

THE PROPER WAY TO HARVEST WHEAT?

DIRECT ACTION FOR THE 90'S

FLOWSHARES DISARMAMENT ACTIONS AND THE ATLANTIC LIFE COMMUNITY

EARTH FIRST, ECO-TAGE, AND MONKEYWRENCHING

CLANDESTINE POLITICAL BOMBINGS

SOME THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE



INTRODUCTION

Since September 1980 there have been more than thirty Plowshares disarmament actions. Often stemming from the Catholic Left, participants typically pour blood and use hammers to "beat swords into plowshares." Nuclear missiles, submarines, and Rapid Deployment Force helicopters have all been disarmed.

Conspiracy indictments and Grand Jury subpoenas were issued recently in several western states as the authorities try to get back at Earth First! for the widespread environmentalist sabotage known as "eco-tage" or "monkeywrenching".

From 1982 to 1985 the Red Guerrilla Resistance and other groups bombed military and corporate buildings, including a Navy war games computer, and following the 1983 invasion of Grenada, the U.S. Capitol. No people were injured in any of these attacks. Communiques accompanying the actions condemn U.S. domestic repression, support liberation struggles in South Africa, the Middle East, and Central America, and challenge us all as activists: "Resistance is not only an act of solidarity - it is the basis for our own revolutionary movement." (Armed Resistance Unit 4/26/83)

What do these and other examples mean to us as activists? How can we make sure our organizations can survive spying, counter-intelligence "dirty tricks", and outright repression? What kinds of militant direct action are appropriate to our politics (and our time and place)? And how can we build a revolutionary movement so we aren't just isolated specks drifting in American culture? This pamphlet is an attempt to explore these questions.

FOR SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES THE HAMMER HAS TO FALL

We've heard the prophet's cry of old ring thru the prison wall/ We've waited thirty centuries to hear that hammer fall/ If we think we've got thirty more we cannot bear at all/ For swords into plowshares the hammer has to fall... (Charlie King, on Rainbow Snake records)

Plowshares actions are a tradition of moral witness through direct action linked to draft board and corporate office raids during the Vietnam War. Philip and Daniel Berrigan and Tom Lewis burned Selective Service records with homemade napalm in Catonsville Maryland in 1969, in one of the first such actions of the Vietnam war. The two Berrigans acted again with the Plowshares 8 in 1980 in King of Prussia Pennsylvania, destroying missile reentry nosecones for a first-strike nuclear system. Tom Lewis, an artist and teacher, acted with the Transfiguration Plowshares on Hiroshima Day 1987.

During the Vietnam War the lines were much more blurred between non-violent witness and clandestine resistance. Several of the Catonsville 9 went underground to avoid sentencing and to make clear their rejection of judicial authority. Daniel Berrigan corresponded by cassette tape with Weather Underground Organization members, and Mary Moylan of the Catonsville 9 wrote at the time of how much she had been influenced by the example of women of the WUO.

Resistance to the war escalated until tens of thousands of files were destroyed at a time, the records of entire draft boards, contributing significantly to the eventual near breakdown of the draft. The initial actions were "stand-around". Participants waited at the scene to be arrested. Later, series of "hit-and-run" actions began as well. As a non-violent tactic it began to spread beyond the religious left. One action group included a Buddhist and a communist who remain friends today.

The 1971 liberation (by persons unknown) of the files of the Media Pennsylvania FBI office first documented the government's COINTELPRO program, which began with surveillance and disruptive measures such as anonymous letters introducing false but plausible rumors and accusations. These simple tactics were often effective in disrupting organizations. The government soon brought in more sophisticated lessons as well from counter-insurgency wars in Africa, Northern Ireland, Latin America, and Vietnam.

Plowshares actions today express an anti-nuclear and somewhat anti-authoritarian theology. The community has developed an effective parallel between Nazi death camps and the waiting nuclear holocaust. The Trident Nein group renamed a Trident submarine the "USS Aushwitz, An Oven Without Walls" while damaging the missile launch tubes. Recalling the passive obedience or active collaboration of most German gentiles with that country's extermination of Jews, radicals, "non-aryans", and gay men, defendants at trial often mount a "justification" or "necessity" defense. They turn trials into opportunities for propaganda and organizing, and more than one action group has come together at an earlier trial. German law, courts, and judges

upheld the legality of the "Final Solution" just as U.S. law, courts, and judges protect the threat to all life from First Strike preparations, Star Wars, and the "Winnable Nuclear War". Plowshares actions and related acts of civil disobedience provide a moral alternative to being "Good Germans", proving that despair, helplessness, and inaction are not our only choices. With the nuclear age (and U.S. nuclear superiority) some 45 years old, these plowshares actions are the only acts of true nuclear disarmament ever to take place.

A small group taking hammers in hand to render some weapon of mass destruction harmless, a sword into a symbolic plow, is one of the most successful examples we have today of militant direct action stemming from well thought out politics. Participants' heartfelt and often eloquent explanations of why they "could not, not act", and exposure of U.S. First Strike plans produce considerable sympathy. In a Philadelphia court the Epiphany Plowshares were severely restricted as to what topics they could mention in court, yet their first two trials resulted in hung juries. The judge had to order a mistrial in a third trial. The fourth trial, accompanied by a gag order and court chosen lawyers finally resulted in convictions. Greg Boertje went underground before sentencing and was arrested months later as part of another Plowshares action, his third. He and Lin Romano appealed their Epiphany conviction and charges were finally dropped or reduced to misdemeanor trespass.

Tools used in these actions range from household hammers and a canoe paddle to electric drills and a rented jackhammer. In 1988 the Nuclear Navy Plowshares poured blood and hammered on Tomahawk nuclear cruise missile launchers on the USS Iowa when the battleship returned from the Persian Gulf. The Griffiss Plowshares in 1983 hammered on a B-52 bomber. Groups have varied in the amount of damage they have chosen to inflict, and have probably tended to more limited acts, but critical systems have been made inoperable, and in one case an Air Force computer turned into avant gard sculpture. This readiness to damage property and consider symbolic and actual acts of disarmament has contributed to the openness of the wider pacifist and religious communities to lawbreaking and to concrete acts of solidarity.

The early Plowshares actions were fruits of the Atlantic Life Community, a religious, mostly Catholic East Coast network. Later actions have come from a broader geographic area. Several have had a joint focus against nuclear weapons and military intervention in the Mid East and Central America. Plowshares has gone international with actions in Sweden, Australia, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Holland, where Dutch activists have taken sledge hammers to NF-5B aircraft sold to Turkey for use against Kurdish nationalists. Also related at least in spirit were Leonid Gromov's acts in the Soviet Union against military trucks built for the war in Afghanistan.

A few have not been faith based, such as the "White Rose" disarming of a NAVSTAR computer by San Francisco anarchist Katya Komisaruk. The original White Rose, an inspiration for Katya and many others, were a small resistance group of German students who organized and distributed anti-Nazi leaflets until their capture and execution in 1943. Several books tell their history, and a

movie about the White Rose resistance has been shown and applauded both at Plowshares benefits and events by anti-imperialist groups.

The Plowshares community has not yet seen the level of repression that some other militant left groups have faced recently. There have been no Grand Jury investigations, though it is hard to imagine a group less intimidated by jail and better able to subvert a courtroom. There have been no conspiracy or RICO charges, although prison sentences have been as high as 18 years.

Last year there was an attempt by the FBI to tag Plowshares with the dreaded "terrorist" label. This government "anti-terrorism" is being used to define the limits of acceptable protest. This is why "terrorism" now includes any active resistance, while "freedom fighting" excuses contra atrocities in Nicaragua.

The Atlantic Life Community and the Plowshares actions it has inspired have probably had their biggest impact in this country on the religious community. Here, as in Latin America, the church is one of the biggest areas of support (or potential support) and analysis for the revolution. The Catholic Worker movement, as close as anything in North America to Latin American liberation theology and base communities, owes no allegiance to the state, feeds the hungry and shelters the homeless, and supports illegal acts of protest and resistance. However the Catholic, Christian, or at least theistic image that the ALC core has given to even peripheral plowshares style actions has alienated support, and worse, has kept away more explicitly political potential participants.

The ALC contains a broad range of people but collectively retains a strong residue of very traditional values. The most visible sexual role models it offers are either the heterosexual monogamous couple with children, or celibacy. Sexuality generally, and abortion specifically, are hotly controversial topics. There has been little open discussion, probably for fear of creating division. Some ALC members have recently done anti-abortion civil disobedience. This may be provoking some open debate at ALC gatherings, but it will do more to alienate feminist, gay, and pro-sex forces from the ALC and the Plowshares disarmament tendency.

Other parts of the movement could make powerful use of plowshares-style acts of direct resistance and disarmament. That this has not happened after 9 years speaks less to the limitations of the ALC than to the wispieness and lack of commitment of the movement in general, and our tendency in an instant gratification culture to become either burned out ex-activists, or else movement bureaucrats. One clear need is for us to nurture strong political and personal relationships with the people we live and work with, so that as small groups and individuals we have the emotional strength to be in the struggle "for the long haul", a task at which the ALC does well.

ECOTAGE

"But they have everything. They have the organization and the control and the communications and the army and the police and the secret police. They have the big machines. They have the law and drugs and jails and courts and judges and prisons. They are so huge. We are so small."

"Dinosaurs. Cast-iron dinosaurs. They ain't got a fucking chance against us."

Four of us. Four million of them, counting the Air Force. That's a contest?"

"Bonnie, you think we're alone? I'll bet -- listen, I'll bet right this very minute there's guys out in the dark doing the same kind of work we're doing. All over the country, little bunches of guys in twos and threes, fighting back." The Monkey Wrench Gang, by Edward Abbey

The most widespread, contagious, and effective example of clandestine direct action in the U.S. during the 80's has been the environmentalist sabotage known as ecotage described in Edward Abbey's great caper novel and loosely associated with the politics of Earth First! Probably hundreds of millions of dollars in damage has been done to corporate exploiters' attempts to build roads in wild areas, dam the Grand Canyon and mine uranium on the canyon rim, drill for oil in the Montana wilderness, and log the last of the old growth Cathedral Forests of the Pacific Northwest.

Monkeywrenching is simple, it works, and anyone can do it. To use one example, engines and heavy equipment run on their lubrication systems. Adding abrasives can turn a big machine into a great big boat anchor. You use common tools and supplies such as a wrench to put valve grinding compound from an auto parts store (or tumbling grit from an art supply house, or just fine sand) into the engine oil and gearbox of your preferred bulldozer, heavy truck, or whatnot. All these are cheap. Nothing is illegal to buy or possess (but please take precautions anyway, okay?). There is no need to get into the headaches of acquiring and safely storing large amounts of explosives and other incriminating and tricky to use supplies. And the propaganda and damage you can do is limited only by your own ingenuity and imagination.

In a 1980 interview in one western state a notorious pro-development public official blamed The Monkey Wrench Gang for a million dollars in sabotage in his county alone. About that time a tiny radical rag called Earth First! began printing the "Dear Ned Ludd" column that would later become Ecodefense: the Field Guide to Monkeywrenching (\$13.50 from Earth First!, PO 2358, Lewiston, Maine 04241. Use an alias or order through your preferred lefty bookshop if you are sensibly paranoid). Word spread like prairie fire through radical ecology and other circles. "Hayduke Lives!" Here was shit you could do. Through our Watt infested parks and the vast federal lands survey ribbons disappeared (in one city someone someone moved a set of markers somewhat so that facing bridge abutments on a river were built offset from one another, causing a four month delay and costing

\$40,000 to replace). Bulldozer engines seized up from abrasives in the oil, and in one of the most ingenious techniques, clearcutting of forests was prevented by "inoculating trees against saw mills" - tree-spiking.

In a commercial saw mill if a blade hits something such as an embedded rock or an old piece of fence wire the blade breaks or is dulled, resulting in expensive damage and "down time". With this in mind it is possible to save a forest. Just imagine hiking into the forest with a hammer and a bag of big nails. The tactic depends of course on it being known that this has been done, so send a statement to the appropriate Forest Service and timber company offices. Please, no fingerprints, no traces, and don't use the typewriter at your local Friends of the Frog office.

***** Safety Note: Please place your spikes at head height or higher so as not to endanger the poor working grunt with the chainsaw felling the tree. Chainsaws are dangerous enough already, and hitting a spike could be unpleasant. For similar reasons, don't mess with the brake systems on vehicles.*****

In hard hit areas several generations of increasingly sophisticated countermeasures by the forest rapers have led, for instance, to each log being sent through an airport type metal detector at the mill, and thus to eco-defenders using undetectable ceramic spikes. All this and more is found in the Ecodefense field guide.

Estimates are hard to come by in this kind of writing, but around 15,000 copies of Ecodefense have been sold, with orders pouring in, and an awful lot of people are out using it. Whoever the anonymous evil genius was who invented some of this stuff, it has inspired and empowered thousands of others to "pick up the monkeywrench".

Of the examples of militant direct action we are looking at, monkeywrenching has involved by far the most people. Plowshares actions and political bombings in the 80's rely on highly educated and committed cadre type individuals, mostly from within very small communities. However there are large numbers of activists and revolutionaries out there who participate in public campaigns or civil disobedience, but who are not interested in long jail terms, life underground, death, or dismemberment.

It is easy to hear or read about monkeywrenching and say "Wow, we could do that too." The tactic spreads through the propaganda value of the action itself, and through how-to guides and creative fiction. Monkeywrenching has become a widely known (if still controversial) tool, empowering the people who use and refine it. If we can find ways to adapt and popularize it in new areas, we will have done a lot towards a popular resistance movement. For one thought, computers are vulnerable, and are used in ways oppressive to people with secretarial and word processing jobs, and many other workers. Suggestions, anyone?

Earth First! has met its first serious repression. Dave Foreman, editor of the Ecodefense handbook, and until recently of the Earth First! paper, was arrested in May 1989 with 3 others, based on an infiltrator's testimony. They are charged with conspiracy to sabotage Rocky Flats (Dep't of Energy plutonium processing plant) and the Palo Verde and Diablo Canyon nuclear power plants. Three people were apparently caught practicing how

to take down the massive power lines coming out of such facilities. 16 people were subpoenaed to appear before federal grand juries in Montana and Tucson beginning June 8, 1989. Details should be available through the Earth First! paper (address above). And make out a check to the Legal Defense Fund:

LDL
POB 4666
Salem, OR 97302

Earth First! is not the only group to face this sort of federal investigation recently. Grand juries are an important tool for the government. Dozens of people, mostly from the Black, Puerto Rican, and anti-imperialist movements, have been jailed during the last 10 years in political witch hunts directed at criminalizing the Left. Conspiracy and RICO (a law originally intended for prosecuting the mob) charges are common. Although Earth First! does not always see itself as part of the radical left, the government certainly does. The EFL investigation falls under federal "anti-terrorism" guidelines because of "criminal acts... in furtherance of their political or social goals."

Whatever the drain on EFL resources these prosecutions may be, monkeywrenching will only stop when wilderness and biodiversity are safe. The most active monkeywrenchers keep quiet about their work and probably are not active publicly. Monkeywrenchers are hard to bust. There have been almost no arrests in the past. The loose knit and far-flung nature of the movement makes it very hard for the government to identify most "potential" monkeywrenchers. The arrests in Tucson were only possible because the feds knew about an action in advance through an infiltrator. The skills and desire to do eco-tage are spread among enough cowgirls, cowboys, and Sierra Club members that persecution of a few active EFLers won't stop much of the activity.

Typical ecotage is not complicated and does not require a large logistical pyramid (false i.d., safe places to store large amounts of materials), so it is unlikely to be stumbled on by the police or uncovered through luck and massive searches. The Ecodefense handbook includes some good tips on security and warnings about physical traces. Cutting and striking tools leave distinctive microscopic "fingerprints", for example, so don't put your bolt cutters and chisel back in the basement the morning after. Grease and dirt from a stricken machine can be matched to that rubbed off on tools or clothes, so be careful. There is an excellent book titled Without A Trace, (Partisan Press, 1980, P.O. Box 2193 Seattle, WA 98111) that describes this sort of police scientific ability. It is out of date in a few details, and probably out of print. We hope that someone will undertake reprinting the book.

Earth First! has been pretty good at maintaining a decentralized and non-hierarchical character. There is no core or central office deciding what will happen. There is a strong network of locally involved people and groups, and a vibrant internal debate over feminism, biocentrism, and the short-sighted and bigotted positions some EFLers have taken. Earth First! has

always recognized the diversity among people sharing a commitment to radical ecology. This has allowed respect and a certain amount of mutual learning between everyone from "rednecks for wilderness" to California tree worshippers.

Much of Earth First! has a pretty strong macho cowboy identity, though this is (slowly) changing. It generally lacks a specific critique of racism and imperialism in U.S. history. Whose land did those cattlemen put stock on, anyway? And who got rich selling canned beef to the army during the invasion of Cuba in 1896? Few radical groups, Earth First! included, have done enough to find allies in other areas of struggle. Sometimes this is expressed as a fear of diluting one's focus. Yet if we were consciously to build such alliances, we would do far more to strengthen our own particular analyses. Without a broad perspective we will unknowingly be preserving oppressive elements of society within our visions of the future. Most of us also tend to self-righteousness. This would be easily tempered by the understanding that there is no revealed truth, and none of us can ever see the complete picture or have the correct line.

ARMED RESISTANCE UNIT AND THE CAPITOL BOMBINGS



We inside the U.S. are in the belly of the beast. Solidarity is growing, but alongside our protest we must build an active resistance to the U.S. war machine. The growing militarization of our society means that the military is everywhere - and vulnerable to our action. Recruiting stations dot neighborhoods, ROTC functions on campuses, factories produce the weapons, military bases train the men. Resistance is not only an act of solidarity - it is the basis for our own revolutionary movement. (Armed Resistance Unit: 4/26/83 bombing of Army War College)

The 1980's have seen a number of attempts by white Northamericans to build and maintain clandestine groupings in support of Third World liberation struggles. These groups, the

ARD, Red Guerrilla Resistance, United Freedom Front, and others, have bombed corporate and government offices and military facilities. These attacks have been carefully planned not to cause personal injury, and warning calls precede each explosion. From the placement and small amounts of explosives used it seems the purpose of the bombings is as much for propaganda as for sabotage or substantial material destruction. The United Freedom Front attacked a number of New York area companies including IBM (supplies computers to the South African military and security police), Motorola (classified electronics, and fuses for anti-personnel cluster bombs) and General Electric (the fourth largest military contractor in the U.S., and aircraft and machine gun supplier to the Salvadoran Air Force). One attack by the Armed Resistance Unit destroyed part of a computer center at the Washington Navy Yard. The ARU also bombed the U.S. Capitol in 1983 after the invasion of Grenada. The purpose of these groups however goes beyond simply carrying out political bombings.

Above all else, the clandestine movement poses the revolutionary option, and could be seen as the nucleus of a political-military front such as the FMLN. More to the point, they challenge the broader movement to see itself as a revolutionary movement, to see our solidarity work (and other political work) as the basis for radical struggle here and now, uniting support for Third World liberation with our own struggles at home.

Why do we need a clandestine capability? Many activists in the U.S. have a strange idea that somehow clandestinity is incompatible with political organizing and mass struggle. This idea is a victory for the repressive forces of the state. It divides the movement and dangerously isolates people who engage in militant action, and it leaves the public movement vulnerable to repression. The powerful German Socialist Party (SPD) and its armed paramilitary wing were neutralized by the Nazis in one month in 1933. Every office and newspaper was raided, leaders and editors sent to Dachau, and subscription and membership lists seized, though comrades managed to burn the lists in some towns. Neither the Socialist nor the Communist Parties had prepared for underground existence. They failed in more fundamental ways as well. They had failed to understand fascism politically, and so were unable to defend themselves politically as well as tactically. Deprived of leaders and of their accustomed legal political organs, party members were left confused and unable to adapt and carry on the struggle. Most of the organized left met the same fate again in France in 1940.

Historically two things prevent the decapitation of movements - decentralization, and the ability to organize out of the eyes and ears of the state. We also need strong networks of individuals, affinity groups, and households sharing history together and love and trust. Surely these are the seeds of the new society. These also allow discussion and organizing face to face and protect against infiltration, and they give us support in hard times, personal and political.

During the struggles to organize workers in the U.S., many militants had to use assumed names, produce newspapers secretly, and sometimes live totally underground in order to be out of the

gunsights of police and company thugs. All this so as to remain active in a mass struggle. Often it is smart to use a pseudonym publicly to protect one's identity and friends and family. Using one's own name in an article such as this can lead to more 'loss of privacy' than most of us want to put up with. Even in times of less heavy repression we must practice evading current levels of surveillance and counter-insurgency tactics so we have the skills and materials prepared to survive a future clampdown intact.

Besides protecting mass organizing, these skills allow us to conduct militant actions undetected. We can carry out serious acts of sabotage and resistance, and expose the myth of government invincibility. We can protect fugitives, and harass and hinder the empire, and these actions can inspire the movement and spark new resistance.

In this period most of all we need to spark discussion of goals and tactics. We need to organize the predominantly white anti-war and anti-imperialist movement (among others) as a revolutionary movement, and to bring the possibility of clandestinity and militant direct action to the broader movement.

Although an important beginning, the ARU and other actions of 1982-1985 do not appear to have succeeded at these tasks. They failed to create spin-off actions, and the actions themselves were not picked up and discussed or defended by other left organizations or solidarity groups. The white anti-imperialist left was not able to sustain an underground in the face of Operation Western Sweep and other fugitive hunts. None of the armed clandestine groups have claimed any actions since the arrests in 1984 and 1985 of a number of individuals the government has since tried to identify with and charge with various of the bombings. (Several Puerto Rican groups not covered in this article are definitely alive and well, and appear to be organically tied to community struggles and the independentista movement). Perhaps the biggest problem was that the actions did not create significant new support to counter the repression, and the style of the bombings and the language of the communiqués was specialized enough to identify them with a pretty narrow sector of the left.

Most groups develop their own political dialect. At its worst this jargon gets so far from ordinary speech that it is unintelligible to the outsider, which makes community organizing difficult. Several of us in 1983 were able to guess pretty accurately who was trying to build "armed struggle". The communiqués are pretty readable, but contain a lot of clues. Besides this, there were a couple of small groups advocating armed struggle and supporting people captured during a 1981 attempted Brinks robbery by the Black Liberation Army and former members of the Weather Underground Organization.

Following Brinks a number of people went underground who had been associated with the May 19 Communist Organization and the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee. These organizations were targeted after Brinks for massive surveillance, the jailing of members by political grand juries, and conspiracy and racketeering charges in an attempt to criminalize and destroy the groups. Although it was a very difficult period, and May 19th

eventually disbanded, JBARC continues and is doing a lot to research and combat the growth of racist street gangs and youth culture. One result has been that the community began to realize how isolated and ingrown it was, and has become far less sectarian and more able to see possible alliances.

In hindsight one of the lessons is how hard it is to get away with what one person described as "trying to advocate armed struggle by day, and do it at night". The FBI must have been able to identify a target pool in the bombings of a hundred suspects or less. If the guerrilla must be a fish swimming in a sea of the people, the government was able to narrow down its search to a fish pond or a large aquarium.

The bombings were conducted with professionalism and concern to avoid injuries. Nobody was hurt, and no evidence was left that would identify those involved. The people who were captured from the underground are being prosecuted on conspiracy type charges, and on circumstantial evidence, such as their possession when captured of false id, explosives, and study papers. They are known and respected for their political involvement over the last 20 years. They are part of our movement and deserve our support. Sentences have been unbelievably long, and prison conditions in small group isolation/ behavior modification units are brutal. Break through the walls. Write to a prisoner or attend a trial. Support committee addresses:

"The Resistance Conspiracy Case" (persons charged with the Armed Resistance Unit and Red Guerrilla Resistance actions, on trial in Washington, D.C.)
Washington Area Committee for Political Prisoners Rights
P.O. Box 28191
Washington, D.C. 20038-8191

The "Seditious Conspiracy Case" (charged with the United Freedom Front actions, defendants are working class and rooted in radical prison and community struggles of the 1970s, on trial in Springfield, Mass.)
The Sedition Committee
P.O. Box 4690
Springfield, MA 01101

CONCLUSIONS: THOUGHTS ON HARVESTING WHEAT IN THE 90s

In writing this our observations are certainly affected by biases of politics and experience. This pamphlet is not meant to offer any conclusions, but rather to provoke new thought (and action). The Quakers have a tradition of offering "queries" rather than setting rules. In that spirit there is no one "right" answer to any of the questions below, and we prefer thoughtful disagreement over unreasoned unity. Also, this is incomplete in what it covers. Building and site occupations, militant street actions (aka "riots"), and strikes such as the Pittsdon Virginia coal miners' struggle all will be vital in the 90s. We need to learn from South Africa, recent events in China, and the Palestinian intifada how to continue organizing in the face of repression. The white left needs to support Puerto Rican independence and the struggles of Blacks, Native Americans, and Mexicans in these "United States".

Finally - this is not a "how-to" book. Read Ecodefense, and Without A Trace. Don't leave physical traces (hair, fingerprints, toolmarks). Vary your style and methods. Don't discuss actions over the phone, at home, or in the office. Plan and act only in a small tight group of people you have known a long time, who you can check out independently, who you have seen act well in varied situations and under stress, and who you trust both rationally and intuitively. One task we need to undertake is to develop networks and organizations of cadre individuals in the areas in which we work, along the lines of the early Sandinista front, or the FAI and Spanish affinity groups during the 20s and 30s. We need discussion about the relation of tight committed groups to the larger movement.

What do we hope the effect of direct action will be? We offer two suggestions. First, it should play a part in creating a consciously revolutionary struggle. Solidarity with Third World liberation movements is one obvious basis for this, but a revolutionary analysis is also possible in dealing with housing and development issues, nuclear power and nuclear weapons, patriarchy, and AIDS. Direct action can and is being incorporated in all of these struggles.

Second, it should empower new groups to act, and inspire new tactics. It can show that resistance is possible and encourage the movement to greater commitment. A more or less full time underground is important but we need people to act even if they don't want to star on the post office wall.

Is a particular action more symbolic, or meant more as actual interference and sabotage? Either way, make sure it has strong propaganda value. A good example of each would be Plowshares disarmament actions on the one hand, in which nuclear missile related gear is hammered on and labeled "Dachau" or "Auschwitz", and the destruction of 9 U.S. jet fighters in Puerto Rico by the Macheteros during the January 1981 FMLN offensive in El Salvador.

What do we target? Is the act of resistance clearly self-explanatory? Much of the success of the Plowshares approach involves disarming a particular weapon or strategic system, thereby exposing broader issues of nuclear first strike preparations or U.S. military intervention. Targeting a weapon or production facility rather than an office or building is often more easily understood, exposes the same activities, and is more effective at a material level (unless the office holds files you want to destroy or publish).

Research the vast flow of counterinsurgency weapons and instruments of mass destruction from the U.S. to Latin America, the Middle East, and elsewhere. White phosphorus and fragmentation bombs are hard for public relations officers to justify, and make very clear the inhumane basis of the empire. How does a clandestine action relate to a public campaign - will it support the ongoing campaign, or put it at risk?

What tools do we use? As with hammers and baby bottles of blood, is the message (partly) in the medium? How do we use explosives in ways that do not endanger bystanders or the office secretary? Can we offer monkeywrenching tools and techniques that are easy and safe to acquire and use, such as tree-spiking, abrasives in lubricating systems, or iron filings in a computer? Does the movement involve a variety of resistance activities from sit-ins to spraypainting and gluing locks up to the really heavy stuff, or is there a big gap between writing protest letters and risking years in jail? What sorts of activities build skills at security and covert action?

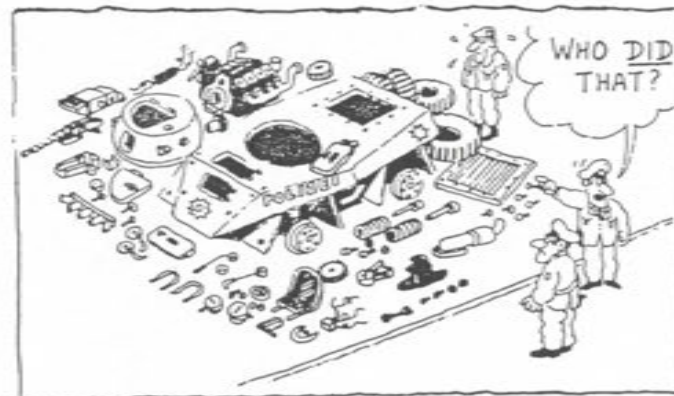
If you can't dance to it, do you want to be part of the revolution? If it isn't revolutionary, do you want to be part of the dance? We tend to see ourselves as anti-nuclear, or anti-intervention, or anti-whatever activists, but before we see real victories for any fragment of the movement we need the imagination to see ourselves as all part of an inclusive revolutionary struggle. We need the vision and skills to incorporate long term visions in each project we undertake. Without this unity we can never really learn from or inspire one another, and we can each be coopted or destroyed.

ADDRESSES:

- *Plowshares chronology booklet available for a donation from Plowshares N.Y., 2763 Webster Ave, Bronx NY 10458
- *Earth First! POB 2358, Lewiston, ME 04241. subs \$20/yr. EcoDefense: the field guide to monkeywrenching \$13.50
- *Communique booklet "Build A Revolutionary Resistance Movement" \$2.50, Committee to Fight Repression, POB 1435, Cathedral Station, NY NY 10025

(None of whom are responsible for this pamphlet. Cartoons are reproduced by permission of the artists. Thanks to them, and also to the Fortune 500 company on whose time this was written. Bastille Day, 1989.)

Community Organizing



is fun!