every depot in the city.

In order to achieve greater 'productivity', the MTA is prepared to endanger not only the lives of the people who make the transit system run, but the millions of daily riders as well. In the name of cost effectiveness, transit workers must contend with deteriorating, obsolete equipment and dangerous working conditions.

When equipment breaks down and prevents workers from doing their jobs, it's not just the workers whose lives are on the line, but the passengers as well. Just look at what happened in Brooklyn.

Who can we turn to for a solution to this mess? Certainly not to Simpson, Ravitch and Co.; they're only interested in figuring out new ways to squeeze juice from a dried-out lemon. The politicians are no better, as Koch, Carey and the Federal government play Monopoly with the Westway scheme and others hope to use transit as a hot issue they can ride into office. Nor can we turn to John Lawe and the Transit Workers Union leadership--they have their hands full trying to keep down rank and file opposition to their sell-out policies.

It's clear that the only real alternative we have is to form a broad coalition of rank and file transit workers and riders. Only by coming together can we beat the bosses and the fare.



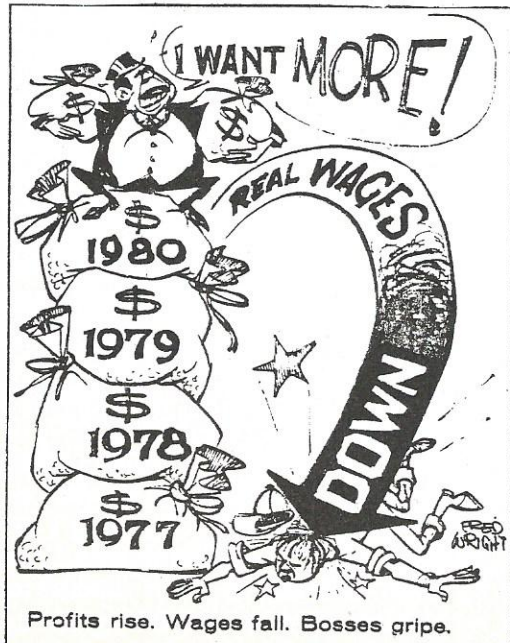


August in the fur industry brings with it vacations and lay-offs, and the last thing we want to think or hear about is work. When we're back in the shops, however, we'll be faced with the same bad conditions and cheap bosses as before. The much talked about boom in pelts isn't filtering down to us.

One of the things you might start thinking about is the new machinery coming in from Europe. Some of this equipment will take away jobs, particularly nailer's work and possibly even some cutting. The people in my shop knew this when we first heard about the recent machine show in Germany.

The new machinery has not yet appeared in U.S., but it's just a matter of time before it does. The worst part of it is the unemployment and loss of skill that new machinery brings with it. Some of you may remember when stretching machines were brought in, or when we squatted to do hand roping.

We've lost jobs as work methods changed. It was luck, and nothing but luck, that some workers from New Jersey have been able to get work in N.Y. when their shops closed. What happens if our shops close?



Fred Wright, UE News

## FUR SHAPE-UP

by A Fur Worker

One thing the new equipment will do is increase profits and productivity overall. As it is introduced the rate of profit, which is to say the rate at which our bosses profit off our labor, may fall, though not as fast or disastrously as in other parts of the needle trades. Some of the bosses will be shut out altogether, because they won't get the equipment in time to compete.

The question people in my shop are asking is: what will the union do about all this? Jobs aren't being fought for now. The union's position is to maintain work, to sort of hold the line against unemployment, but this just isn't enough. In fact the union is getting more and more concerned with increasing productivity.

Shop closings can't be stopped by continually giving into the bosses or the 'reality' of the industry. Electing Frank Barbaro, the liberals' latest darling, 'working-class' politician and the union leadership's choice for mayor, won't help. Barbaro will probably lose, and even if he wins, the banks, politicians and capitalists would limit his effectiveness.

The problem is not just with productivity and market conditions. We need a more aggressive and direct solution. The fur workers know this, and are discussing it constantly, but at present little has emerged from the discussions that points toward the organization and consolidation of our power.

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One fur worker was talking to his co-workers a few weeks ago and innocently asked when the last time was when the business  
(cont. p.5)



(cont. from p.4)

agent and the boss disagreed with each other. Everyone laughed, but the point is clear enough. It comes across clearest among piece-rate workers where the workers and the union are in a double-bind--you work extra hard to get out early, and you watch the boss's profits grow. The union is caught in the middle, and try as it does to look ahead and act in the workers' interests, ends up doing more harm than good.

A possible challenge to this frustrating and vicious circle is growing at Meisel-Peskin. Roy Mobley will be running for shop chairman. Mobley's idea is to fight for the workers by confronting the boss, pushing the union into being more active and breaking down the cliques and double-dealing in the shop. He's been active for a long time and his chances of winning are good. Against him, however, is the cynicism of most of the Meisel-Peskin workers, the possibility of an inactive or sell-out shop committee being elected and the chance that the foremen won't deal squarely with him. Unity is really the primary problem.

If Mobley is elected, the chances for unity being built will improve. Meisel-Peskin is the union's largest shop, and therefore pays huge sums out in dues and to the health program. A militant work force at Meisel-Peskin could force changes on the union. Leadership is not the key question, but it is important. We want a situation to develop where the workers represent themselves directly and through a democratic and militant committee as well. We want all fur workers involved in this fight.

You might think that the amalgamation of the dressers and dyers with the fur service workers was a step toward building unity.



It wasn't. Most of the workers at Meisel-Peskin didn't vote the merger at their last union meeting. No one, not even the officials of the union, would explain the need to merge

meeting, and if they had, they would have voted it down. No one, not even the officials of the union, would explain the need to merge the two locals, or the benefits that are supposed to come from it. For the workers at Meisel-Peskin, uniting the fleischers, chauffeurs and floor workers into the FLM is more immediate and important.

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The weather will probably be hot when we return to our shops. This has been a hot summer. Are you getting your breaks? Are you getting fans that don't blow dust and hair in your face? Probably not. The union may now be getting more and more into occupational safety and health but it may come too late for many of us. Safety and health problems, racism and anti-semitism, sexism, long hours and not enough pay, job security and the union's lack of militance are problems we're confronting every day. We have to build a fight around these issues if conditions are to change. On The Line is a part of this fight.



# DISTRICT 65 ROUND-UP

Workers at the Folsom Corporation's Mahwah warehouse are confronted daily with the oppression of their boss and union steward. Since the corporation is family owned and the workforce small, the boss runs the corporation with an iron fist. The boss and his son see the workers as private property, much more so than in a large and impersonalized corporation. The shop steward, the only "representative" the workers have, is little more than a substitute for the boss. This article will focus on the stewards' class collaboration.

Rather than enforcing the contract, filing grievances and acting as the militant voice of the workers, the steward is really the boss' discipline agent. During the busy season, for example, there is "mandatory" overtime and if a worker refuses to work, the steward reprimands the worker. In fact, the steward once told a worker, "You're digging your own grave" because he didn't want to work both the daily and Saturday O.T.

Instead of informing the worker that there is no contractual agreement on "mandatory" O.T., the steward simply serves the boss' interests by forcing the worker to work the O.T. with the threat of firing. Similarly, the steward enjoys using the firing threat to discourage talking among the workers, between men and women, and with incoming truckers.

The steward also refuses to take actions in defense of the workers if they are harassed by the employer. This is not uncommon. On several occasions, the boss belittled and cursed a worker in front of the whole shop while the steward looked on and remained silent. Although it would be easy to accuse the steward of being financially on the take--an accusation which cannot be proved--suffice it to say that the stew-

## FOLSOM: A UNION SHOP?

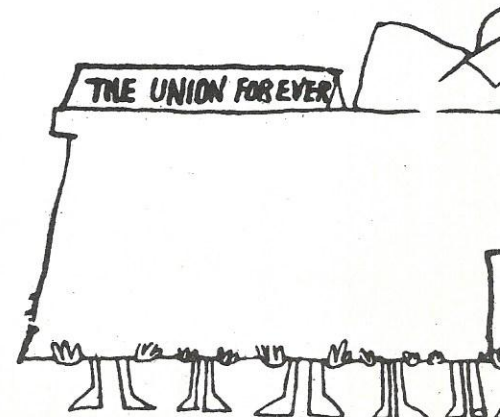
by Mike Harris

ard is more than compensated with special privileges, some that not even the worker with the most seniority enjoys.

Given this insight into the steward's role as discipline agent it is no wonder the steward does little to inform the workers of their basic union rights, privileges or union education. Most workers have not yet received copies of the "Distributive Worker" or the Constitution. And as infrequent as Local E-3 meetings are, the steward fails to post notices of these meetings or union programs and educationals, although there are two union bulletin boards. Likewise, no report of Local meetings or Executive Council meetings are given, partly because the steward does not attend many of them.

## INFORMED MEMBERS?

The steward also neglects to inform each new worker of his/her benefits, sick time, etc. Information concerning the Security Plan is posted on a bulletin board in the rear of the warehouse, rather obscurely tucked away under outdated government notices. The same holds true for corporate work rules. As we understand it these work rules were not subjected to union approval. However, the union





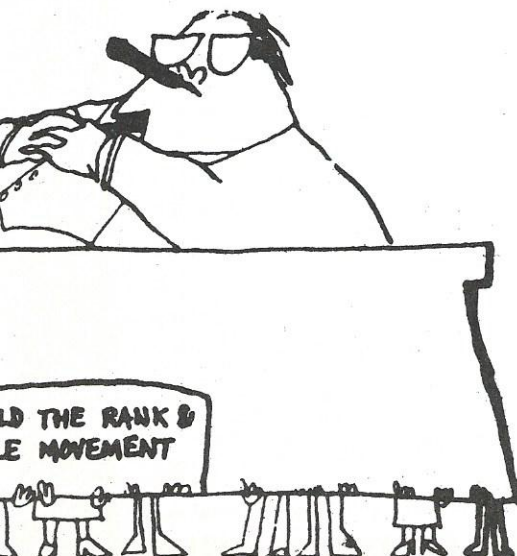
would defend the practice of not informing new workers of their benefits since all new workers are supposedly hired through the union Hiring Hall. Therefore, the workers should be aware of the Security Plan, etc. but this is not the case since the shop is located in an area not accessible to the average member. In fact, all new employees, except myself, were hired outside the union.

"Ah, but what about the contract?" A good question, one that can't be answered since the steward refuses to allow us the right to see it, or 99% of it at least.

If we ask to see the contract the steward only allows us to see a requested section. This request must be cleared in advance by the steward.

As one can imagine, there is no rank rank-and-file input as far as contract negotiations are concerned. The steward and a union rep. sit down with management and negotiate whatever they want to. Naturally, there is no ratification vote taken. When the last contract expired the workers were not notified until the day before. When they were notified the workers were told they would receive a given increase, plain and simple.

To top all of this off, half the workforce is unorganized. Because sexism is as much a factor in the shop as in society as a whole, it



only makes sense that the unorganized workers are all women. There are supposedly two sides to this coin. One, as told by the steward, is that the union is aware of this and will not do anything about it since the women are all part-timers, even though the union's stated policy is to organize all workers, full and part-time alike. The other is that the union is unaware of the situation, and even when it was, and the men in the shop were willing to help organize the women, the union took no action at all. Either way, the steward and the union cherish the "spirit of co-operation" much more than the militance the union was built on. This is much our international union, the U.A.W., which has consistently sold out auto workers during the recent crisis.

### FIGHTING BACK

Naturally, the question then is, why haven't the workers fought back? A good question, given that Folsom had a militant and clean history as a union shop. A partial answer is that when the shop moved from N.Y.C., the militant workers didn't move with it. Those workers who did are either extremely religious (such as Jehovah's Witnesses) or have been bought off with supervisor's jobs, like the ex-shop steward. This so-called supervisor is actually a glorified order picker, and regrets his decision to sell-out.

Furthermore, some of the other older workers are quiet and keep

(cont. p.8)



## DISTRICT 65 (cont. from p.7)

to themselves, not caring what goes on as long as they collect their pay. The unorganized women workers are, on the surface, quiet and afraid of losing their jobs. This is an important factor, given the depressed state of the local economy due to the closing of the Ford Mahwah plant nearly 2 years ago.

Through all the dense fog, some small rays of sunlight can be seen. Half of the male workforce is young and restless, not accustomed to the rigid and authoritarian work environment or the steward's role as auxiliary boss. They have had enough. Secretly meeting in the men's room and slowly plotting out what is to be done, these workers have begun to go on the offensive. What the outcome will be remains to be seen, however, where there is unity, there is also strength, no matter what barriers the workers may face.

## War Front (cont. from p.1)

commands are thousands of miles away and their commanders-in-chief are named Reagan and Brezhnev.

The problem here is that these field commanders have the unfortunate double role of being political heads of sovereign states (or in the case of the PLO, a state-in-waiting) as well, and thus cannot be disciplined or dismissed out of hand. It means that they are answerable to their own people as well as their superior officers and must at times act directly against the interests of the super-powers.

Consequently, the super-powers have to struggle not

only against the enemy, but against rifts in their own camps as well. This internal struggle takes the form of diplomacy, which the political scientists tell us is little but warfare by non-violent means, though they are not averse to economic sanctions or secret subversion when diplomacy fails, as history proves.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the globe, in the western theatre of war, Commander Reagan is having some of the same problems with his front line European generals (for that matter, so is Commander Brezhnev on his side). He just gave them a big pep talk up in Ottawa, but it seems like there's still dissension in the ranks.

In Europe, the problem is compounded by the general's additional role of managers of advanced industrial capitalist economies. In this role their front line troops are their own working classes, who are getting more and more unruly and less and less willing to sacrifice themselves for the "common good."



The Des Moines Register

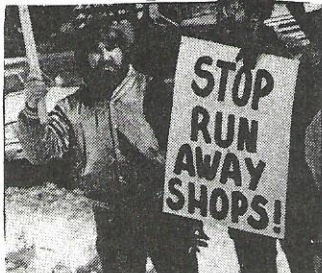
'Gotta keep a firm grip on these demonstrators! They get loose and no telling what kind of trouble they might cause!'



# U.A.W. ON THE RUN by Otto Mobile

The UAW is a union on the run--on the run from the threat of corporate take-aways; on the run from rampant plant closings; on the run from foreign imports, and on the run from an increasingly restless membership.

When the leaders of the union paused to catch their breath last December, they considered the options available to them to overcome some of these hurdles. As could be expected, they decided upon the method of least effectiveness--reaffiliation with the AFL-CIO--as the panacea to offer their membership.



Why Doug Fraser and the International Executive Board so desire reaffiliation and why the rush--less than four months--to implement it is worth considering in and of itself. It is known that the United Rubber Workers, with whom the UAW is holding merger talks, did suggest that reaffiliation could not help but smooth the way for the merger. Perhaps more importantly, the UAW is afraid of losing its hard won influence and prestige, because it knows that it will never fully recoup its losses from this latest crisis in the auto industry. Reaffiliation rose from the ashes as the least bitter pill to swallow in an effort to channel its remaining vitality through a "united house of labor".

However, the best laid plans of union bureaucrats often run into stiff rank and file resistance, as was the case with reaffiliation. Although the final outcome of the vote-7785 to 4527- gave the IEB the victory it claimed from the beginning, the manuev-

erings of the Board to acheive that are worth examining.

## REAFFILIATION?

The IEB was fully aware of the depth of opposition to reaffiliation--a similar proposal was soundly defeated at the 1977 Constitutional Convention despite Fraser's recommendation at that time to investigate reaffiliation.

The union constitution clearly gives the IEB the right to re-affiliate, which was written into the laws at the time of disaffiliation in 1968. However, in what was billed as a desire for democratic expression, Fraser announced his plan to hold regional conventions in which the delegates to the 1980 Constitutional Convention would vote on whether to authorize the IEB to proceed with negotiations at the national level. Immediately a cry of protest went up--why not a national convention where both sides could be openly heard and discussed, where viewpoints from different industries and locations could be expressed to shed new light on the pros and cons of reaffiliation.

Why not a national convention indeed. The regional conventions were never authorized by the union constitution and thus the fear that justification of this 'special' case would set a precedent for future regional conventions to discuss other matters of importance. This would splinter the effectiveness of the combined voices of the rank and file into neat little packages easily managed by each regional director.

However, even if Fraser, in his quest for union democracy, had



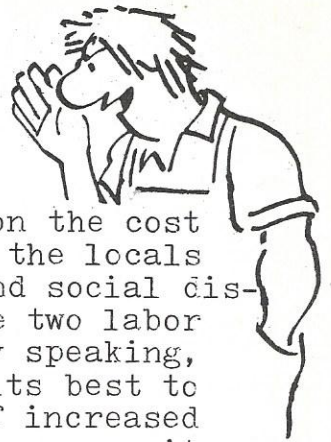
## U.A.W. (cont. from p. 9)

truly wanted a national convention, it would have been impossible. A national convention would have caught the attention of the national media. While the delegates would have enjoyed the opportunity for open expression and debate, the airing of dirty laundry on the evening news was to be avoided by Fraser at all costs. The rehashing of the red-baiting of the AFL-CIO, the racketeering charges against some of the major unions in the federation, the political differences, particularly concerning the Democratic Party--all of these points being hotly debated on national television would have surely displeased Lane Kirkland. The AFL-CIO president is apparently someone Fraser is trying to keep happy, for he purposely downplayed his already minimal role in the recent ESOC Euro-socialism conference after Kirkland suggested that AFL-CIO people should not associate themselves with that affair.

As it was, because of the 5 week time span between the first and last regional convention, press coverage was sporadic and an in-depth analysis of the issues was missing. The major press was interested mainly in the final tally of the votes in its respective areas. In many cases, the press was totally excluded from covering the regional conventions and statements other than tallies were not made until after the final votes were in.

In one such regional convention, the debate was long and stormy. Fraser flew in from Detroit, having been forewarned that he would have his work cut out for him. He performed well, but his presence did nothing to dampen the vociferous opposition. There was indeed sufficient opposition to warrant alternating speakers at the microphone, offering pro and con arguments throughout the afternoon.

BUT WHAT'S IT  
REALLY ALL  
ABOUT?



Opposition centered on the cost of reaffiliation to the locals and the political and social disparities between the two labor groups. Financially speaking, the leadership did its best to quiet the worries of increased dues by stating that per capita payments to the AFL-CIO would come from interest on the strike fund and would not require additional payments from local unions.

For others, it was not the amount but the questionable return on the dollar for the privilege of reaffiliating that bothered them most. The poor record of the AFL-CIO on the issues many UAW members sincerely care about--human rights, racial equality, etc.--was invoked repeatedly. The many pointed differences--and Vietnam died hard in that hall--elicited only a weak response from Fraser that the UAW "would not be bound by any future political positions taken by the AFL-CIO."

It was regarding local electoral politics, though, that the real bitterness erupted, toward the Committee On Political Education (COPE) of the AFL-CIO. The hall reverberated with tales of how COPE had, in various areas, undermined the efforts of the UAW in supporting candidates for local and state elections. The situation in western New York proved the worst as judging by the results--the vote in the Buffalo area went 181 against to 102 for, this in an area under the control of a very popular and influential director who supported reaffiliation. In Syracuse, too, only 33 percent of the delegates voted for reaffiliation.

Interestingly, the importance placed on the opinions of the rank and file came out when one



of the regional officers suggested that the stiff opposition was due merely to the politics of the local unions. Local elections were slated for the months of May and June, and campaigning had already begun at the time of the voting in April. The officer suggested that those voicing opposition were apparently thinking of the upcoming election and wanted to appease their membership by voting against reaffiliation.

What he didn't hear himself saying was that there was obviously deep felt opposition on the part of the rank and file, and not just the local leadership, if so many of them felt bound to represent the feelings of their members by voting no. That such a large number of UAW members could see through the sham of reaffiliation with the moribund Federation shows how little the rank and file needs the "education" of the leadership.

The entire episode points out the dangerous conservative trend growing within the UAW--the newly discovered belief in co-determinism, the push for Quality of Work Life and Employment Involvement programs to justify speed-ups, and a new PR campaign extolling the virtues of robot technology to insure

"a greater slice of the economic pie" for UAW members; that is, those who aren't laid off because of the new technology.

Rumblings are being heard from the rank and file on those take-backs and plant closings and the myriad of other problems besetting the UAW. One regional director recently suggested shutting down all the plants for one day as a show of strength and solidarity. The UAW-GM Sub-Council vociferously opposed reaffiliation. Ford and GM locals around the country have been telegramming the powers that be for their refusal to consider re-opening contract talks.

In the wake of this reawakening of the old militancy in the new auto work force, the International is apparently resorting to the more traditional means of "problem solving and face-saving, with reaffiliation being a major part of that effort.

The gilded facade of leadership is being constructed, however, over a crumbling foundation. As the close reaffiliation vote indicated, the rank and file may well be on its way to bringing the shaky edifice down around the knees of the leadership.





# STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

We call ourselves "anarchist-syndicalists" and "libertarian communists." We have named our group the Libertarian Workers Group. We are a committee of working people and students who live in the New York metropolitan area. We publish ON THE LINE because we feel that the development of a working class press is an important aspect of the class struggle. From the many battles between exploiters and the exploited, the powerful and the powerless, can come a more united revolutionary movement. It must develop through self-activity, self-organization and free discussion if the workers are to win. We regard the committee form of organization as appropriate to these ends.

We believe that the capitalist class is unnecessary and that government (the political state and all its bureaus) is inherently oppressive. The state bureaucracy and the capitalist class, while not seeing eye-to-eye on everything, both rest on domination and exploitation. By "stealing" from the real producers--the workers--and then selling to consumers--most of whom are also workers--the capitalist is able to make profits and hold power. In the United States the state works to protect the interests of the capitalist class as well as its own. In the USSR, China and other party-managed countries the state has developed its own forms of management and control. Thus, in these countries a single managerial class wields economic and political power. All forms of oppression must be abolished by the working classes.

Landlords, utility companies and welfare programs steal from the working class as well. Education is bought and sold like a commodity. Students are trained for exploitation in factories, offices and "professional" jobs. The decisions about what will be produced, how much will be charged and how goods and services will be distributed are made in a "top-down" way in political centers by bureaucrats and capitalists. This is as true in the social-democratic and party run countries as it is in the U.S.

People are taught to play a passive role in society, to take uninteresting and low-paying jobs, to vote in meaningless elections, to experience life through television and movies and to accept racial and sexual oppression as normal. The ever increasing body of drug addicts, imprisoned citizens and emotionally disturbed people points to the degeneration of society as a whole and to continuing racial and sexual oppression throughout North America.

It is not enough to "reform" society. The exploiter-exploited relationship, protected as it is the world over by all of the governments and social institutions (churches, philanthropies, schools, etc.) must be done away with. Capitalism and the state carry within themselves contradictions which make reform impossible. We pose revolutionary self-management, through democratic industry-wide federations and community-wide assemblies, as the only realistic alternative.

Education must be democratic and non-hierarchical and must be made available to all. Racial and sexual barriers must be abolished. Dangerous technology must be dismantled. Production and distribution must be seized and reorganized. Wars must become a thing of the past. In short, the working class must emancipate itself. The movement for workers' emancipation is always present in some form, cultural and political, and self-develops through struggle. It does not need a self-imposed leadership as it develops its own forms of decision making and organization. We believe that the center of the struggle, and therefore the focus of revolutionary organizations, must be the workplaces, schools and communities.

Revolutionary unions, councils and autonomous groups must take the lead in organizing prolonged periods of non-violent direct action, strikes and expropriations, defence committees and alternative institutions. These unions, councils and committees should form the basis of the new society and must be administered democratically. Revolutionary theory cannot be separated from this activity. The ideas, actions and organizations which strengthen the autonomy, self-confidence and class consciousness of the oppressed are revolutionary in themselves.

Building a revolutionary labor movement through autonomous rank-and-file activity, challenging the state with direct action, creating radical educational media, strengthening and expanding working class cultural institutions and taking part in movements for racial and sexual emancipation are consistent with our goals. We reject party building, political manipulation and, generally, attempts to centralize activity and communication. Our first priority must be to build self-directed revolutionary and democratic movements.

Modern anarchist-syndicalism and libertarian communism are ends as well as means, the objective conditions for the realization of our goals having been created by capitalism itself. The historic division between theory and practice on the left is a false dichotomy. Even the militance which so marks working class activism today will give way to revolutionary consciousness far beyond what the left now dreams of. We are a part of this process.

**ON THE LINE**

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