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# off our backs

25¢

a women's liberation bi-weekly



## SISTERS RISE UP

special edition on women and imperialism:  
an initial step toward realizing our common struggle

## Is there competition for freedom ?

When we finally get our pitiful pay-check, we are faced with the problem of stretching it to meet the food, health and clothing needs of our children. Women do 75% of the buying in the U.S.; we are the most aware of the effects war inflation has on our incomes.

AS HOUSEWIVES, WORKERS AND CONSUMERS we are victims of an economic system based on the expansion and accumulation of profit and not on the fulfillment of human needs.

Much of our self-concept is determined by the values we absorb from the mass media. We spend an enormous amount of time and energy trying to reach their unattainable image of the "ideal" white, wealthy, beautiful women. Since we judge our worth by how well we meet this standard, we tend to think little of ourselves. Still, as white women we are more able to live up to this standard than our black and brown sisters, and this is one reason why we have the mistaken notion of our superiority. In some ways all white women have benefited from racism--from the wealthy woman with her maids to the poor woman who is allowed to feel good about herself because she is "better" than her black sisters. We are beginning to realize that these privileges are false, a mask used to cover up the basic insecurity of our lives.

We have seen how racism and sexism serve to divide us; to make us compete with our sisters and brothers, and to excuse atrocities committed against both blacks and women. We have learned that a course of non-resistance is utterly destructive for it facilitates our own oppression by white supremacist masters and makes us, as well, the oppressors of Black and Brown people. We do not accept this situation and we will fight to destroy it.

There has been a systematic attempt in this country to destroy any culture that is not white, European and male. Amerika's genocidal practices have kept black and brown people in positions of subservience without access to even the most basic human needs. The destruction of the land and people of Vietnam is an integral part of spreading Amerikan culture. It is easier to persuade a soldier to kill a "gook" than a human being. "Black blood is more expendable than white", and "the dignity of Vietnamese women is even less than that of American women".

The United States justifies its expansion around the world and into the affairs of every foreign country as our moral responsibility in the "World-Wide Struggle Against Communism."

But no one tells the American people about the big business economic interests that the U.S. is protecting.

### WHO PROFITS?

Listen to a V.P. of the Chase Manhattan Bank: "U.S. actions in Vietnam...have considerably reassured both Asian and Western investors."

Listen to Rudolf Peterson, former President of the Bank of America, now head of Nixon's foreign aid panel, speak about Southeast Asia: "We...have hungry new markets for our products and vast new profit potential for our firms."

Many large corporations--like Heinz, Chas. Pfizer, IT&T, Standard Oil, and Anaconda--rake off more than 50% of their profits from foreign countries. No wonder businessmen want the U.S. to be policemen of the world.

Many of our government's foreign "police actions" are actually decided on by top businessmen. In 1954 the CIA overthrew a progressive government in Iran. That country was kicking rich American oil men out, and nationalizing Iran's oil production. Kermit Roosevelt was the CIA agent who toppled the Iran government. He later became a top executive of Gulf Oil which has large holdings in Iran.

Ellsworth Bunker, the Ambassador to

Imperialism defines other countries in terms of how they meet the needs of the imperialist power. This is why the U.S. pushes people in the non-industrialized countries of the Third World - Africa, Asia, Latin America, to accept the "great American way of life". This way of life is fostered as superior to all others. Everyone in the world should speak English, eat with a knife and fork, be slim and blond, live in a house beautiful and use deodorant. Young people around the world are encouraged to identify with American fashions; Hollywood and TV stars are the idols to be aped; and coca-cola is the only soft drink worth having. The Third World must be kept dependent on the products and employment offered by the U.S. corporations because U.S. companies need that land for production, those resources for expansion, and those people as consumers and cheap laborers.

### The Third World

The term third world was first used by French colonialists. The first world was the U.S. and its allies; the second world was the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The third world was all of the colonies--the non-industrialized, "non-aligned" and "underdeveloped" countries. The two major powers saw these countries as pawns in a power struggle.

Today, third world means those countries and peoples who are struggling against imperialism and colonization. In Asia, Africa, Latin America and the U.S. people are building strong, free societies. Yesterday the U.S. and Russia attempted to decide the fate of these countries. Today the Third World is deciding history for everyone.



Underdeveloped countries are exploited according to U. S. corporate and military needs. These same countries are given high-interest loans and foreign aid to help them develop. They do not however, control how this money will be used. About 98% of the American dollars sent to Latin America are used to buy U.S. made goods or to pay salaries of U.S. technicians. American dollars flowing into the Third World find their way back to the hands of the capitalist. The people do not control the resources of the land and do not own the factories, thus the country is not able to develop. American money does not aid development in these countries--it retards it.

People in the Third World are struggling to control their own countries. We are struggling to control our lives. This does not mean that we want to direct Mobil oil or fight imperialist wars to defend it. We do not want to boss secretaries or be slave drivers to workers "under" us. We

do not want to hate and fear each other or to compete with each other for scarce jobs. We know that an end to sexual discrimination on the job market is not the solution; abortions administered and controlled by money-hungry doctors are not the solution.

We know that the men in power cannot meet our demands for an end to the war in Southeast Asia; our demands to control our own bodies through safe, non-genocidal contraception and free abortions; our demand for an end to sexist, racist education and sex role stereotyping. Capitalism must go because it cannot meet our needs. Nor can capitalism-imperialism accept the demands of the Third World.

We are engaged in the same struggle as the Vietnamese, the Laotians, the Palestinians, the Koreans, Black and Brown people, gay people and Native Americans. It is a wealthy, white male authoritarianism. We have begun to feel that when bombs strike Vietnamese bodies they strike our own bodies and when they win, we win.

The war in Vietnam is old. Imperialism is old. People have struggled against it for centuries. But we still have a great deal to learn about struggle. As women we should discuss it together to gain our own perspective and program for action. As we grow and talk to one another, we will keep seeing the connection of all people's struggle to our own. We are not alone. We are part of every struggle for liberation. When any group becomes free, it is a step toward our own liberation and a victory for all people.

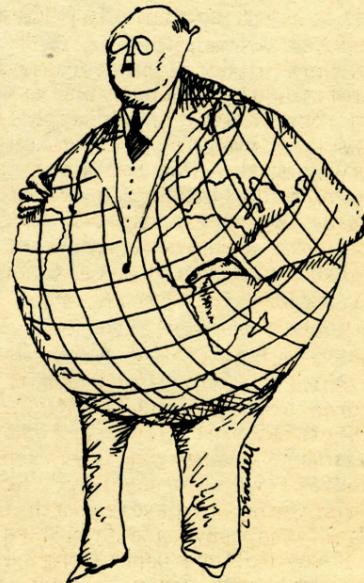
the Organization of American States; Abe Fortas and Adolf Berle, advisors to Lyndon Johnson, were key government agents who led the US invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965. The Dominican Republic is a top sugar-producing country. At the time Bunker was a Board member of the National Sugar Refining Company, Fortas was a long time Board member of the Sucrest Company--which makes blackstrap molasses in the Dominican Republic--and Berle was the chairman of the Board.

It is clear who profits from American foreign policies.

### WHO PAYS?

First of all, the poor people of the world pay with their lives through disease, starvation or war. Their countries are robbed of their resources as American big business pulls all the money back to pay to their stockholders as dividends, stock options or by other devices. For Latin America, between 1962 and 1966 we taxpayers paid out \$1.2 billion in foreign aid. Meanwhile, the bankers received \$1.6 billion in interest and service charges for loans previously made to Latin America, and that doesn't even count what they got in profits and earnings!

American workers, women and black people pay for American imperialism all the time in different ways. They pay with their sons who are sent off to die, with higher taxes, higher prices, decayed cities, polluted air and water, and human degradation.



# population manipulation

Fifteen years ago President Eisenhower wouldn't mention birth control publicly. Today the Congress authorizes \$357 million for family planning programs. This indicates a startling change in the government's attitudes toward population control.

The legitimate demands of the women's liberation movement for control of our bodies can easily be incorporated into plans for population control in ways which may at first seem to improve the situation for women but in the long run can only have a controlling effect on our lives once again. It is anti-woman and anti-life to pressure women into having fewer children or to make us feel guilty for wanting them. We must be free to decide either to have children or not to have them. It has been proposed that the government require abortions for all "illegitimate" babies. What a nightmare it will be for those of us who have worked our guts out fighting for the right to abortion if the government implements a policy of forced abortion. Already Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano women are being sterilized on the abortion tables.

## hard to swallow

At no time do we want to convey any doubt about the basic right of all women to safe and free abortion and birth control. We do want to distinguish between legitimate programs which offer these services and the population control programs of the US government and medical and drug interests which are not in the interests of women.

For example, oral contraceptives, dangerous though efficient, are pushed by Planned Parenthood (PP). A Senate subcommittee which investigated the pill was so shocked by its medical findings that it proposed an educational insert to warn women about the dangers. The insert was opposed by PP because the pills were considered important for population control and the information might scare women off the pill. Finally, because of pressure on the Food and Drug Administration by PP and other population control groups, the insert was drastically watered down. Women are still denied vital information about the side effects of the pill.

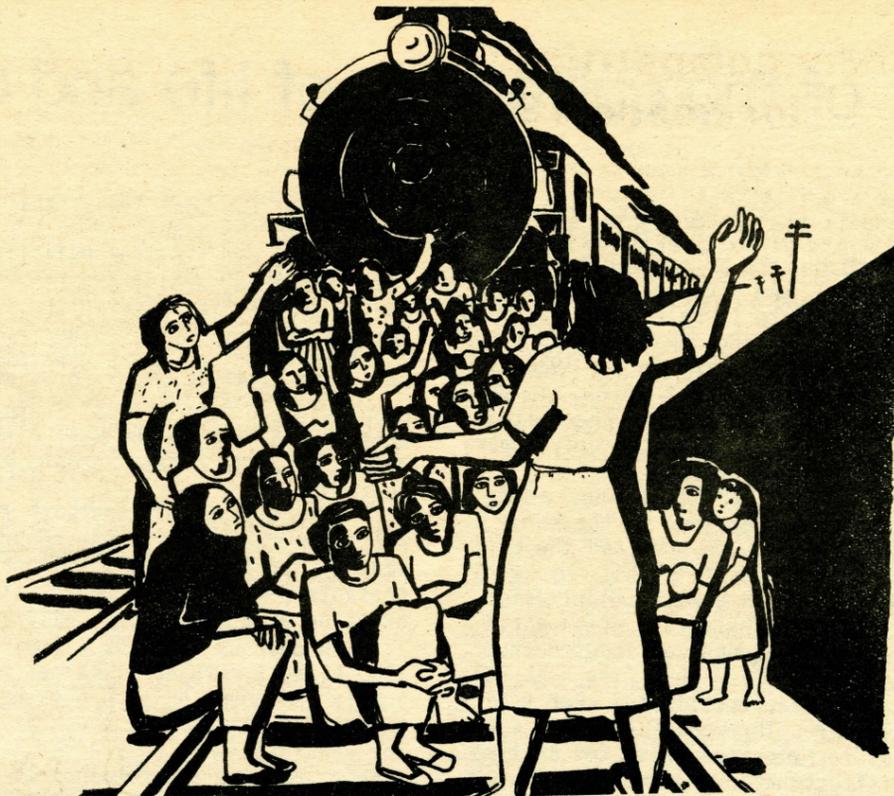
Historically women have borne the responsibility for pregnancies and their prevention. Women have been the guinea pigs for contraception and population control. Poor women are especially vulnerable. The first testing of the pill was on women in Puerto Rico, Haiti and the mountains of Kentucky. The U.S. now sponsors programs in India, Puerto Rico and elsewhere which pay starving and desperate people to surrender their ability to have children through sterilization.

## welfare slavery

All women are entitled to free and safe birth control. The question is who controls birth control? In 1963 the social workers of Alameda County, Calif. Welfare Dept. were directed to give birth control information to all women who asked for it. The directive went on to stipulate that any woman asking for this information must be living with a man and women living with men were not eligible for Aid to Dependent Children. Women who dared to ask for control of their reproductive lives were punished by being cut from welfare rolls.

Currently in Prince Georges County, Maryland, a state's attorney is attempting to get a ruling passed which says that the only mothers eligible for Aid to Dependent Children are those who are registered at the birth control clinic and who attend regularly. Similar policies are being discussed all over the country. Welfare women are also being threatened with loss of funds if they have additional children.

Today Welfare Departments are eager to provide birth control services which they had previously denied. These changes



are not a liberalization of policy. They are a new kind of control.

## yankee go home

The same approach is used internationally in population control programs sponsored by the US government and implemented by such agencies as International Planned Parenthood, Agency for International Development (AID), the Peace Corps, and university population study centers.

At the Women's International Democratic Federation Council meeting held in Budapest this year, women from forty-seven countries joined together to denounce U.S. policies of population control. One after another, women from third world countries spoke about the evils of the programs run directly or indirectly by the United States. They expressed their right to make decisions about the welfare of their societies, and to determine what part children will play in their lives. They wanted safe birth control devices without the U.S. ideal of two children being their only choice.

It was clear to these women that the people in their countries are not starving because there are too many, but because the wealth and resources of their lands are owned by the few and drained off by countries like the U.S. "Hunger is not caused by overpopulation. It is caused by theft, theft of land, theft of resources, theft of real control for the people themselves. Hunger is caused by exploitation."

There is a U.S. subsidized birth control program in Venezuela, with only 27 people per square mile, while the Netherlands, with 972 people per square mile has no U.S. program. Chile has a population of slightly under 9 million, about the number in New York City. It is a country with a comfortable land/people ratio. Yet it is considered over-populated by American "experts" and until the new government, all AID grants were dependent on the Chilean government instituting population control courses in its public schools.

## food or profit

It may be true that many people in Latin America are hungry, but they will not have more to eat if there are fewer people. That is not how the economics of food markets work. American corporations like the United Fruit Company own vast amounts of land in Latin America which they use exclusively to grow one crop, such as bananas. Profits on the sale of these crops go to companies like United Fruit and not to the people who need the capitol for their own food production and economic development. The availability and price of food is related to corporate profit policies rather than to the needs of people.

The U.S. government in 1968 paid American farmers 4 billion dollars to take

35 million fertile acres out of production. Farmers are encouraged to plow under thousands of tons of potatoes and apples to raise market prices. If immediate profit is of higher value than the hunger of the existing population, why should we believe that the hunger of future generations will be of any more interest just because there may be fewer people.

Arguments about world famine are unconvincing when Canada has such a surplus of wheat that it planted no wheat crop in 1970 and when today, there are U.S. warehouses filled with more grain than was exported in all of 1969. If the U.S. government was really interested in bettering the lives of people, they would send wheat instead of IUDs, bread instead of oral contraceptives.

## wastemakers

There is currently an ecological imbalance which threatens the survival of the earth. Whether this imbalance has reached crisis proportions is disputed in and out of scientific circles. The root of the "ecological crisis" is most often laid at the feet of the "population explosion" by American officials. However, the solution lies with controlling capitalism's excessive waste and consumption rather than numbers of people. The West is consuming the world's resources at an ever-accelerating rate and is attempting to expand the markets abroad for U.S. produced "luxuries".

The U.S., with 6-7% of the world's population consumes 60% of the world's resources. Regardless of whether population growth is controlled, we cannot continue to consume at the present rate without severely depleting the natural resources of the earth.

Capitalists divert our attention from destruction of human and natural resources. We are asked to believe that the problem is individuals having large families. They use this to justify coercive and genocidal measures against our third world sisters.

In Thailand, the U.S. is testing sterilants in the water supply. In India the US sponsors programs which pay women one day's salary for the insertion of an IUD. These women are so desperately poor that they immediately remove them and then go to another clinic to have another insertion and receive another day's salary. Each insertion exposes them to the possibility of infection or a perforated uterus. For years, poor black women at Cook County Hospital in Chicago have complained of receiving tubular ligations without their consent. Some gave consent but were pressured to do so under the influence of anesthesia.

These solutions to a starving world population are inhuman and unacceptable. As we struggle in the women's movement for control of our bodies, we must be constantly alert to co-optation of our demands and energies to service sexist, racist and imperialist policies.

# out of the quiverings of life and death...

The story of the Palestine Problem begins with the birth of political Zionism in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. Zionism, the movement for an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine, was relatively unpopular among Jews until Nazi persecution began in Germany in the 1930's. Western anti-semitism kept Jewish immigration quotas low in Europe and the United States, and made Palestine the only apparent refuge for thousands of Jews.

From 1917 on, political power among Jews in Palestine remained in the hands of Zionist leadership, who promised the British to bring "progress" to this "backward" Arab country through Jewish colonization. The British seized Palestine after World War I, betraying pledges of independence made to the Moslem and Christian Arab Palestinians who then constituted over 90% of the population. Throughout the 1920's and '30's Arabs in Palestine protested British imperialist occupation, demanded self-government, and in particular demanded the right to set immigration policies. Petitions, demonstrations, strikes, and armed revolt, which from 1936 to 1939 tied down roughly one-third of the British Imperial Army, were to no avail.

## *Israel Displaces Palestine*

The exclusive nature of the Jewish state has been central to Zionist ideology from its beginning. The corollary expulsion of Arab inhabitants from the country, effected through terrorism, climaxed in the period from November, 1946 to March, 1949.

Overwhelming pressure by the U.S. on Third World countries led to the passage by the U.N. General Assembly in November, 1946 of a plan to partition Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state. In the next 17 months Jewish forces not only expelled half a million Arabs from the Jewish-designated areas, but seized and occu-

piated 22% of the most inhabitable land assigned to the Arabs.

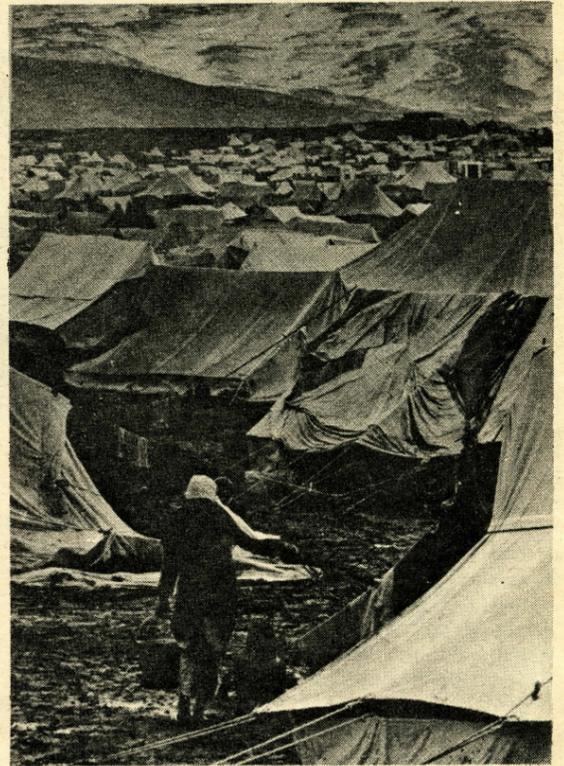
In the midst of the Palestinian flight in 1948; armies from the four neighboring Arab States entered the land designated Arab territory. Aside from stopping Zionist expansion, these governments were of little assistance to the Palestinian people—indeed, the king of Trans-Jordan annexed the land on the West Bank of the Jordan River to create Jordan, while Egypt took Gaza.

Palestinian refugees with skills or education found work in neighboring Arab states, but the masses of dispossessed peasants remained in crowded refugee camps, existing on a meager U.N. allotment.

Throughout the 1950's and early 1960's, most refugees remained psychologically dependent on such outside forces as the United Nations and the Arab governments for repatriation. Only after Israel, France, and England combined to defeat Egypt in 1956 did some Palestinians realize they themselves would have to secure their rights.

## *Palestinians resist*

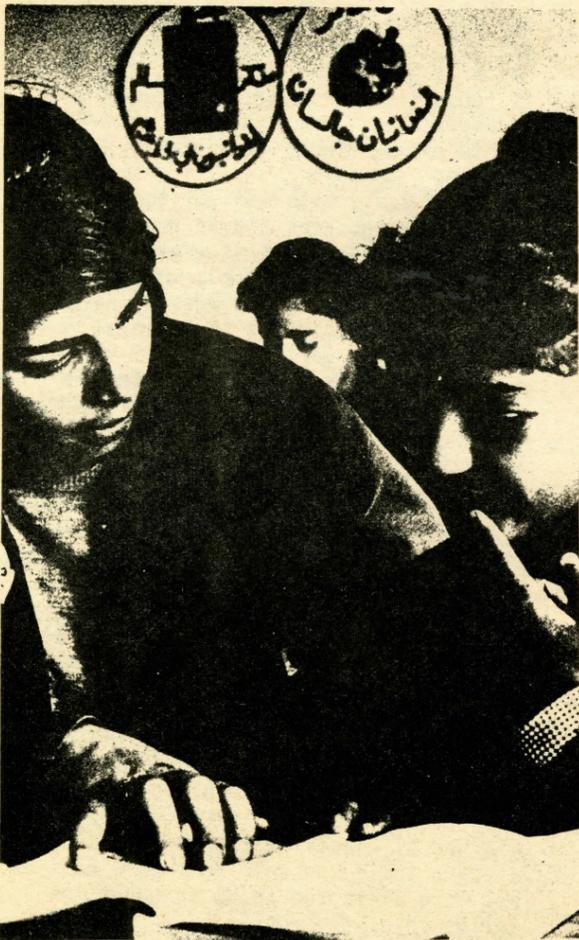
Organized armed resistance to Israeli occupation began on January 1, 1965 with the first operation of the Palestine National Liberation Movement (Al-Fat'h) inside Israel. The autonomous movement by Palestinian Arabs remained relatively small and secret until June of 1967. The ease with which Israeli Armies overran Arab territory and the creation of another half-million refugees galvanized the Palestinian Arabs. A multitude of commando organizations sprang up. The most important of these are Al-Fat'h, to which over half the guerrillas belong, the Marxist-Leninist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and a split-off group from PFLP, the Democratic Popular Front. Their ideological differences are fraternal; the



level of cooperation is high.

In just over three years, Palestinian resistance has stimulated unrest among the masses throughout the Arab world, exposed the Hussein government as a brutal military regime serving American interests, and upset American and Soviet plans for the region. It remains to be seen whether they can, as they hope, reach the Israeli masses with the message of liberation for the entire Middle East.

## ... life will emerge



*The following letter was written by two American women after a month with the Palestine liberation forces.*

We write to share with you our new feelings of solidarity with our Palestinian sisters.

We were attending an international conference on Palestine in Amman when PFLP announced the hijacking of four airliners and Leila Khaled's attempted hijacking of a fifth. We joined delegates from liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Europe in cheering the news. The three previous weeks talking to people in refugee camps, villages, and commando outposts had taught us why the Palestinians are engaged in armed struggle.

When they were children, women our own age had watched in uncomprehending terror while Israeli soldiers expropriated or destroyed their homes. They had grown up in refugee camps like Bak'ka and Wahdat, playing on ground made muddy by open sewers. We contrasted the slim rations of dry meal and the second-hand clothes doled out to Palestinian children with our own childhood memories of birthday cakes and ruffled dresses.

Walking through the camps, we learned what was obvious to our Palestinian comrades: that socialism cannot be built on stolen land; that people in New York or Moscow cannot possess citizenship rights in a country at the expense of those whose families had lived there continuously for thirteen hundred years.

We also learned the meaning of real social change. We saw a popular movement. The Palestinians understand their liberation will not come through the efforts of Arab governments, but through their own work. They have built cooperatives, hospitals, and schools to provide for the needs of the people. They have armed the people and trained them in self-defense. And when the reactionary regime of Jordan, backed by the United States government, saw what a threat to its survival the movement had become, it lashed out. We were there when the fighting began.

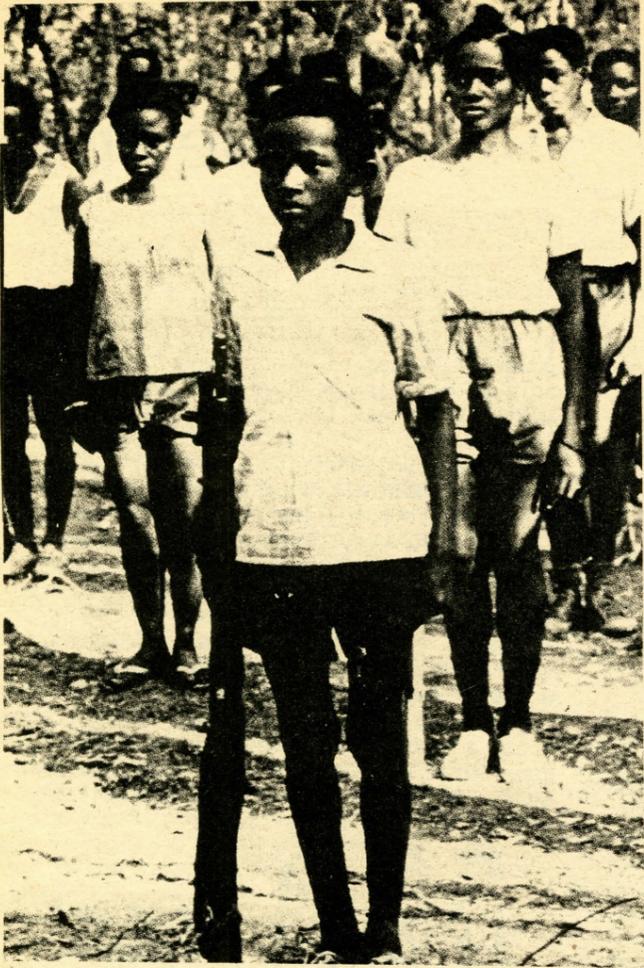
We saw that most of the Palestinian fighters were not commandos, but militia—men and women defending their own camps. To try to crush the resistance forces, the king had to attack the people. And he did with American guns, ammunition, tanks, and napalm.

When we arrived home, the media were reporting that the "Arab-Israeli" conflict had erupted into "civil war" in Jordan. It was a blatant distortion of the facts. The essential issue is not between Israelis and Arabs, but between oppressors and oppressed. The Palestinian liberation movement is aimed at eliminating the existing social order in the Middle East, not the Jews in Israel. The armed, popular liberation organizations are as threatening to Hussein's government as to Golda Meir's, so Hussein tried to annihilate them.

In Jordan, 65% of the people are Palestinian. The rest are poor villagers and nomadic Bedouin tribesmen. They do not benefit from the present regime, but are loyal to sheiks whom the king buys off. Hussein recruits his army from these people, but we saw the Palestinian movement beginning to win them over to the revolution by providing them the means to create the only social services they ever had.

It was not a civil war in Jordan; it was an unsuccessful attempt at genocide. We visited the Wahdat refugee camp outside Amman the night before we left Jordan; we saw men and women of the militia preparing the camp's defense. Now we have learned that the camp has been virtually levelled by rockets and fire bombs. What terrible suffering there must have been! But the Palestinians would urge us not to spend energy mourning.

All power to the peoples' liberation struggles everywhere!



*Defenders of Angola*

## africa

We never accepted.

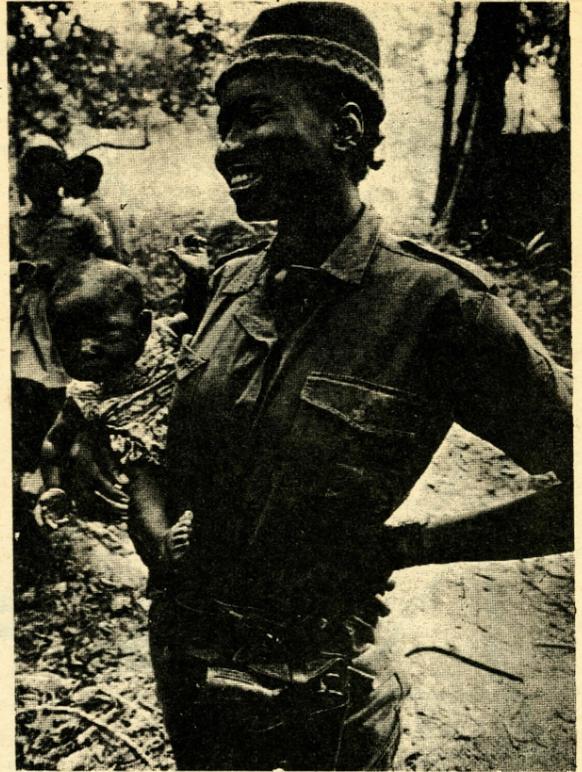
We were tall as trees  
bending when the strong wind blows  
but who know  
submission is just for a time

We stowed anxiety in our hearts  
courage in our hands  
bullets in our homes

Tenderness and hatred impelled us

Our sons measured their height  
by the length of guns

The anguish of waiting weighed on us  
like an endless yearning



*Member of the revolutionary party of  
"Portuguese Guinea", the PAIGC.*

Happy those who live in our time  
in freedom  
building freedom

FRELIMO -1970-  
Mozambique Liberation Front



*Women from the people's militia  
of FRELIMO, Mozambique's Liber-  
ation Front*

### A VILLAGE OUTSIDE OF PYONGYANG, 1935

We feel toward the Japanese a burning hatred. My sister and I and our five children live here, in this house we built from mud and straw ourselves. Last year the soldiers came riding through our village shooting everywhere and burning all our houses. I saw them throw children into the fires. The few who survived came here and rebuilt. We grow vegetables and sell them at the market and we manage to live this way.

My husband and many of the men in the village have been kidnapped to work in the mines. I do not know what will happen to him for he was not a strong man. When the

Japanese raided our village they shot my sister's husband and brother because they were communists, the Japanese said. As soon as any man speaks out against the Japanese or the Korean traitors, he is suspected of organizing rebellions. I do not know how we can rebel, we have no guns.

Three months ago a teacher came to our village. Her name is Ilyo. I think she is the niece of the village chairman, at least she lives with him. She has organized night classes for all women and children to learn to read. I was so discouraged before, that each day working in the fields seemed a terrible ordeal. But now I look forward to the classes each evening and I feel better. Besides all the words we have learned, Ilyo teaches us about the history of Korea and about our rights. All the women are very enthusiastic and will be very disappointed if the police forbid us to meet in our classes. But Ilyo says that they cannot stop us from meeting with each other even if we must do it secretly.

## north korea

Since we have come together we are all happier because we now help each other in many ways, when we are sick or when we need food. We take care of all the orphans in the village and sew clothes for them. I believe Ilyo when she says the time will come when the Japanese will be driven from our district and from Korea.

### A VILLAGE OUTSIDE OF PYONGYANG, 1970

This village is part of a cooperative farm of which I am the director. We grow rice, vegetables, fruits, and have 50 mulberry trees for our silkworms. We have realized our century old dream of tilling our own land.

We women fought in anti-Japanese guerilla struggle and against the Yankees; now we are full participants in the struggle for socialism and communism. Most important, we are all politically educated. We are all united but we are free to criticize and to use individual initiative on any task. We will support the struggle of our brothers and sisters in the south because we recognize that our supreme national task is the reunification of Korea. We also support the struggle of the American people, especially black people, against U.S. fascism. We have confidence in ourselves and in our ultimate victory over our common enemy, U.S. imperialism.





## rise up

Why?  
 Must I run?  
 Must I hide?  
 If I love my sister  
 Am I ill?  
 Do I look strange?  
 Smell--  
 Do I threaten you?  
 If I love my sister  
 I am free--  
 I am strong  
 I am proud  
 I do not threaten you  
 Can't you see--  
 I need you--

Bursting forth from the resistance of oppressed peoples comes a consciousness of our strength and our potential for creation. We use the word "life-force" to symbolize this life-oriented politics, based on people's determination to take control of their own lives. Too often in the midst of the horrors and atrocities perpetrated by US imperialism we forget that we are not only trying to bring down a system but that we are also moving toward a new world, a new woman and a new man, a new life for all people. Revolution is the acting out of this spirit--it is a process which liberates our consciousness and affirms our humanity. It is this life force which gives us the will and energy to fight and do what we know is necessary to defend what we are building and becoming.

Today we are expressing this life force throughout the world, sometimes loudly as in Southeast Asia, at other times quietly as in a women's consciousness-raising group, in a jail cell where Ericka Huggins writes letters, or in the cane-cutting fields of Cuba. The contrast between the emerging revolutionary forces and the dying, old order can be seen all around us.

In North Vietnam, there is a cave where people have set up a small agricultural parts factory. As planes carrying US bombs fly overhead, the women workers sing loudly to overcome the noise of the destruction wrought by the bombs. The strength of their song is greater than that of the bombs in welding a vision of the future.

The Young Lords Party turns an old church into a place where free food is distributed and children play and learn, turning on to their heritage and future. Outside the cops stand waiting orders to raid the church.

Members of a Fatah health team outside Amman walk each day through a small village on their way to a clinic, talking with the people, carrying guns over their shoulders. The clinic is a threat to the government and was shelled recently by US made bombs. They carry guns to protect what they are building.

In Berkeley, Peoples Park was created out of a need for community and then destroyed by the authorities. But the idea had been planted and groups of young people all over the US continue to create parks and other spots of life and beauty.

In Vietnam mothers and fathers can leave home to fight as soldiers, knowing that if they are killed their children will still belong to a community that cherishes them. There are no orphans in the liberated zones of Vietnam.

Struggle between life and death has gone on for centuries, but now this battle has reached a new peak of intensity. We see it in the struggle to survive of Third World Liberation movements both in the U.S. and abroad. We see it in the lives of more and more white people, especially among youth, women, and gay people.

Today we see life force bursting forth from women. The women's liberation movement has developed from women coming together, out of isola-

tion, to understand and end our oppression. As we have to take control of our lives, we have encountered the powerful forces of the society that hold us back and we have seen that we must fight these to survive. We have learned that all relationships based on power, on dominance and subordination, produce loneliness, dependency, self-hate, and do not allow us to grow.

In the very process of struggling against these oppressions, we have experienced more and more the life force within ourselves and our sisters. This life force is a flowering of creativity, joy, trust, and love that we never knew before. By bringing us together in a totally new way, the women's movement is beginning to break down those barriers of loneliness, inadequacy, self-hate, which kept us apart and afraid.



THIS IS HOW  
 WE USED TO  
 FEEL

NOW WE  
 FEEL MORE  
 LIKE THIS

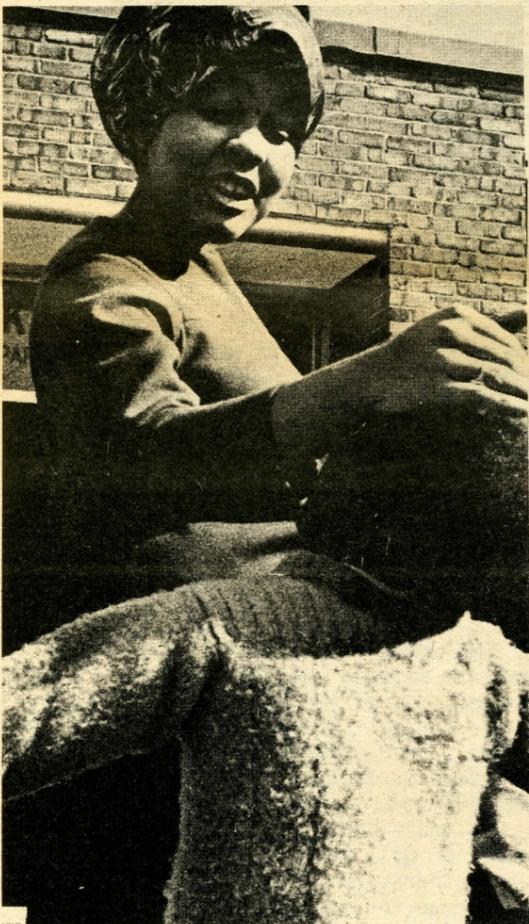
DOMINATION AND POWER  
 EVERY KIND OF PRIVILEGE  
 AUTHORITARIANISM AND ELITISM  
 AS WE SMASH THESE, WE BREATHE FREE

A life force struggle breaks down these power relationships and replaces them with collectivity, love, sisterhood, cooperation, joy; as we engage in this struggle, we grow stronger, more loving of

ourselves and others, more capable of building a new society and a new humanity.

The life force released by the women's movement is making it possible to respond to the emerging life force among gay women. Our gay sisters are raising our consciousness about love, sexuality, and human relationships.

We are learning that love for a sister is good, happy, sad, difficult. Knowing that love between women is sometimes happy and sometimes difficult demystifies the whole concept of love, changes it from



Panther Breakfast Program

### WOMEN GUERRILLAS IN COLOMBIA

We are so many and so determined that it doesn't matter that others want to fight to the death, because we are resolved to fight to live.

The mountain-moving day is coming.  
 I say so, yet others doubt.  
 Only a while the mountain sleeps.  
 In the past  
 All mountains moved in fire,  
 Yet you may not believe it.  
 Oh man, this alone believe,  
 All sleeping women now will awake and move.  
 Yosano Akiko 1911



Chinese parachutists

## my sisters

a thing that must follow a script to something that lets us discover each other. When we see through our own experience or that of our sisters that even love between women is not easy, then we are free to deal constructively with the obstacles this society puts in the way of love. The question of blame disappears as each person assumes mutual responsibility.

Gay people came together to resist their own oppression but as that consciousness grows into something beyond resistance it opens up space for all of us to deal with things in addition to homosexual love. We are freer to understand how we treat each other on every level, to throw out all those assumptions that separated us and held us down. Life force is that which makes us first rise up against our oppressor and is also released by the act of rising up.

We are responsible for nurturing this life force for it must be our future. Where women need health care, we must provide it; where child care is needed, we must set it up; where communications are required, we must establish the media to do it; where food is needed we must share it; where skills for construction, mechanical maintenance, or self-defense are needed, we must learn and teach them. And where sisters have been freed from jails and mental hospitals we must develop ways to support them. We can find joy in our own work and can rediscover or imagine our own culture, art, music, dance or song.

There is much about life force that we don't understand yet. This article was hard for us to write because our ideas about things like collectivity, love, and strength are restricted by living within the limits of this society. But everything we build pushes our imagination further; through the process of struggle, our ideas change and grow.

We feel anger and frustration at the constant indignities and incredible viciousness of the society we live in, but we will make our rage a weapon. We will remember every casualty caused by US imperialism--every Vietnamese, every malnourished child in Latin America, every black child whose teacher called her stupid, every industrial "accident", every woman on the illegal abortionist's table, every poor woman sterilized without her consent, every political prisoner--but our rage will not be a hollow outcry. It will be energy behind the building a new world, transformed through collective struggle for control of our lives.

rise up, my  
sisters, do not  
bow your heads any longer, or pray  
except to the spirit you waken, the  
spirit you bring to birth, it  
never was on earth, rise up, do not  
droop, smoking hash or opium, dreaming sweetness, perhaps  
there will be time for that, on the long beaches  
lying in love with the few of us who are left, but now  
the earth cries out for aid, our brothers  
and sisters set aside their childhoods, prepare  
to fight, what choice have we but joining them, in our hands  
rests the survival of the very planet, we are one  
with the stars and the spirit we forge  
they wait for, we must reclaim  
the planet, reoccupy  
this ground, the peace we seek  
was never seen before, the earth  
was never seen before, the earth  
BELONGS, at last, TO THE LIVING

Diane di Prima



SALT OF THE EARTH--in the early fifties, these Chicano and Anglo women took over a zinc mine picket line in New Mexico

Oh isn't it a pity, such a pretty  
girl as I  
Should be sent into the factory  
to pine away and die?  
Oh, I cannot be a slave,  
I will not be a slave,  
For I'm so fond of liberty  
That I cannot be a slave.

sung by striking millgirls in  
Lowell, Mass. 1836

"This is not a time for tears . . . This  
is a time for rejoicing . . . we will  
fight together."

Vietnamese woman to a  
U.S. sister



## my liberty

My liberty - my liberty - my liberty,  
a sound I repeat  
with angry lips  
under the exchange of fire  
and flames  
I run after it  
despite my chains  
and follow its tracks  
despite the night  
and struggle ardently  
for my liberty  
My liberty  
My liberty

And the Holy River  
and Bridge repeat:  
my liberty  
and the two banks reiterate:  
my liberty  
and the raging wind and thunder,  
tornadoes and rain  
echo the sound:  
my liberty

I shall carve its name  
while I resist  
on the land  
by the walls  
and the doors  
in the Temple of the Virgin  
in the altar  
and the fields,  
on every hill  
and every valley  
and every curve  
and road  
in prison  
in the torture rooms  
and on the gallows  
Despite the chains  
and the house demolition.  
I shall carve its name  
until I see it again  
extending to my Homeland  
and flourish  
and flourish  
until every inch of the land is covered  
until every door is opened  
by red liberty.  
And the night vanishes  
and the day breaks  
My liberty - my liberty - my liberty

Fadwa Touqan - Palestinian woman living  
in the occupied West Bank  
territory.



ONCE UPON A TIME THERE WAS A LITTLE GIRL WHO LIVED IN A LAND OF WEALTH--TALL WEALTHY BUILDINGS, HUGE WEALTHY BUSINESSES, BUSY WEALTHY PEOPLE. SHE HAD NEVER BEEN HUNGRY OR HOMELESS. WHENEVER SHE WAS THIRSTY OR TIRED, THERE WAS COCA-COLA AND BEAUTY-REST MATTRESSES--EVEN IN THE DESERT. AS A MATTER OF FACT, BILL BOARDS AND FACTORIES OVER-RAN THE DESERTS AND FORESTS FOR THE WEALTH OF THE LAND WAS STRONGER THAN NATURE. THE ELECTRIC LIGHTS WERE BRIGHTER THAN THE STARS. WASTES FROM THE FACTORIES KILLED PLANTS AND POISONED RIVERS, SMOKE DARKENED THE DAYLIGHT. IN THE MIDST OF THIS OVER-POWERING POWER, THE LITTLE GIRL WASN'T HAPPY AT ALL. SOMETHING IMPORTANT WAS MISSING.



JUST NINETY MILES AWAY FROM THIS GREAT LAND WAS A SMALL ISLAND. THE PEOPLE OF THIS ISLAND HAD KICKED OUT THE GREEDY MEN WHO RULED THEM, AND NOW THERE WAS MUCH WORK FOR THEM TO DO. THIS LITTLE COUNTRY WAS TRYING VERY HARD NOT TO LET FOREIGN BUSINESS TAKE THEM OVER AGAIN--PARTICULARLY THE HUGE BUSINESSES SO NEAR TO THEIR SHORES. THIS MEANT THAT THE PEOPLE

HAD TO WATCH THEIR SHORES CLOSELY TO GUARD AGAINST INVASIONS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME THEY HAD TO WORK VERY HARD TO BUILD UP THEIR INDUSTRIES. THERE WEREN'T MANY PEOPLE AND THERE WAS HARDLY ANY MONEY. WHAT A MAMMOTH TASK!!!

# YANKEE GOES HOME



SINCE THE LITTLE GIRL WAS SO UNHAPPY IN HER OWN COUNTRY AND WAS ALSO CURIOUS ABOUT A PLACE SO DIFFERENT FROM HER LAND, SHE DECIDED TO GO TO WORK ON THE ISLAND.

FOR SIX LONG, ROCKY DAYS, SHE TRAVELED IN A CROWDED, UNCOMFORTABLE CATTLE BOAT. SHE HAD NEVER DONE ANYTHING LIKE THIS BEFORE AND WAS A LITTLE NERVOUS. BUT EVERY DAY SHE MADE NEW FRIENDS, AND WHEN THEY WENT ON DECK, THE SUN AND AIR WERE WARMER AND Milder AND MORE BEAUTIFUL THAN THE DAY BEFORE AND THAT MADE THEM FEEL GOOD.



FINALLY THE BOAT DOCKED. THE MANY PEOPLE WHO HAD COME TO MEET THE BOAT WERE LAUGHING AND SINGING, MAKING MUSIC AND DANCING. EVERYBODY LOOKED STRONG AND HAPPY.



THE PEOPLE TOOK THE LITTLE GIRL TO A PLACE LIKE A BIG SUMMER CAMP, AND EVERY DAY FOR SIX WEEKS, SHE AND ALL THE OTHERS WHO HAD COME FROM HER LAND WORKED WITH THE PEOPLE OF THE ISLAND IN THE FIELDS CUTTING SUGAR CANE--EVERY DAY SWINGING MACHETES UNDER THE



SCORCHING SUN. EVERYBODY WORKED HARD, BUT THE PEOPLE WHO WORKED HARDEST OF ALL WERE THE ISLANDERS. THEY CUT TOGETHER KNOWING THAT MONEY FROM THE CROP WOULD BUY THEM FOOD AND CLOTHES AND MACHINES TO MAKE THE NEXT HARVEST EASIER. THE LITTLE GIRL WORKED AS HARD AS SHE COULD, TOO, FOR SHE FELT A PART OF THE EFFORT TO KEEP THE ISLAND FREE. SHE BEGAN TO UNDERSTAND THAT SINCE THE ISLANDERS RULED THEIR LITTLE LAND TOGETHER, THEY WERE WARM AND STRONG AND HAPPY. AND SHE, TOO, FELT WARM AND STRONG AND HAPPY.

WHEN IT WAS TIME TO GO HOME, THE LITTLE GIRL DIDN'T WANT TO LEAVE THE STRENGTH OF THE ISLAND PEOPLE. SHE WAS AFRAID SHE HAD FOUND WHAT SHE



SO TO KEEP BACK THE FEARS AND THE TEARS, THEY JOINED HANDS AND STARTED TO DANCE. AS THEY TURNED FOR ONE LAST LOOK, THEY SAW THE WOMEN ON THE SHORE DANCING THE SAME DANCE--THE OF THE ISLAND WERE LAUGHING HANDS AND DANCING ALL TOGETHER. AND THEY STILL ARE. THEY HAVE GUNS AND MACHETES, TRACTORS AND FIELDS AND THE WOMEN ARE STILL DANCING.



# black love is black wealth

Clearly the black struggle was a major inspiration to us in the decade of the 60's. Even if we were not fully conscious of it, the life and momentum of black people struggling to be free gave to us surges of energy to be involved in "the movement." The beautiful energy and strength with which black people in this country have carried on their liberation struggle has helped us understand our own oppression, our own strength and our own beauty as women.

We feel that one of the most important things we are learning today comes from black prisoners. George Jackson's letters tell us that it is possible to survive and grow in revolutionary ways even inside prison. Most of us are scared silly of repression and prison because deep down we really believe that jail is the end of the line. Comparatively few white people have been sent up for long sentences, but most of those who have been tragically unable to find a way to grow. Obviously it's not that black people are supermen or women who thrive in horrible conditions. The thing to understand is that oppression leads people to revolt against it, that a revolutionary meets repression by expanding her resistance through whatever avenues are left open, and that there are always avenues left open. Life force pushes and oozes around every obstacle. Erika Huggins has been in jail for a year and a half but she writes poetry and letters that inspire us toward greater effort. New York City jails use every way they can to divide and isolate the prisoners, racism being their most convenient tool. Yet, the collective spirit has built up so strongly that the spokesmen of the recent prison rebellions were black, Puerto Rican and white. "But now with sure knowledge that we are slated for destruction, we have been transformed into an implacable army of liberation." George Jackson, April, 1970.

## young lords on women

Third World Women have an integral role to play in the liberation of all oppressed people as well as in the struggle for the liberation of women. Puerto Rican and Black women make up over half of the revolutionary army, and in the struggle for national liberation they must press for the equality of women; the woman's struggle is the revolution within the revolution. Puerto Rican women will be neither behind nor in front of their brothers but always alongside them in mutual respect and love.

We have no control over our bodies, because capitalism finds it necessary to control the woman's body to control population size. The choice of motherhood is being taken out of the mother's hands. She is sterilized to prevent her from having children, or she has to have a child because she cannot get an abortion.

Third World sisters are caught up in a complex situation. On the one hand, we feel genocide is being committed against our people. We know that Puerto Ricans will not be around on the face of the earth very long if Puerto Rican women are sterilized at the rate they are being sterilized now. The practice of sterilization in Puerto Rico goes back to the 1930's when doctors pushed it as the only means of contraception. In 1947-48, 7% of the women were sterilized; between 1953-54, 4 out of every 25; and by 1965, the number had increased to about 1 out of every 3 women. In many cases our sisters are told that their tubes are going to be "tied" but they are never told that "tying" is really cutting and that the tubes can never be "untied."

Part of the genocide is also the use of birth control pills which were tested for 15 years on Puerto Rican sisters (guinea pigs) before being sold on the market in the U.S. Even now many doctors feel that these pills cause cancer and death from blood clotting.

Abortions in hospitals that are butcher shops are little better than the illegal

abortions our women used to get. The first abortion death in NYC under the new abortion law was Carmen Rodriguez, a Puerto Rican sister who died in Lincoln Hospital. Her abortion was legal, but the conditions in the hospital were deadly.

On the other hand, we believe that abortions should be legal if they are community controlled, if they are safe, if our people are educated about the risks and if doctors do not sterilize our sisters while performing abortions. We realize that under capitalism our sisters and brothers cannot support large families and the more children we have, the harder it is to support them. We say, change the system so that women can freely be allowed to have as many children as they want without suffering any consequences.

## 3rd world women's alliance

It must be understood that we are not just for civil rights for women or civil rights for Third World people. But the elimination of all forms of sexist and racist oppression-liberation for women and the Third World. We understand that national liberation can only come about under an atmosphere of economic equality and economic equality cannot be achieved under this system. We understand that the elimination of our oppression as women can only be achieved from a revolutionary government who understands with the help of women the need for women to be liberated. It is the position of the Third World Women's Alliance that the struggle against racism and imperialism must be waged simultaneously with the struggle for women's liberation, and only a strong independent women's group can ensure that this will come about.

## nikki rosa Nikki Giovanni

childhood remembrances are always a drag  
if you're Black  
you always remember things like living in  
Woodlawn  
with no inside toilet  
and if you become famous or something  
they never talk about how happy you were to  
have your mother  
all to yourself and  
how good the water felt when you got your  
bath from one of those  
big tubs that folk in Chicago barbeque in  
and somehow when you talk about home  
it never gets across how much you  
understood their feelings  
as the whole family attended meetings  
about Hollydale  
-and even though you remember  
your biographers never understand  
your father's pain as he sells his stock  
and another dream goes  
and though you're poor it isn't poverty  
that concerns you  
and though they fought a lot  
it isn't your father's drinking that  
makes any difference  
but only that everybody is together and  
you  
and your sister have happy birthdays and  
very good christmases  
and I really hope no white person ever has  
cause to write about me  
because they never understand Black love  
is Black wealth and they'll  
probably talk about my hard childhood and  
never understand that  
all the while I was quite happy

## motherhood Joanna Clark

My first words as I came from under the ether after I had my son were, "I think I made a mistake." Unfortunately, since then, and one more child later, I've had very little reason to change my mind. This is not to say that children cannot be lovable. It's not them, it's all the foolishness that goes on in the name of them. From the beginning, motherhood took on the complexion of a farce. ...

So I should have been forewarned when I finally locked out my charming, but philandering and non-supporting Peter Pan of a husband. I was working...when I turned the bolt. But if I didn't get sick, one of the children would...I finally

*cont. bottom next page*

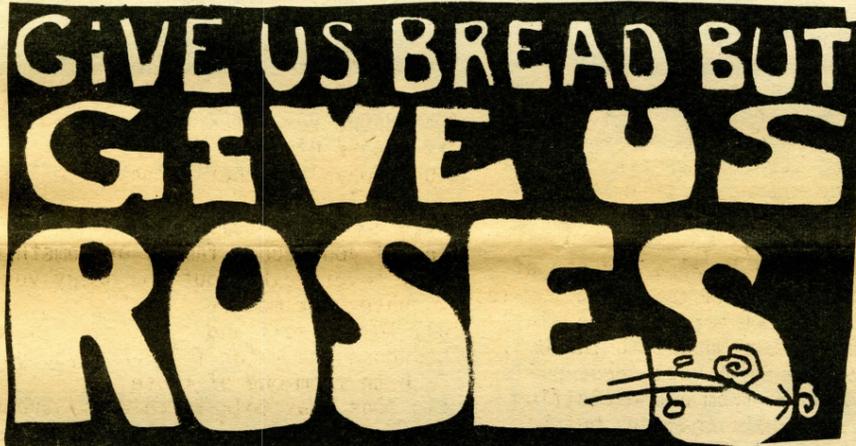


"Nikki Rosa", "Motherhood" and "Black Woman as Woman" (Excerpted) are taken from *The Black Woman, An Anthology*. NAL. 1970

## thoughts on where we are going

Women from a number of cities have been meeting together to work out plans for a North American conference with Indo-Chinese women. From that meeting and the resulting process we realized the need for an anti-imperialist program for the women's liberation movement. Such a program must be developed by the women's movement at the local level. Therefore, these are some thoughts about this, not a finished product--a call for women's liberation across the country to continue this process.

During the past two years, our movement has been growing at an incredible pace as women of every possible background have come together to question old beliefs and create new realities. The very pace of our expansion has denied us time to resolve all the tensions that threaten to split us apart. A division has been created between "women's" issues and "other" issues--as if everything is not a woman's concern. Many times we have had to choose between our small groups or child care centers and anti-war activities only to feel that, on the one hand, we were ignoring the world's pressing problems, and, on the other hand, were betraying feminism. In order to destroy this basically false division, we need to develop a deeper understanding of both feminism and anti-imperialism and to explore and clarify the process that unites them.



*motherhood, cont.*

came up with a really simple solution. I would put the children in one of the city's day-care centers....

I called the Day-Care Council to find out where the nearest school was. The woman on the other end of the line wanted to know why I needed a nursery. I told her that I had to work. She seemed insulted. "What do you mean, you have to work? In New York City there's no such thing as a mother having to work. You can go on welfare!"...

I hung in there for a while longer, but, besides being sporadic, I have to admit that I wasn't working with total dedication. So I got fired. For a short while I depended upon Peter Pan, but the next time the rent was due, there I was sitting in the welfare office....

I had as an investigator a man extremely gung-ho about filling out forms.... The investigator, in the interest of nice up-to-date records, paid a visit to Peter Pan. During the time I was married to the man I never could analyze his rationale so I won't try in retrospect. Whatever his reasoning, he decided to say that he didn't see why his family was on welfare since he was able to care for it.

The first I knew of his new capacity for caring was when I got a letter from the welfare department saying that I was no longer eligible. I was not too happy. I asked Peter Pan for money. He said that he didn't have any at the moment but he was sure he could borrow a couple of dollars for me if I really needed it. I ran to the welfare office and screamed that I didn't care what my husband had said,

Defeating imperialism means striking out against it with our very existence. It means struggling to create new life forms--communal child care, control of our bodies, humane working conditions, new personal relations open to dealing with homosexuality. It means working towards a broader international consciousness seeing more and more how sisters everywhere are fighting the same battles. In our new definitions, feminism must be anti-imperialist and anti-imperialism must be feminist.

This is just a beginning. Right now there's a great need for the women's movement to do a lot of discussing and internal education about imperialism, internationalism and their relation to women's liberation. This Off Our Backs special issue is a start. We haven't yet developed an overall anti-imperialist program for women's liberation now but hopefully the time is not far away.

In many cities and towns, women's groups and collectives have begun this process through activities that include so far a Celebration of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the NLF on December 20th, an educational packet of articles on all aspects of women and imperialism, actions for International Women's day on March 8th, the N.A. conference with Indo-Chinese women, and a possible Proclamation/Declaration of solidarity with our sisters around the world.

## from a sister

I want a movement that is for me and my head in its entirety. I don't want to be boxed up and have my mind in drawers. I don't want to have to leave women, the people I am, in order to do things which I, as a woman, want to do. I don't want to forget and deny all the things I once knew, and knew to be true, because I now know more things, because I now have a new stake in changing the world. Because we understand our own oppression, does that supercede the knowledge that we already had of the evil that the US visits daily on black people, on Vietnamese, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Brazilian, Palestinian, on every people? When we say that we want freedom and liberation does that deny that want in others? Does my liberation mean not your liberation? Is there competition for freedom, for struggle?

Our humanity of woman consciousness should not mean denial of any part of reality: no denial of our needs or of the needs of others. We have always been told: either fight for yourself or suffer; go it alone or get stepped on -- or both. Why does fighting for/with/on the side of the Vietnamese mean not fighting for/with/on the side of blacks for/with/on the side of ourselves? Do you go off to fight imperialism?

In Cuba when someone cuts a piece of cane she/he can say, "this is for Vietnam."

We shouldn't have to say that we want a "Women's Liberation Movement that is Anti-Imperialist" or that we want an "Anti-Imperialist Women's Liberation Movement." We shouldn't have to say that, because we should know in ourselves and we should begin to be able to find ways to show that knowledge to the world, we should (and in fact we do) know that you can't be for liberation without being against all the things that prevent that liberation: the supreme imperial white male--supremacy, imperialism, whiteness -- revealed sometimes in one guise or another, fought sometimes in one guise or another.

If we have come to the point where we have to question why we as a "women's movement" should be against the war, if we have to show the "connection" between "imperialism" and "male supremacy" in order to be against it, we have gotten our heads and our hearts messed up and we have come very far from our reality.

take care of two children on fifteen dollars a week. Let him do it. He can have them right now." That really brought the probation officer to her feet. "You can't desert your children. That's against the law."

"How can I be deserting them? I'm giving them to their father."

"But you can't do that! You're their mother."...

## the black woman as woman Kay Lindsey

...That there are parallels between being a woman and being Black has not been denied, but that there are parallels between the Black woman and the white woman has always been resisted, and the Black woman has been set apart consistently from her white counterpart. We have instead been considered as a special subgroup within the Black community, which Black men should try to deal with as their own private extensions. This is an illusion perpetrated on the Black man in order to deflect him from the task at hand, which at the very least would overturn all its institutions, including the family. ...

An inordinately high proportion of Black women become welfare mothers, usually without a husband, in the household at least, and while the white agency outwardly deplors the absence in the household of a father figure, it does not take long to realize that the state has created an artificial family, in which it, via the welfare check, takes the place of the husband and can thus manipulate the "family" more directly. ...

# vietnam: untitled

"Our goal of course is to end the war in Vietnam through Vietnamization, in which the South Vietnamese will assume the primary responsibility for their own defense." (Nixon 1/3/70)

To a war-weary population, that bit of public relations sounds very appealing. But what is the reality of Vietnamization? Will the end of the war really come through what has been crassly called 'Asians fighting Asians?'; or is that merely a facade to prolong it indefinitely?

To answer that question, we must look at the theories of Nixon's two main Southeast Asian specialists, Herman Kahn of the Hudson Institute and Samuel Huntington, chairman of the Political Science Department of Harvard University.

Kahn perceived the United States was faced with a dilemma - how to silence the irksome anti-war movement and at the same time permit the war to continue until the U.S. achieves total control in Vietnam. His ingenious solution was to withdraw troops to an acceptable level and replace them with machines - in his words, "instrumentalize the battlefield." This would allow the government to announce the eventual withdrawal of "all combat troops"; the catch is that "all combat troops" seems like all troops, but in fact is not more than 300,000 men. This leaves 200,000 "support" troops, (bombers), advisors and technicians. These troops would be removed from the field and relocated in fortified strongholds, which would secure the bases around the cities, the cities themselves, and the East Coast, thus implementing the enclave theory.

To reduce the weekly 'body' count of dead GI's that was making such upsetting copy in the U.S. newspapers, Kahn suggested using sensors. Sensors are light, heat, noise and smell detectors for enemy troop movements. The sensors are attached to a computer at Tanshonnut, a major military air base near Saigon. This computer automatically sets off an F-105, over which the pilot has no control, which flies to the "sensed" area and bombs everyone and thing there to bits. The logic behind this is that anybody out there is enemy, which turns out to be most of the Vietnamese population. To date, 1.78 billion dollars has been spent on sensors. The military has asked Congress for a total of \$20 billion in order for sensors to be operational around every enclave. They call this "The Project to Save Lives."

Another problem was weeding out the 'trouble-makers' from the general populace. Samuel Huntington realized that any social structure existing in the countryside of South Vietnam provides the liberation fighters with a base. (That's because the people like them). Because they are like fish in the sea, the task is to eliminate the sea - wipe out all existing hamlets, force any people still alive after the wipe-out to new hamlets, totally designed and controlled by U.S.-Saigon personnel. These new villages have names such as "New Life" hamlet. This plan is called Pacification. The method to achieve it is saturation bombing. "Accelerated Pacification" can only mean accelerated saturation bombing. So this is Vietnamization-pacification.

In the last fifteen months, the dimensions of another 'issue' have become manifest: the prisoners of war. This campaign, which has reached major proportions in terms of money, time and energy spent, has the real purpose of diverting our attention from what our government is doing in Southeast Asia. (see page 14 for full explanation.)

On November 20-21, 1970 about 250 United States Phantom jets bombed North Vietnam, killing 49 North Vietnamese civilians, in an operation cut short by bad weather. And on November 21 purportedly to dramatize that the POW's are not "forgotten men," a small group of U.S. Air Force and Army men made a pre-dawn raid on Sontay prison camp, 20 miles from Hanoi. When the men arrived, they found the camp empty. Ten days later, the command-

ing officer of the raid, Brig. Gen. Leroy J. Manor said the government had known three months beforehand that there would be no POW's there. (New York Times). Why then did they do it? Because the raid, loudly publicized as a courageous deed performed by super-brave men to save our boys from their captivity, successfully shifted world attention from the bombings which occurred the same day. It is not very difficult to imagine an open-ended policy of resumed massive bombing of North Vietnam, using the limp explanation of 'protective reaction.'

"The press here has reached the end of its rope. The press conference announcing the bombing, at which they refused any further information, ended by a New York Times reporter screaming at the military briefer that Radio Hanoi was a better and more truthful source than he was."

- letter from American journalist in Saigon, December, 1970.

The government knows well that the political situation in South Vietnam is one of massive opposition to the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime; U.S. withdrawal and real Vietnamization would mean immediate collapse of that regime.

The South Vietnamese people are rising in revolt as they suffer directly from the brutality of the American forces in their midst, and recognize the regime's dependence on the U.S. Ngo Cong Duc, a deputy in the National Assembly, said in Sept. 1970: "Not only the NLF partisans, but also the entire South Vietnamese people are revolting against the U.S. and Generals Thieu and Ky."

To meet the demands of Vietnamization, an intensified and desperate recruiting of South Vietnamese men has resulted in high percentages of draft-dodgers and NLF sympathizers in the Saigon Armed Forces (ARVN). Hastening the recruiting process, a new examination for secondary school students deliberately resulted in 80% failures and consequent loss of draft deferments. This helped to galvanize a militant student movement against the regime.

University students have been forced into military training on week-ends and summer vacation. In response, students are demanding an end to compulsory military

training and forced recruiting, and that universities be independent of government control. This struggle continues despite the harshest of repression. Following the U.S. invasion of Cambodia, a student strike closed Saigon University, and spread to the remaining universities of South Vietnam after being inspired by the national student strike in the United States. Concerted attacks were made on military offices, with student protests leading to sit-ins, building occupations, and street demonstrations, many ending in violent clashes with the police.

Army veterans as well are bitterly opposed to the government and have organized dramatic demonstrations, demanding food, housing, and medical care. Maimed ARVN veterans in wheelchairs descended on Saigon's presidential palace, forcing regular ARVN troops to defend it.

Women in South Vietnam's major cities, including war widows, mothers and wives of political prisoners, have established "The Committee of Women to Defend the Right to Live." Mass marches have been held against the US occupation, especially after brutal GI attacks on women which have occurred in the countryside.

South Vietnamese journalists and intellectuals are increasingly vociferous in criticizing the war. They have spoken out in support of the struggles of anti-war students and disabled war veterans.

The Buddhist movement is demanding immediate return to peace and independence; it too has met with severe repression. The U.S. press blacked out news of the massacre of forty young monks from the An Quang pagoda when they and others took part in a non-violent sit-in at the government-supported National Pagoda.

From January to July of this year, there were three paralyzing labor strikes in which hundreds of thousands of workers took to the streets. These strikes were precipitated by a war economy which has caused Saigon prices to rise over 50% in less than a year.

The Vietnamese people have had an intense hatred for the American invaders in their country for the last ten years and for the corrupt and complicit puppet governments. But now, more than ever before this rage is finding expression in well organized opposition forces whose power surpasses that of the movement which top-



## a few salient points...

A highly respected spokesman of the mounting popular opposition to the Saigon regime has emerged in the person of Mr. Ngo Cong Duc, deputy in the National Assembly from Vinh Binh province. Far from being pro-Communist, Mr. Duc was elected in 1967 on a pro-Thieu, pro-war slate. A wealthy Delta landowner, he speaks as a member of the ruling class, and is a leading Catholic layman and editor of the largest Saigon daily paper, *Tin Lang*.

At a press conference in Paris on September 21, for the sake of his country's survival, Duc demanded an immediate end to the war, immediate withdrawal of all American troops and a peace settlement much like that of the PRG initiative.

President Thieu's reaction was to offer one million piastres for Duc's execution. But the popular support for Duc's position is so great that he returned immediately to Saigon and has never been arrested or harmed. Together with Duc, the South Vietnamese people know only too well that Nixon's "Vietnamization" means total contempt for all life in their land. In their uprisings against Thieu-Ky-Khiem, they express their choice for life not death.

Following are portions of Duc's press statement.

The South-Vietnamese people aspire currently, more than ever, to peace, independence, and a life worthy of human beings. These aspirations are obvious, for at this time the population of South Vietnam is caught up in one of the most atrocious of wars. Political, economic and cultural life is dominated by foreigners.

### A Few Salient Points Concerning the Population of South Vietnam

The current war is destroying untold human and material resources in South Viet-

nam. Not including the forces of the NLF, the army of the Republic of South Vietnam numbers one million men; to this figure must be added the forces of self-defense numbering one million men, and police forces numbering one hundred thousand men. In other words, two million young people, instead of pursuing their studies, and engaging in productive work, are forced to take up arms in order to help American imperialism achieve its political aims in South East Asia.

American forces and the forces of the allies of the Americans, numbering close to five hundred thousand men, are engaged in round-the-clock massacres of our innocent compatriots. Cases such as those of My Lai-Son My, which each time take 500-600 victims, are by no means isolated. The U.S. has dropped more than ten million tons of bombs on our South Vietnamese country, and scattered an untold quantity of toxic chemical products as well as nearly one hundred thousand tons of defoliants on our fields and rice plantations, which have resulted in the sterilization and destruction of all the harvests. Rich in rice, South Vietnam is now reduced to consuming American rice. As a result of the use of toxic products, South Vietnam is currently plagued with strange diseases: women are giving birth to monsters, and there is an ever-growing number of women afflicted with psychic disorders.

The Vietnamization of the war is merely an extension of the American War. Although the U.S. has agreed to the Paris Conference, it actually does not want peace at all and is compelling the Nguyen Van Thieu government to seek a military victory.

On the economic level, South Vietnam is in a catastrophic situation. The chief purpose of American aid is to divide the

Vietnamese among themselves. The U.S. has transformed the South Vietnamese market into a one way consumers market. Contraband American goods are inundating the South Vietnamese markets. Of the seventeen million people currently living in South Vietnam, as many as two million families live on war profits by serving the interests of the United States. This is why the purpose of American aid is by no means to raise the standard of living of the population; on the contrary, it plunges the population into ever increasing misery. For instance, twenty years' salary of a South Vietnamese army officer with a wife and five children would not purchase a Peugeot 404 at current prices.

The experience of the past few years has led the South-Vietnamese to this conclusion: the purpose of American aid to South Vietnam is to force the Vietnamese population to become totally dependent on the United States.

American political and economic aims have completely altered the nature of Vietnamese society. With their money the Americans are setting communities against one another, and are destroying all their traditional spiritual and moral values. The number of prostitutes increases daily. More than four hundred thousand Vietnamese women are currently engaged in this wretched and humiliating profession. The Americans also try to promote corruption so as to use their accomplices in pursuing their imperialist aims in South Vietnam.

On the cultural level, the U.S. seeks to transform South Vietnam into an American-type society by sweeping away all the positive aspects of the Vietnamese heritage. Millions of young people are deprived of education, nine- and ten-year old children do not go to school but tend buffaloes, work in rice fields, shine shoes, and sell newspapers. American policy in South Vietnam aims at Americanizing the Vietnamese people, transforming the Vietnamese into foreigners in their own country into increasingly ignorant creatures stripped of all dignity.

pled Diem in November 1963. These opposition forces have consolidated into the newly established United Patriotic Front (Le Monde, Paris, October 14, 1970), which is demanding that its own representative be admitted to the Paris Peace Talks.

The population's disaffection with the government is so great that it was documented in a CIA report of May, 1970. The report states that 30,000 full-time agents of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) are operating on all levels of the police, army and civilian administration, that the apparatus is growing and virtually impossible to destroy. It says that tens of thousands of South Vietnamese are in tacit complicity with these agents, and that Saigon commands no loyalty from the forces upon which it depends for its defense.



Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh

Against this background, the PRG Peace Initiative put forward by Madame Binh in Paris on September 17, 1970 takes on immense significance as the only viable and realistic basis for peace in Vietnam. This is because the 8 Point Proposal responds to the real needs and aspirations of the South Vietnamese people and at the same time answers every question raised by the U.S. negotiating team in Paris, while providing the United States with a mechanism for safe withdrawal of all our troops without losing face.

The PRG proposal contains two basic points:

-- If the U.S. government agrees to withdraw all its troops from South Vietnam by June 30, 1971, the Liberation Armed Forces will refrain from attacking the American forces in the process of withdrawal and will engage at once in discussions on the release of captured soldiers -- American GI's captured in South Vietnam and pilots captured in the North.

-- And that the American government give up compelling the South Vietnamese people to accept the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime which is so bitterly hated and fiercely opposed that it is only American support which keeps it in.

A provisional coalition government composed of political, religious and government forces will then be set up with the one purpose of allowing "the South Vietnamese people to decide themselves the political regime through really free and democratic general elections."

By comparison, President Nixon's peace proposal announced before the U.S. elections is really not aimed at ending the war. Calling for a cease-fire before any agreement is made on the political and military questions, means that the United States' aggression in South Vietnam is legitimate. For the Vietnamese to accept a cease-fire with the United States remaining in its present positions, means to accept that the United States ever had a right to be there at all -- which it did not.

"Cease-fire in place" means stop shooting and stay there. To date the U.S. has failed outright to identify and destroy NLF cadres, despite repeated screen-

ings and fine-toothed combing operations. In the villages, despite the best efforts of 17 separate U.S. and Saigon intelligence agencies. So Nixon's cease fire and "peace plan" say: "Expose yourselves in order to claim the territory you say that you control. Stand up so that our planes and tanks can wipe you out, and when they have finished their work, then you can have the political position that your strength warrants."

On the other key issue, that of who governs South Vietnam, Nixon is transparently contradictory. On the one hand he says, "We seek a political solution that truly reflects the will of the South Vietnamese people," and then he says that the demand to oust Thieu-Ky-Khiem is "patently unreasonable and totally unacceptable."

The American people want the war in Vietnam to end by a specifically set time. The Harris poll of September 27, 1970 in the *New York Times* found that 55% of the people want total troop withdrawal by June 30, 1971, the date set forth by Madame Binh. (The majority of that 55% were women.)

Chief U.S. negotiator Bruce said in Paris on December 1 that the two preconditions in Mme. Binh's proposal - agreement of withdrawal date and ouster of Thieu-Ky-Khiem - "remain unacceptable to the United States." (Washington Post, Dec. 2, 1970). For whom is he speaking? Certainly not for the people of the United States. He must be speaking for "die-hard" Nixon and the few deluded men in the military who do not want and have no intention of ending the war they cannot win. We have no choice but to join with the people of Vietnam and together realize "Diehards" last Stand. We have no choice but to learn from them, for the Vietnamese have a secret weapon; a weapon so threatening and incomprehensible to our government that it maims and kills and bombs and burns and rapes with a vengeance both hysterical and terrifying. The Weapon of the Vietnamese is the spirit of the people. A people so imbued with a consciousness and a determination to control their own lives that they will struggle forever, for they know what a force life truly is.

## p.o.w.'s

As the Vietnam war has become increasingly unpopular in the US, Nixon has sought to gain support for continuing the war by manipulating one last issue, the POWs (Prisoners of War). Over the past year, Nixon and other pro-war figures have launched a multi-billion dollar "public relations" campaign to convince Americans that US pilots captured in Vietnam are being treated barbarically.

"Public service" commercials, portraying the lonely men and playing on the emotions of POW families, have saturated the media. One spot features a child asking plaintively, "Mommy, will Daddy be home for Christmas?" Bumper stickers reading "Have a Heart, Hanoi," are widely distributed. Bell Telephone, in a 4 state area of the mid-west, sent out with its regular bill this month, a postcard to be sent to Hanoi, demanding information about the POWs. H. Ross Perot, a millionaire supporter of Nixon, has organized trips of POW wives and families over the world, deliberately raising their expectations and frustrations without any means to help them, only to gain publicity for the issue.

Nixon has no intention of becoming the first US president to lose a war. In order to escalate the war, Nixon must arouse more emotional support for his policies and more hate toward the Vietnamese. By focusing public attention on the N. Vietnamese, he hopes to quiet criticism of his actions and failures. Because people in the US know little about the POWs, he has found that he can use this as a political tool for manipulating our emotions about the war.

How Nixon is using this issue became clear during the recent "raid" on a POW camp in N. Vietnam. The raid was justified by Laird as a response to the DRV's release of names of POWs who were dead. According to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, however, the raid was planned in advance and the names used as an excuse for it. Further, while the raid was supposedly to free prisoners, the NY Times has revealed that the government knew beforehand that the camp had been empty for 3 months. Clearly, this action was done, not out of concern for the men, but as a political maneuver.

What are the facts and deceptions upon which the POW campaign is built? First, the numbers game. For several years up to June, 1970, it was generally agreed by the Pentagon and others that there were 1551 men lost in action in all of Southeast Asia. In October, Laird said 2000; in November it was 3000 and on December 5, 1970, he said 5000!

The US holds the DRV responsible for all 1551 (or is it 6000 now?) men lost in Southeast Asia, and the publicity on the issue implies that there has been no communication regarding these men. Over the past year, the North Vietnamese have released names of 339 men alive in their camps and 22 known to be dead. Even the Pentagon only claims that 780 pilots are missing over N. Vietnam; it is reasonable to assume that most of the 400 not accounted for died when their planes were shot down. The remaining 720 men went down in Laos, Cambodia, or South Vietnam. Yet, the US continues to act as if the DRV were responsible for these rather than dealing with the autonomous liberation forces of these areas. By so doing, the US denies families the information that might be available on these men.

The POW publicity implies that the DRV prevents communication on this issue. In fact, the DRV initiated setting up the Committee of Liaison with Families of Servicemen Detained in N. Vietnam, which has its office in NY City as a regular channel for information about and communication with prisoners. There have been 2,500 letters received from POWs through the committee. The men can send and receive 1 letter a month and receive a 6 lb. package every other month. Further, about 40 of the POWs have been visited and interviewed by Western press in N. Vietnam.

Perhaps the most insidious claim made by the US is that the DRV's treatment of prisoners is "barbaric", building up racist



images of orientals as sub-humans. Most of the discussion of torture has been based on testimony of 1 POW, Robert F. Frishman, returned by the DRV in August, 1969. Nine POW's have been released by the DRV, and, except Frishman, they have been ordered by the Pentagon to remain silent, presumably because they would not make such claims of torture. Jon M. Van Dyke, a former state department employee, interviewed Joe V. Carpenter, one of the prisoners released in 1968. Van Dyke wrote, "Carpenter said he had not been tortured. 'In general,' he stated, 'my treatment was good.' When asked why the Defense Department would not allow him to speak freely even after the press conference, Carpenter responded, 'It's all part of a plan.'" All of the Western journalists who have interviewed POWs report basically the same good conditions.

Van Dyke observes that none of the first POWs released complained of mistreatment. He says that the "torture" Frishman described consisted of exposure to mosquitos, damp cold winters and hot summers (conditions that all Vietnamese have endured for centuries), and occasionally being put in solitary. Frishman recently spoke of poor medical treatment for POWs, yet he had an elaborate and expensive elbow operation in N. Vietnam.

The US also distorts the situation by saying that Hanoi refuses to negotiate on this matter. First, this ignores the fact that nine men were released through the peace movement and the possibility was open for more such releases, but the US government did not respond to this initiative. Further, an exchange of prisoners has consistently been a point in the Vietnamese peace proposals; but this point cannot be separated from the need to arrive at a plan for the withdrawal of US troops. Traditionally, prisoners are only exchanged after the terms for ending a war are settled. If some of the POWs have been there a "long time," it is because the US has been waging war on Vietnam for a long time.

Through this issue, the US is diverting attention away from the real atrocities committed by the US and the Thieu-KY regime. For example, on Dec. 3, the Chicago Sun Times and other papers reported that Saigon "riot police beat and tear-gassed more than 100 women prisoners and threw lye or acid on the group." Earlier this year, Agnew refused to see or receive a message from South Vietnamese (not NLF) mothers inquiring about the unknown fate of their 80 children in Con Son prison.

Clearly the Nixon government's interest in the POWs is political, not humanitarian. If it were humanitarian, why does it manipulate grieving families, increasing their anguish with unfounded stories of torture and death and wild goose chases around the globe that it knows will build their frustrations? If it were humanitarian, why does it respond to the DRV's efforts to notify families of those who have died with retaliatory raids that endanger the possibility of families receiving more information? If it were humanitarian why is it not concerned with the fate of thousands of prisoners and innocent victims in the South? If it were humanitarian, why does it not end the war?

Before we can even hope to release the POWs and bring an end to US torture of Vietnam, we must see and expose this distorted hate campaign for what it is--a strategy for prolonging the war.

### just your basic

### atrocities.....

I want to share with other U.S. women an afternoon spent with Le Thi Chi, underground head of the South Viet Nam Women's Union for Liberation, who gave us detailed information of the atrocities being systematically vented against women and children by the U.S. and puppet troops. If we refuse to face these realities, we are like the people of Nazi Germany who claimed ignorance of what was happening as an excuse for non-involvement.

Madame Chi repeatedly stressed the duality of the physical and moral war being waged against the people of South Viet Nam. The government has an intentional and active campaign of spreading a depraved culture which encourages exploitation and bravado of 'living for today only.' Women and children have been driven into criminal paths for survival, causing them to forget both their culture and struggle. In one year, 105,000 petty crimes were committed by the youth of Saigon, resulting in their forced joining of the defense apparatus.

The presence of troops has helped create some 400,000 prostitutes in South Viet Nam--approximately one for every GI. When a group of Saigon intellectuals legally established the Committee to Defend the Dignity and Virtue of Vietnamese Women, there were even some ARVN officers in favor of it because their own wives had been forced into prostitution while they were at the front. For two years, the Committee educated women, found them jobs, taught Vietnamese culture and pride. It was then dissolved by the government because it had too much popular support.

It is not unusual to see women on downtown streets stripped and raped. Saigon government figures for 1969 allow that 36 such incidents occurred, and one suspects that the actual numbers must be enormous to force such an official admission. On January 31, 1969, two GI's arrested and raped a waitress in a Saigon hotel, leaving a bottle of champagne rammed into her vagina. In April, 1970, twelve waitresses in that same hotel courageously went on strike for protection of their dignity against GI rape. It is in the villages and prisons however, that women and children are maliciously brutalized in the most blatant sexist and degrading displays. Soldiers are always free to rape captured women, and there has never been a terrorist raid that didn't include rape. Girls of eleven, twelve and thirteen are ravaged just as are older women. Their brutality is unimaginable:

--an 18 year old woman had her legs broken by bullets, was raped to death by several soldiers and buried in a garbage dump

--a young woman was blown up when three GI's rammed a live grenade into her vagina because she could not give them directions.

--women have been raped and left as landmarks in the center of their villages with bamboo poles from their vaginas through their mouths.

It has become policy of the U.S. military to encourage and reward such behavior as part of the campaign to terrorize, demor-

# nixon's other wars

"I don't even know where America is," agonizes a Laotian peasant woman, her daughter just killed by a U.S. bomb. Every month 27,000 bombing sorties fly over two-thirds of the territory of Laos. That's about 1,000 planes per day, each plane carrying 4 Cluster Bomb Units. Each CBU throws pellets out over an area of 10 football fields. An area the size of 40,000 football fields is bombed every day; 90% of all living things exposed will die. This bombing has happened every day since May, 1964, three years before any news of it was broadcast in the United States.

In areas governed by the revolutionary Pathet Lao the people live in caves or hide in the forests during the day to escape the bombs. At night they farm the land. For these people there is no sunlight. In their caves they have set up primitive industrial shops, weaving plants, hospitals, and schools. The Pathet Lao teaches what is useful to these rural people, practical farming for instance; produces necessities such as cloth, farming implements, machetes.

The Pathet Lao is a movement that began in 1951 to expel the French and build a unified and peaceful Laotian society. Not only did they want to throw out the French but also French culture which benefited only the aristocratic elite and provided nothing for the people. They worked toward racial equality among all Laotians and condemned the corruption and decadence of foreign-dominated life in the cities.

As in Vietnam, U.S. policy is to take the people out of the countryside because they support the Pathet Lao. More than 700,000 out of a population of three million people are refugees,

living in what are little more than concentration camps in government areas. That is nearly 30% of the population.

Since May, 1970, the same destruction has been happening in Cambodia. U.S. planes now bomb the people of this country although they claim only to bomb the supply routes of the North Vietnamese.

In the 9 months since the U.S. invasion one million Cambodians and one-half million ethnic Vietnamese have been driven from their homes. The slaughter of Vietnamese living in Cambodia was so great last spring that their bodies floated down the Mekong River covering the surface of the water. The population of the capital Pnom Pehn has doubled since the U.S. invasion.

The U.S. supported government of Lon Nol controls little more than the area around the capital. Richard Dudman of the St. Louis Post Dispatch gives a first-hand account of the strength of the resistance led by the National Union Front of Kampuchea:

"In this massive migration we felt that we were watching the terrorization of the peasants of Cambodia. We felt that we were observing the welding together of the local population with the guerrillas. The peasants were turning to the fighters as their best friends."

As in every other country, the U.S. supports a small wealthy elite who don't give a damn about the people of their country.

Nixon speaks of the withdrawal of troops in Vietnam as if that would end U.S. involvement in Indochina. Even if we truly left Vietnam, the destruction of Laos and Cambodia could continue.



Pathet Lao textile factory in a cave

and ultimately defeat the resistance forces of the countryside.

Women are raped in front of their husbands; men are tortured in front of their wives and children slowly put to death in front of their parents. Women are exploited on every possible emotional and physical level, with special advantages taken of their relationship to their children. When youngsters are arrested with their mothers, they are not officially registered in the prison and are thus allotted no food. The most demonic devices have been created to torture infants in front of their mothers. A baby is placed in a tank of water, the water is slapped continuously to create waves and after some days, the pressure causes the child to bleed to death.

Pham Thi Yen, a female chemist of middle age, imprisoned for seven years in Puolo-Condore, told the chairman of the Committee for Denunciation of U.S. Crimes her story. Following are a few excerpts:

"...A woman was beaten into abortion. The 4 month fetus gushed out into a pool of blood. These devils of men thrust broken beer bottles into the vulva of another woman. These are the methods we learned from the U.S., they said, guffawing, as the woman writhed in acute pain. 'We'll beat you into sterility and incapacity.'"

"...There is no end to their brutality. They buried me knee-deep near an ant hill, hands hand-cuffed round a tree trunk live with ants.

Imagine how my body twisted with pain when the ants stung all over the body: eyes, nose, ears, mouth, even genitals and anus.

"They also applied electricity to privy parts, clubbed the sole of the foot, sending a splitting pain through the body.

"...We ate, slept and made water where we were detained...Each of us had only one costume. No washing for six months! The thought of it is enough to make one vomit."

"...To us women-prisoners, they show particular ferocity."

"...It is really and truly a hell on earth where the U.S. trained, blood thirsty butchers are murdering our people with the savage methods of the middle ages coupled with the man-killing science of the 20th century, whose brutality has put Hitler into shade."

It is no accident that the gratuitous function of the United States Government to wipe out life, under the guise of "saving freedom for the South Vietnamese people", includes sexist brutality at its most blatant. When women are so systematically humiliated degraded and stripped of dignity, the fabric of life in their culture must be destroyed.

And what is in the minds and hearts of the million GI's who have served in Viet Nam, when they return to the United States, knowing that,

## u.s. bombs

The way down  
From Thanh Hoa to the front line  
Bomb craters  
Here and there, on both sides  
Bombs  
That destroyed the rice-fields  
That dugged up the irrigation canals  
That razed down villages  
That blew away streets  
That slaughtered the old-aged  
That burnt the children

But along the road we take, life  
Keeps as ever its eternal smile

When people  
Know how to be masters of themselves  
They resolve to fight  
With no fear of bombs and shells

Look  
Our people  
Of Ham Rong and Nam Ngan  
Of Ben Thuy and Ky Anh  
Of Quang Ninh and Quang Trach  
Of Vinh Son and Vinh Giang  
They faced the bombs  
They made them explode  
They ignored the risk  
They rushed to the bombs.  
To defuse them

On the ground, in the sky  
They never relax the fight  
Surround and capture them, pilots  
Throughout the seasons  
Spring, summer, autumn, winter  
U.S. planes  
Are there for people to count wreckages

How delightful it is, today  
Blue sky, look at the flying  
silver-winged birds  
Far spreading seas teeming with brown sails  
Hills and mounts, so green with the grass  
From dead trees, buds anew appear  
One bridge broken, how many others built  
One road cut, hundreds of others open  
Waste lands see new schools and hamlets  
emerge  
And laughs and songs resound on the

Drive on,  
Let ferris wheels  
And hear young brigades  
Sing on the tops of mountains

Where are they now, bomb craters  
O yeah, they've been turned  
Into wells  
Into lotus flowers' lakes  
Into fish-rearing ponds

Further, let's go further  
To see how it looks strange  
In Quang Binh, Vinh Linh  
The bombs standing in rows, in rows  
Like soldiers at attention  
On their breasts  
Slogans of emulation  
Written in lime-ink, bright in sunlight  
"Determined to win over the U.S. aggressors"  
"Determined to produce ahead of schedule"

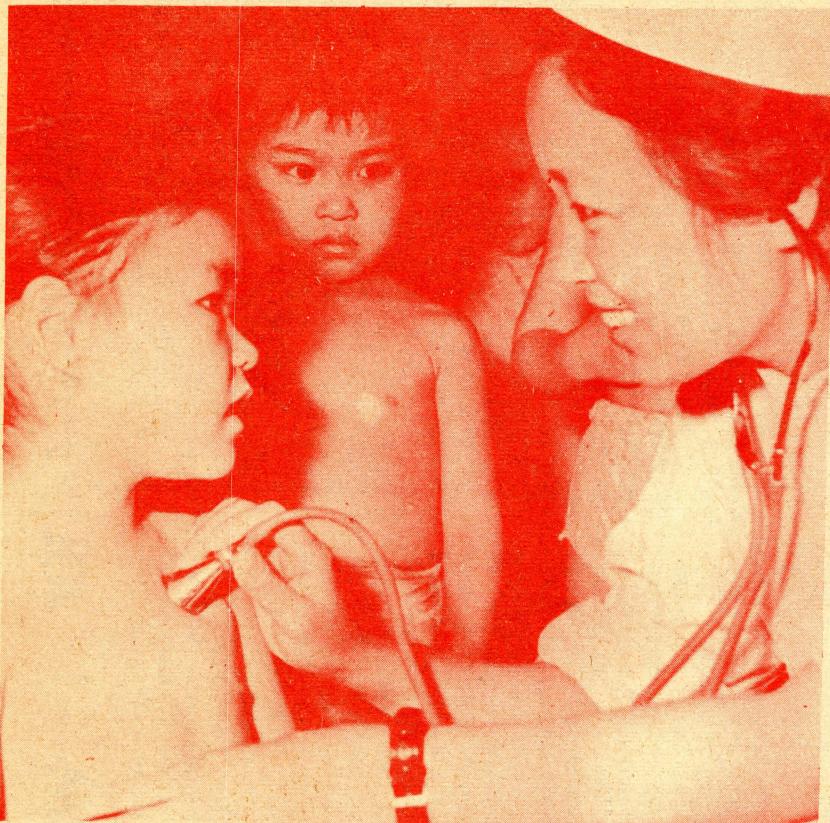
Further, let's go further  
Things will sound better  
Bombs will make  
Platform for you to wash your feet  
Trough for you to feed the pigs  
Bell for you to tell the working time  
Alarm for you to call those fighters  
Against U.S.

Now we know  
Mother-bombs, baby-bombs  
Guided bombs, magnetic bombs  
None of them will be left untamed  
Whenever they touch Vietnam, our land

Whose voice was it, resounding so high?  
That's the song of the militia girl  
On duty.

-Xuan Thuy, head of delegation,  
Democratic Republic of Vietnam,  
Paris peace talks

with the encouragement of their government, they carried out the most inhumane acts imaginable against good, innocent women? How does this sickness unconsciously affect their attitudes and behavior towards the women they relate to and the children they raise here at home?



We are a group of women from Boston, Springfield, N.Y.C., Buffalo, Washington, and New Haven who lived and worked together for a week to put out this special issue. We may be contacted at

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264, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, N.Y. 14205  
Springfield WITCH, Box 1608, Springfield, Mass.

**US** we'll be back next issue--have a happy!

Betsy Auleta (in Syracuse), Janet Black (in England),  
Onka Dekkers, Elaine Fuller, Bobbie Goldstone (in  
Pidgeon Crossing, Pa.), Susan Hathaway, Coletta Reid  
Holcomb, Joanne Kovacs, Barbara Leckie (in Africa),  
Norma Lesser, Tasha Peterson, Dot Preis, Lynn Prosten,  
Marlene Wicks,

## cradle song

Grow up strong, grow quick, my children,  
quick now, hurry.  
You and I have futures that need building,  
a house where murder, hate, and lies are  
strangers,  
where we can level out lives war-twisted  
and warped.

Grow up strong, my daughter, quick now,  
hurry.  
Your rifle will hammer out through  
history's tempest  
a country worthy of your love and  
suffering,  
a home rebuilt on the land that claims  
our blood.

Listen, my son, as the lullaby whispers  
our story.  
Twenty parched years have been salted by  
our tears,  
twenty cracked lips have drunk the  
blood of Vietnam, our Vietnam.

Grow up strong, grow quick, my children,  
built sound like stone, honed keen by  
hunger,  
grow quick, my son and daughter, quick  
now, hurry,  
your strength is the only roof that can  
shelter my dying.

Trieu Vu  
free translation by K.P.



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