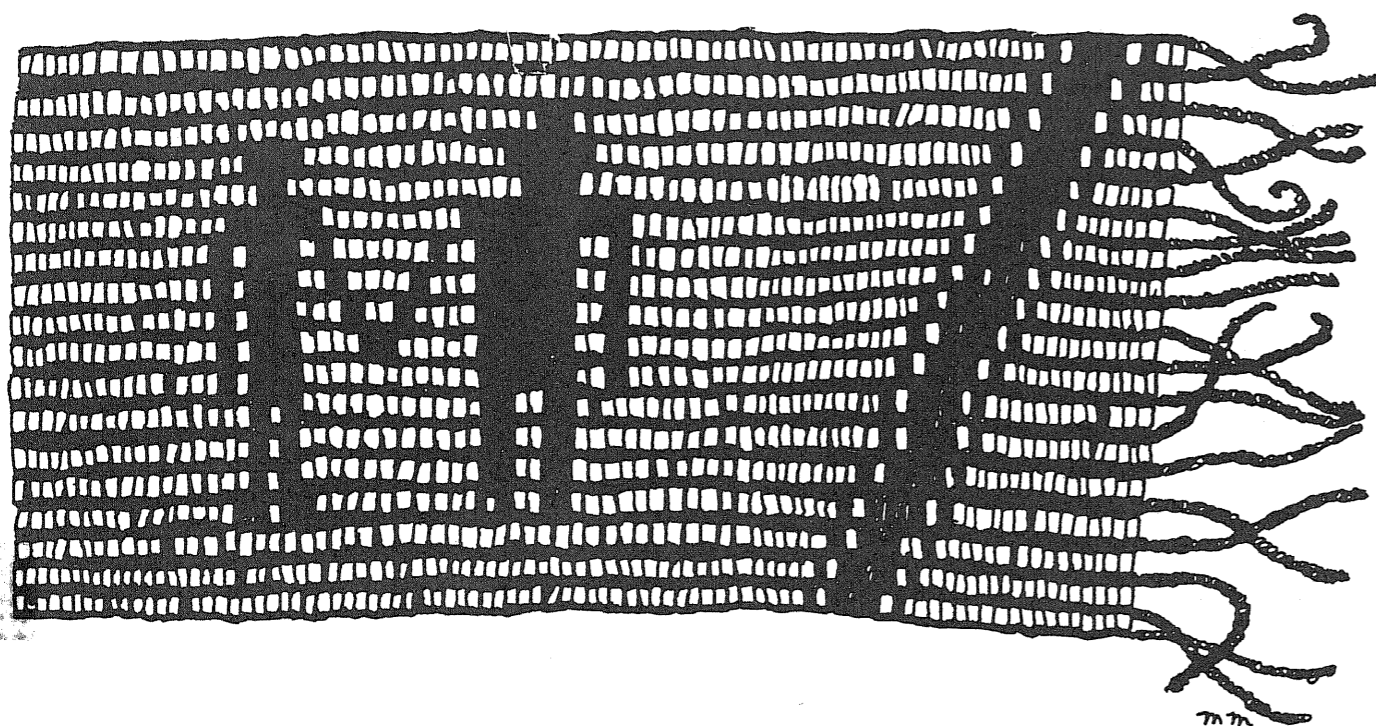


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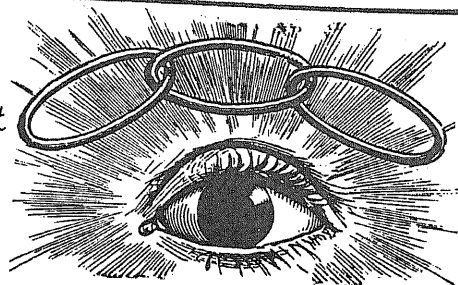
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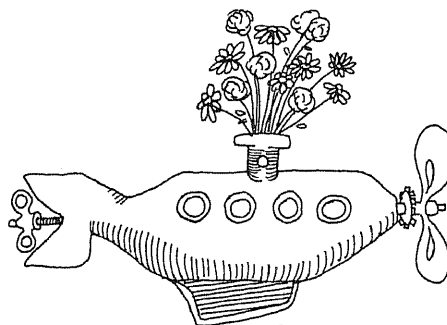
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Important Note: This issue's centerfold is available as a two color, full sized (18x23 1/2") poster from WIN. The price is \$1.

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February 15, 1971

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he hill under which we live is called Mt. Muste. We named it that three years ago for the late Reverend A.J. Muste, the nonviolent peace activist who organized the first coalition against the war in Vietnam back in the mid-sixties when most Americans supported our intervention in Southeast Asia and believed that victory was just around the corner. The U.S. Geological Survey has a different name for the hill, of course; and many of the people in our town have never heard of A.J. Muste. But when we gave our hill its new name, there were only ten of us who knew about it. Now we are many, many more.

I begin with this little story about some obscure contour lines on a topographic map because it is important to know that at its best the amorphous and vaguely defined movement we call the counter-culture is working, and that there exists now, in cities and on farms everywhere in the country, a visible alternative community that is creating new ways of living out a tired, frightened, and dying land. (There is another, darker side to the counter-culture symbolized by Altamont and Manson; rock-star millionaires; the dehumanizing attitudes longhaired men still have for women; the heavy consumer-trip so many people are on, buying bellbottoms and beads, records, tape machines, flashy new cars with peace stickers on the bumpers to make it seem all right; the continued high price of dope and the availability of speed, smack, and other bummers; the ambitious and competitive ego-tripping, disguised in groovy garb and mystical language, but still a mirrored reflection of the dominant values of the old way; and more: all the baggage, possessions, psychic junk and garbage we carry with us from the past.) But despite the glorification of a life-style that so often manifests style at the expense of life, there are people moving ahead, experimenting with and leading lives that a few years ago they'd never have dreamed possible.

For instance, people living in the country in various forms of community are learning self-sufficiency and rediscovering old technologies that are not destructive to themselves and the land. In Vermont, where I live, and in many other places that I've visited or know of, people are growing most of their own food (and organizing food-buying cooperatives to obtain what we can't grow ourselves), making our own clothes, establishing health clinics and medical centers to serve ourselves and our neighbors; learning to repair old cars (so as not to buy new ones) and sharing this knowledge with others; starting free schools and raising children who, in many ways, are growing up as the kind of people we who are older wish we could be, and—this the most difficult task of all—learning to live together in community, a way of living that is alien to our inherited way of life. From this start, we are discovering that is possible to live comfortably and happily in a way that doesn't coerce or exploit other people or the environment. And we are doing this, as much as possible, outside the existing structures, saying, as we progress, a fond farewell to the system, to Harvard, Selective Service, General Motors, Bank of America, IBM, A&P, BBD&O, IRS, CBS, DDT, USA and Vietnam.

G

ood-bye to Vietnam. Where we live it is easy to forget that the war is still going on. Unless we bring home a newspaper or turn on the radio, we hardly know it exists and since most of the news today bums the mind, we avoid it as much as possible. The war was over. We narrowed our reality and perceived it out of our existence. Since it was so depressing to think about, we put it out of our minds. There is a strange irony to this, for had there been no Vietnam, had the Vietnamese people rolled over and played dead as our leaders planned they would, we would not be where we are today. Scour the hills and backwoods of America and most of the people you find there are veterans of the anti-war movement who got their awakening because of Vietnam. Vietnam was the catalyst that made us take a good hard look into America; the first hard look it had ever been subjected to, because Americans have always been programmed to accept the status quo as inevitable and to believe that change was as unnecessary as it was impossible. What we found, of course, horrified us. If Vietnam was just an aberration (as liberals say) of an essentially sound society, we could have dealt with it through legitimate political channels, as the liberals demand. But Vietnam is more than a mistake, more than a war we should not have entered

because we obviously could not win. Vietnam, in all its horror, is a symptom of a terrifyingly sick society; a society with values, attitudes and priorities that defy human decency; a society that places cold, computer-like efficiency over and above anything human. I don't have to describe this sickness. We've all experienced it personally, at many times, and in many ways. But think of just one example, all the kids leaving home, running scared and losing themselves in the hip ghettos and backwoods communities everywhere. Are they running away from their families, as it would seem on the surface, or are they running in search of family and in search of a sense of community that they cannot find at home?

So those of us who were the first to protest the war, who marched on the Pentagon and resisted the draft and who found that the great majority of Americans didn't give a damn about Vietnam, simply gave up. A few of us went to jail, some moved to the country, others stayed with the political movement and continued the thankless task of trying to end the war. But our protests left a mark. If we couldn't budge society, we did at least change ourselves. We knew we couldn't live easily in a society so beaten and crass as to function as always, ignoring what it was doing to a people far away and blind to what it was doing to its people at home. So we dropped out and cut our ties to everything political and everything from the past. This was, for those of us who did it, a necessary step. We needed to break all the bonds that trapped us in the old habits and start completely new. For a long time it was important that we remain isolated and withdrawn from the political process, for our experiments in building community were fragile, at first, and many failed. But gradually we found a certain strength. The older communities are stable and the newer ones take root without half the internal hassles that the first ones went through. We are growing in numbers and in confidence and once again it is possible to look outward.

The land where I live, I think, is the most beautiful place on earth. Very few cars pass by on our dirt road, occasionally you can hear the rumble of the railroad creeping through the valley about 10 miles away, but you never hear noise from the interstate and at night the glare of city lights do not dull the star-bright sky. Ten of us live together in a great old farmhouse and there's a cow, a goat and a lot of friendly people who live nearby. Once, last autumn when the trees had dropped acid, I walked in the woods and saw God. And lots of times I think how lucky we are because few people in history have lived as well as we do. Yet, that's not the whole of it, for we are very much alone at times, like orphans without a past. In a sense, we are like parentless children, biological mutants as Charles Reich has pointed out, rapidly changing to adjust to an environment we are only beginning to understand. Our own backgrounds offer little in the way of guidance. We must look elsewhere to find what lineage we can. The Vietnamese people serve as foster parents for many of us. They gave us our life and inspired us into being. Their struggle is part of us because had they not struggled there would be no us. To live as we have, withdrawn from politics and isolated from their war, is to deny a part of ourselves. To say that we can create a good life (and find inner peace) by turning our backs on them is to shut off our past and deny in ourselves that which is human.

Yes, the material that follows makes for dull reading. Editing it, I kept thinking, what a bummer! The facts of the Indochina War are depressing and, in a way, superficial. To read that "the air war (in Laos) has grown from modest tactical air support to the Lao army to one of the most protracted and extensive bombing of civilian targets in history," does not add to our understanding of the horror of this war. But it does remind us once again that the war exists and that its horror is as real as the God I found while walking in the woods that autumn day. My vision of God could not have occurred in a life closed and frightened of experience and with a built-in censor to keep bad news out.



Isense a new spirit in the peace movement. Where once we were few, now we are many. And where once we were blind, striking out at a war and a society we did not quite understand, now we are strong, understanding the sickness we are up against, taking, in our own lives, the first feeble steps of the cure. This spring we'll be in the streets again, trying one more desperate time to end this war and to end our country's capability for another war. I think we've learned two important things since the first time we marched in the streets against the war. The first is that people can be reached. The soldiers and draftees who heckled and beat up lonely demonstrators distributing anti-draft leaflets in the early morning hours on induction days now wish they had read those leaflets. They are on our side, as are the many who ignored us or opposed us the first time around. The second is that there is a hopeful counter-culture blossoming around the land and that the spirit in which we work to end the war will, to a large degree, determine the spirit in which the counter-culture will grow. And if we go into the streets with hatred in our hearts and see people in the old way as *them* against *us* and define *them* as pigs or worse, then we will merely be assuming the out-moded and dehumanizing values that made the war in Vietnam possible and the lives of our people so miserable. We will have done nothing, then, but make a lot of noise, satisfy (perhaps) our machismo-egos, and gain nothing.

—Marty Jezer



Peter Simon

what the movement has learned

David McReynolds

There are two large and serious movements in the country today, organized to act as movements. One is the peace movement, almost entirely white and middle class, and concerned primarily with ending the war in Vietnam. This is a movement of whites, not of white racists, but it is absolutely correct that the majority of those in the peace movement are primarily concerned, now, with the question of war and not with the plight of blacks, of poverty, etc. I do not think groups such as the AFSC, FOR, WRL, CALCAV, WSP, etc. are going to put much of their time or energy into walking on welfare picket lines.

The other movement is largely "Third World" and largely working class, and includes welfare rights groups, SCLC, the Panthers, the UFW, etc. This is not a pro-war movement, but it is not primarily concerned with the war, but with organizing farm workers, securing decent payments to those on welfare; defending the needs of the Third World groups against the very real oppressions of our society. While the war in Vietnam is evil enough, rats and lead poisoning and the conditions of the ghetto take a much heavier toll of Third World groups than combat in Vietnam. Regardless of exceptional persons with these groups (such as Cesar Chavez and the late Martin Luther King) I doubt that this movement as a whole is going to put much of their time and energy into joining white middle class peace demonstrations.

(I leave out of this discussion for reasons of space the

host of other liberation groups and movements, Women's Liberation, Gay Liberation, the "counter culture" of students and youth, the ecology movement, etc.)

If we begin with what I feel is the artificial assumption that we can build a movement by simply adding one group to another, hoping to gain strength in numbers, then if such a coalition becomes too strong, it can always be dissolved at any time by the government, and not through something as clumsy and difficult to enforce as repression, but by granting the demands of one group or the other. If the peace movement is committed *only to peace*, then Nixon can end the war and thereby dissolve that movement, dissolve the basis of the coalition, and leave the welfare and Third World groups without their white allies. If the other side of the coalition is committed, for example, *only to \$5500*, then if that demand is granted the peace movement would find itself alone.

I want to argue that our movement has become "multi-issue" not as an artificial way of building a coalition, not because the white peace movement is afraid of being "race-baited" if it doesn't give lip service to Third World demands, and not because the poor are so desperate for allies they will settle for a coalition with white liberals and radicals in the peace movement, but because *not one of our interests can be resolved without tackling a range of problems*. What we have is a movement that is beginning to realize that America has to undergo radical social change if we are to cease, as a nation, terrorizing the world and oppressing our own people.

In the war itself our education was very slow. We assumed at first that Vietnam was an accident, a mistake, something which could be cleared up by a wider sharing of information. The whole early period of the "Teach-Ins" was designed not only to educate the public, but also to reach out and help educate government officials. The war was so horrible, so senseless from any human point of view, so alien to what we thought of as "American values" that we could not believe it had been, in part, a conscious act of policy carried out by liberal Democrats (Kennedy, Johnson, Humphrey, Ball, McNamara, Rusk, Rostow, the Bundy brothers). U.S. involvement in Vietnam began in 1946, with arms aid to France. It began more directly in 1956 with direct support to Diem. It began very formally in the early sixties under Kennedy. Now, finally, *twenty-four years after our first involvement*, the peace movement has been educated to the fact that the war was not an accident, but an experiment in technocratic imperialism, the effort to maintain America's world position against emerging social revolutions by the application of sophisticated technology in a series of "brush-fire" wars. (Let it be noted that it was not the force of "World Communism" that worried planners as much as the threat of losing control of the resources of Asia, Africa, and Latin America *to the people who lived there*.) If there was any

"mistake" in U.S. policy it was that it underestimated the power of Vietnamese nationalism and the willingness of the Vietnamese to absorb terrible losses in order to achieve control of their own country. It is no secret that many liberals who now oppose the war do so only because—as McNamara might have put it—"it has exceeded its cost estimate." But it is also true that many, many liberals, particularly among the youth, have been driven toward radicalism because they now understand that even "America at its best"—i.e., Kennedy liberalism as opposed to the policies of a Nixon—is a murderous system in its foreign relations and that even if the war in Vietnam ended tomorrow it would, in a different form, occur somewhere else in the world.

The radicalization of American white liberals on the war question has also come about because we have seen, very directly, that the system under which we live is not responsive to democratic pressures, no matter how they are expressed (i.e. through demonstrations, elections, teach-ins, etc.) We have learned that to "work within the system" means to accept, *in advance*, our defeat and to concede the right of the political establishment to manipulate us.

It is therefore unlikely that, even with the end of the war, the "peace movement" will vanish. It would vanish, of course, as a *Vietnamese* peace movement, just as draft resistance will collapse when the draft is repealed, but events

SPAAL



have lifted many, many thousands and even tens of thousands of white liberals from a moral concern with a particular war to the level of a moral and political concern with a system that produces one war after the other. For many of us the desire to work with blacks or welfare groups is not just a desire to end *this* war, nor a guilty white conscience, but an awareness that we need allies for a much longer and tougher struggle—one against the system itself.

If we look at the Civil Rights movement as it first developed, there is no question that white liberals were involved—as first with Vietnam—only out of conscience. Blacks who charged that white students could always put on their white skins and take a vacation from the struggle were entirely correct, even if the comment was insensitive to the courage involved when people got involved in troubles they could have avoided altogether.

But something very new has been happening in the last ten years, and it has driven some whites into reactionary positions it has driven others into an awareness that for their own self-interest they must resolve the status of Third World groups in this country. Ten years ago integration was a goal shared by all white liberals and most black leaders and it meant something that would happen down *there*—in the South. Today very few black leaders cite integration as the goal, but are concerned with achieving political and economic power for blacks. This militancy has meant that the ghetto is simply no longer willing to be contained and, in a society where the system cannot offer any legitimate way out of the ghetto, i.e., decent jobs, and where the system is not willing to share power, i.e., the UFT position against community school control in New York; and where, when blacks do achieve political power as in Newark, they find the city so impoverished by the flight of middle income whites that there is no real tax base left to support any of the necessary expansions of social services and such programs as decent housing.

Suddenly white liberals find that the "race question" is not just a moral issue involving bigoted Southerners, but an issue which, if unresolved, will make "our" cities (i.e. cities run by whites) into black areas with whites in full flight to the suburbs. Look at some of the examples of urban breakdown in the North, as in New York City, where in ten years we have seen cops put on every subway train, buses switched over to "exact-fare," and taxis installing "Locked boxes"; where we have seen heroin addiction take the lives of more teenagers in New York City in the past six months than of New Yorkers killed in Vietnam in the same period; where we have seen police called in to act as permanent parts of the school system.

Therefore if white liberals are concerned today with matters of welfare payments, addiction, unemployment in the ghettos, community control of schools, etc., it is no longer because of conscience alone, but because the problems that have always haunted the ghetto now touch the once-secure white neighborhoods. We can no longer, as whites, put on our skin and take a vacation. We will join the Third World in solving this problem because unless it is solved we—our white society—will be torn apart.

Social workers concerned solely with heroin addiction, and eager to avoid getting involved in anything "controversial" that would endanger their work, now have to face the problem of Vietnam veterans who are getting addicted in Vietnam in very large numbers and are coming home with the monkey already on their backs. (I don't even need to mention in detail, because it is so obvious, the relationship between the unemployment and alienation of the ghetto and the use of heroin there.)

The United Farm Workers didn't set out to fight the Pentagon but simply to organize the farm workers. Their target was not the Pentagon, nor capitalism—it was the growers. But one finds that in the grape strike the Pentagon increased its purchases of grapes to keep the growers going, and now, during the lettuce strike, the Pentagon has increased by 300% its purchases of lettuce from Bud Antle, Inc., a subsidiary of Dow Chemical.

The original Civil Rights movement, back in the strangely dim days of the late fifties and early sixties, didn't have "the system" as its target—just Jim Crow. But it turned out that even if blacks could eat in the best restaurants it didn't do much good if they had no money. The poor, black and white, are trapped in poverty because the job market is shrinking even while inflation rises, and our national resources are not directed into the areas which could produce high levels of employment—construction of schools, roads, hospitals, housing—but into those areas where technical skills are required and few jobs are generated for untrained workers—the space program and the development of sophisticated weapons systems. The demand of the peace movement for cutting Pentagon funds is linked to demands from the poor that funds be allocated to social needs.

Even if we turn to the white-middle-class non-radical and non-peace elements that are concerned with ecology, they are discovering that while every corporation says they want environmental controls, no corporation can afford, under capitalism, to initiate such controls in its own economic area. We are now learning what it means to defoliate and destroy a land as we have done in Vietnam. Those who were never too concerned with the massive terror inflicted on the Vietnamese now observe that our vaunted free enterprise system is poisoning us as well, polluting the air, debasing our foods, destroying our lakes and rivers. Thus even this most politically conservative of movements, which counts among its supporters James Buckley, New York's new Senator, finds itself torn between its goal of conservation of the ecology and its traditional defense of private enterprise. Americans can have one or the other, but not both.

It has now become clear to a very large number of Americans that the American system has gone berserk. Yet very few Americans derive their power from this madness and therefore very few Americans have a vested interest in seeing it continue. Unhappily, though, there are a great many Americans who are suffering terribly from the present system (the George Wallace supporters—lower income whites) but who find some comfort in the Nixon-Agnew lines that the way to deal with unemployment, inflation, war, and personal misery is to beat up kids with long hair.

Finally there is a large group—not a majority by any means, but a large and articulate body of citizens, middle class and poor, white and black, young and old, who no longer believe in the system, and who are demanding that it be radically changed to make it human, responsive, democratic. This group already partly understands and must come increasingly to understand that the problems we face cannot be resolved without fundamental social change. We cannot set in motion radical social change for one group alone. We cannot be liberated "one group at a time." If what America needs is a social revolution, a "1776" in order to avoid a 1984, then our coalition is not simply a fragile and temporary series of alliances. I submit that we stop talking about an "antiwar coalition," or a "coalition against war, racism and repression" and begin talking about an emerging *American coalition*.

I urge people to avoid any quick spelling out of what we exactly mean by radical social change. The enormous complexity of our technological society, with its cybernation, computer banks, etc., will force us to open our heads, whether we are New Left, Old Left, or simply concerned and troubled Americans, to totally new forms of economic organization. The one thing that is clear is that this country must end its pattern of economic imperialism which has so deeply warped the lives of hundreds of millions in other countries, and must curb the power of the military-scientific-corporate structure which has left the great mass of Americans frustrated, impoverished, and powerless.

In conclusion, a serious coalition means that middle class whites introduce the problems of the poor into their own movements, and that blacks, welfare groups, etc., introduce into their movements some analysis of the oppressive role of the Pentagon and the relationship between "welfare state" and the problems of the poor. Three concrete examples of this: First, the massive Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles was effective precisely because it was an expression from the Chicano community, rather than a response by Chicanos to a middle-class peace demonstration. Second, I think blacks might well demonstrate at a recruiting station or an induction center, not primarily to protest the war, but to protest an economic system which provides so few jobs for black youth that they were driven to enlist to kill and be killed half a world away; the focus being on the murderous aspects of the system as it related to the ghetto, not just to the horror of the war itself. Third, I think middle-class whites, particularly such professionals as ministers, lawyers, professors, etc., all of whom have additional taxes to pay on April 15th, should be strongly and nationally encouraged by the peace groups to withhold \$10 to \$25 of their tax,

to pool those tax "withholdings" in each community, and in a public ceremony with press and TV present, contribute the lump sum to a community program which needs funding and could be going if it were not for the war economy. The list of possibilities is endless, and it would be a dramatic way of telling everyone "look, we are taking this money out of the hands of the government directly and placing it in the hands of the community."

Building an American coalition, a People's coalition, or whatever term we use, will require that we give up radical rhetoric and develop instead a radical program. Nixon isn't going to be moved by quotations from Mao, nor chants about Ho Chi Minh, any more than Mao won by quoting Lenin to Chinese peasants, or Ho won by quoting Mao to the Vietnamese. People are won to programs that make sense, that offer some hope of solving problems. Too often our slogans reflect our lack of power, our frustration—as with the slogan "power comes from the barrel of a gun," which is an inept slogan when we as a movement do not have the guns and the police and army do have them. (In any case, I would suggest Mao didn't win power with his guns but with his programs, his ideas, and for any section of the movement to be drawn into a glorification of guns as a substitute for programs and ideas is hardly a tribute to Mao.)

Two last points. I understand well enough why some have given up all hope of achieving change without violence. I won't make any of the usual pacifist arguments here, nor even the tactical arguments that should be heard (on both counts Dave Dellinger spoke clearly and well in the fall issue of *Liberation*). My only statement is that almost everyone, even if they think violence may be inevitable, would like to see the changes come without violence. I suggest that a broad American coalition operating outside the present political framework gives us a chance to achieve change without a bloody civil war that would leave everything in a shambles and would mean more poverty for the poor, no matter who ended up with the power. Let the experiment be made, therefore, without the rhetoric of violence.

And last, we concentrate too much, sometimes, on our own immediate oppressions. Yes, we are oppressed, but no homosexual or woman or poor white can persuade me that his or her oppression equals that of the Vietnamese parents holding a dead child. A weak movement is built by pooling our collective hatreds and focusing on our individual oppressions and ignoring the energy that comes from compassion one for another, making us brothers and sisters despite all our faults. It is out of fashion, perhaps, to quote Martin Luther King, but I think he had hold of a very revolutionary truth—of an effective organizing tool—when he said that liberating black Americans would also liberate white Americans. The system of oppression of violent coercive power, destroys not only us who are oppressed, but also those who do the oppression. —David McReynolds



... 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 that you can't be for liberation without being against all the things that prevent 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...

—a woman from *Bread and Roses*

Radical women have talked for several months of "making the connections" between women and the war, between imperialism, sexism, and racism. We have wracked our brains trying to develop an analysis, as if we had to have it all neatly worked out and on paper before we could do something. But "making the connections" only means developing a better understanding of how all these things are intertwined, how one oppression buttresses another, and how liberation is contagious, so that we can better know how to struggle for the fulfillment of *everyone's* basic needs and rights. Our resistance as women to the war need not and cannot depend on our having a complete understanding of our own role in what is going on. It's far too complicated—we keep discovering new "connections"—for us to wait for that. The intensity of our resistance can not only match the degree of our own exploitation, it must surpass it. If there were no "connections" between our struggle as women and other liberation struggles going on all over the world (which is incomprehensible) we would still have to fight.

But an understanding of how women's role in our country helps keep imperialism steamrolling throughout the world gives us a handle by which to grasp the problem and move things. The courage of our revolutionary sisters inspires us and makes more real our stakes, as women and as people, in liberation for ourselves and for everyone.

Women's part in an imperialist system is directly related to our role within capitalism. In this society, women play two major roles, within the family as wife and mother, and in the labor force. Our role in the family is as a maintainer and reproducer of a workforce for the system. Because the family is the place where we can find love and security, women's work is said to be a "labor of love." But it is really to keep the system running. A man can only be free to spend forty hours or more a week working away from the home if someone is there to take care of him and his home. So the economy gets two workers for the price of one. In addition, marriage and the family is the way children are produced and then socialized into their later roles as workers.

Women in the labor force are a large but easily manipulated group. It is a myth that most women who work do it only temporarily and for "pin money," but we have been so thoroughly brainwashed to believe that, that even women who have worked all their lives to support a family find it

women and war

Marilyn Albert



hard to identify as workers and therefore they seldom organize themselves or fight for their rights, even within the unions that usually ignore or minimize women's demands and needs. So women, even unionized women, are paid according to a secondary wage scale and enjoy few benefits or protections. There is little job security for women, and we are the last hired and the first fired. An economy that fluctuates from "war time" to "peace time" makes the job situation that much more precarious for women. In wartime, women who have then become the primary support of their families are hired to do the work that men now needed at the front were doing. When peace returns, the women are sent home, because the jobs are needed again for the men. Following World War II, when returning GI's had to be given work, a campaign was launched to "get women back into the home where they belonged" and out of the jobs they had been filling. Articles appeared in women's magazines on the virtues of breastfeeding as opposed to bottle formulas, and balance was restored to the labor market.

Women's conditioned passivity is part of the general passivity that permits the war to go on, but with passivity in women has come sympathy and compassion. Seventy-four percent of American women when polled said they would not have obeyed orders at Mylai as opposed to twenty-one percent of American men. To say that centuries of socialization have dehumanized men and cultivated more human qualities in women is not to fall into myths of sex stereotypes—it is simply to recognize that we are very deeply conditioned. We must rebel against traditional notions of femininity, but at the same time retain and strengthen those qualities which enable us to identify and struggle with oppressed peoples.

By definition, a ruling class oppresses people under its domestic thumb, and must doubly oppress them when it is exploiting people in the Third World as well—in order to meet rising military expenditures and to stifle resistance to the war. In recent years of the Vietnam war, people in every walk of life have felt the pinch of the war economically. The contracting labor market brought about by war-caused inflation and recession does not provide enough work and unemployment is at a peak. Wages do not rise in proportion to the rising living cost, and prices creep steadily upward—a fact that is particularly evident to the budget-minded housewife.

More and more women are being forced to go on welfare—as welfare, childcare and anti-poverty programs are cut back to re-allocate money for the war. The guaranteed annual income demand of the National Welfare Rights Organization of \$5500 per year is spent every three seconds in Viet Nam, while Nixon's proposed welfare allotment for a family of four is \$1600.

Poor women have been the primary victims of the birth and population control programs sponsored or subsidized by the U.S. government or its agencies. Those programs, both within the United States and throughout the Third World countries under U.S. domination or influence, are another aspect of genocide and imperialism. The women's liberation demand for control of our bodies and the recent ecological consciousness have been distorted and co-opted into a devastating population control program all over the world which, rather than permitting people greater control

over their lives, usurps that control completely. Poor women have been the guinea pigs for birth and population control methods. The first tests done on the Pill were on women of Puerto Rico, Haiti, and areas of Appalachia.

The U.S. sponsors and subsidizes similar population control programs internationally. Groups like the Peace Corps, International Planned Parenthood, and Agency for International Development run international population control programs under the guise of solving the problems of poverty caused by overpopulation, but really for the purpose of curbing growth of Third World, potentially revolutionary populations, and for control of the land and resources in those countries. We must clarify our demands for control of bodies and intensify our fight so that such genocidal policies cannot be co-opted in the name of "liberalization" or "saving the world from overpopulation."

The United States government and the Saigon regime have devised a specific method of warfare against women, designed to break morale, terrorize, and induce physical and moral decay throughout South Viet Nam, thereby weakening the growing resistance there. Rape and other unimaginable crimes against women are common and are encouraged by the U.S. command. The Saigon government admitted to thirty-six daylight rapes in the Saigon streets during 1969. One can only imagine what the real figures must be to force such an admission. In January, 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 hotel went on strike for protection of their dignity against rape. The Committee to Defend the Dignity and Virtue of Vietnamese Women, which for two years functioned to educate and assist Vietnamese women with widespread (even among ARVN officers whose wives were forced to prostitution while they were at the front), was eventually outlawed by the government. The current Committee to Defend the Right to Live, is the major women's anti-Thieu-Ky-Khiem organization, and is a strong force in the South Vietnamese resistance movement. The prostitution rate in South Viet Nam is 400,000—one for every GI!

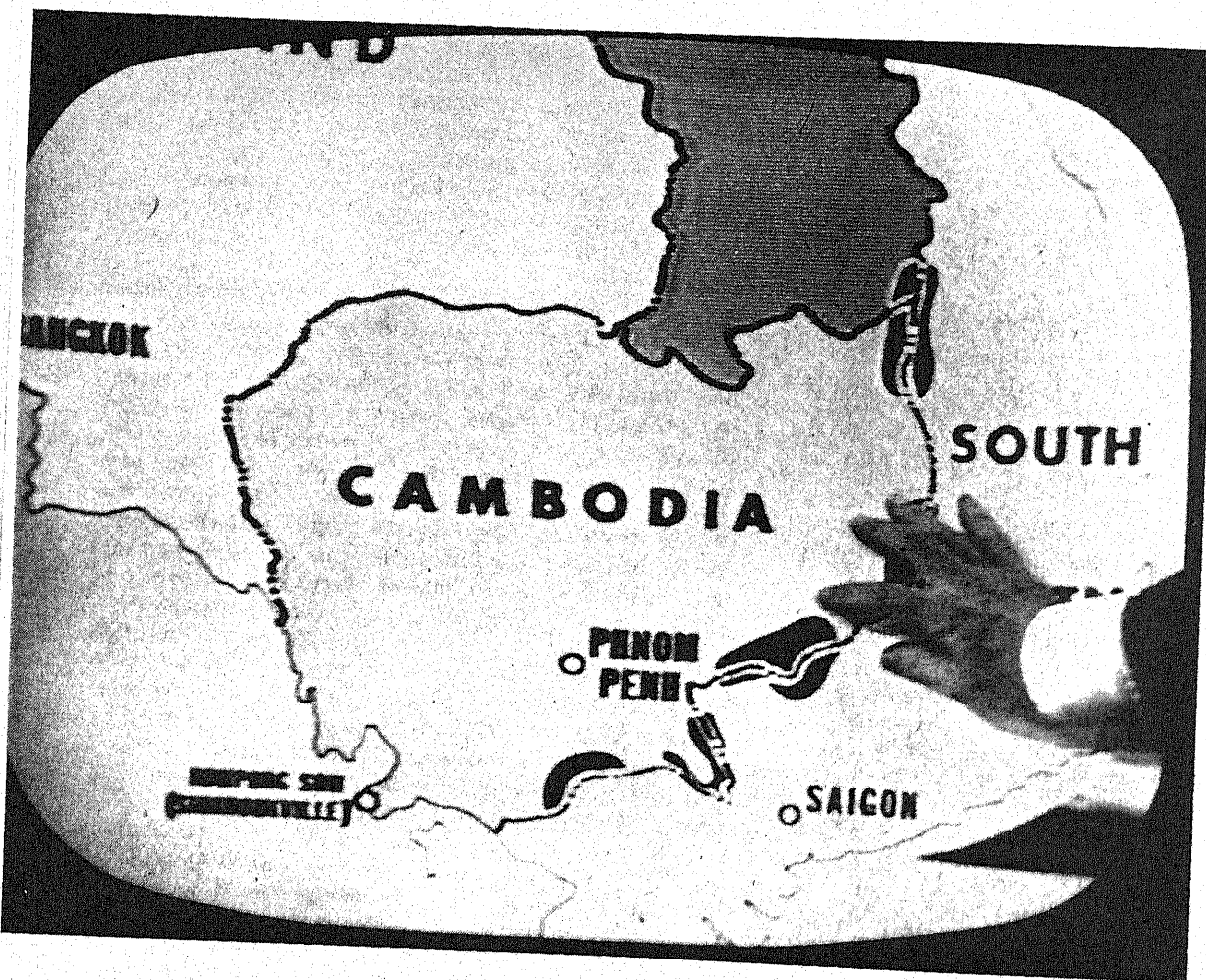
It is absolutely vital that American women use the power we have as women by following the example of our Vietnamese sisters and resisting the war at every level. Wherever we are, we can find some way to relate the war to our lives and to the lives of women around us and to organize around that. Housewives can initiate consumer boycotts of war-industry products, and conduct educational campaigns in shopping areas about how the war affects rising costs. Working women can organize on the job, tying in work conditions and low wages to the war. Students can do educational work around women and imperialism. There is a wide range of activities being organized in the women's movement around the war. Women are opening health clinics and naming them after Madame Binh of the PRG and opening tax counseling centers in their communities. Several women's groups will be circulating drafts of the People's Peace Treaty which specifically relate women to the war as part of a sustained effort to educate people about the war and move them to take themselves out of it.

For more information about women's anti-imperialist activity, contact: *The New York Committee to Defend the Right to Live*, 2nd floor, 5 W. 21st Street, New York City.

—Marilyn Albert

Cambodia: "Operation Total Victory no. 43"

Cynthia Frederick



Rising high above the lush Cambodian jungle, the spiraled gray towers of Angkor Wat mark the cosmological center of one of the most brilliant ancient civilizations of Southeast Asia. Today, all that remains of this vast Khmer kingdom is a nation about the size of Washington state, a nation inhabited by nearly seven million people, most of whom spend their lives in the verdant paddy fields surrounding their village.

Cambodia was able to remain largely untouched by the genocidal war engulfing her neighbors to the east and the north due to the constant and often frantic efforts of one man: Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Confronted by formidable internal and external threats to his country's independence, he sought for many years to capitalize on the precariousness of his position through an ultimately fatal balancing act. Courting his enemies, rejecting his allies, cajoling, haranguing, appeasing, condemning, he desperately attempted to steer his country along the precipitous path of noninvolvement. For nearly three decades this strategy—commonly viewed in the West as "neutrality"—served both as the basis of Sihanouk's highly personalized universe and as the principal safeguard of his country's territorial integrity.

As ruler of Cambodia, Sihanouk faced opposition from both the right and the left. By constantly relating his diplomatic maneuvers to domestic considerations, he succeeded until the coup on March 18, 1970, when he was ousted from power by a segment of the Cambodian elite, maintaining control over dissenting forces within the country. By accepting aid from both ideological camps, Sihanouk sought to demonstrate his country's neutrality, and thereby strengthen its national sovereignty. Consequently, yielding to the demands of the right in Cambodia, the Prince (though rejecting SEATO "protection" and criticizing U.S. intervention), continued to welcome American aid. (It amounted to more than 350 million dollars between 1955 and 1962). At the same time, he reassured the left by maintaining good relations with the Chinese People's Republic. Regarding Peking's good will as essential for protecting his country from its aggressive neighbors, Sihanouk's approach seems reminiscent of his predecessor, King Ang Duong, in the days before French "assistance" was transformed into the colonial yoke. In 1961, Sihanouk remarked "Westerners are always astonished that we Cambodians are not disturbed by our future in which China will play such a powerful role. But one should try to put himself in our place: in this jungle which is the real world, should we, simple deer, interest ourselves in a dinosaur like China when we are more directly menaced, and have been for centuries, by the wolf and the tiger, who are Vietnam and Thailand."

Sihanouk's dilemma, in short, was this: if he allied his country with the Western powers, the insurgency groups might be re-activated and the certain hostility of the neighboring Communist countries could be expressed through support for his opposition. Western aid also tended to strengthen some of the Prince's rightist opponents, particularly those in the armed forces. Yet if too closely aligned with the Socialist bloc, he risked alienating significant elements of the Cambodian elite who desired contacts and

"assistance" from the West.

At first, Sihanouk's neutralism seemed well suited to the exigencies of survival in the cold war. But after 1960, particularly with the growing crisis in Laos, the gap between the more theoretical aspects of his policy and the realities of the international situation widened. His attempts to adjust to this changing perspective were partly reflected in his attitude towards his immediate neighbors. Despite his oft-repeated references to the real or imagined intentions of the northern "wolf," Sihanouk in the early 1960's initiated a policy of increasing accommodation with the North Vietnamese and the N.L.F. This apparent contradiction was prompted largely by the increasing U.S. support for Thailand and the rapid American troop build-up in South Vietnam.

Sihanouk, in other words, saw his nation wedged between two avowedly pro-West countries—although he seemed less concerned with South Vietnam, given its obvious dependence on the United States, than with Saigon's alliance with the traditionally predatory Thais. The historical ability to play upon the long-standing hostility between Vietnamese and Thai was becoming less and less feasible in the light of a U.S. encouraged Saigon-Bangkok anti-communist commitment. Indeed, relations with Thailand were broken off in 1961 (following Cambodian charges that the Thai government had violated its borders and intervened in its internal affairs); and with Saigon in 1963 (over alleged South Vietnamese border violations, coupled with charges of repression of the Khmer minority in South Vietnam).

To survive, Sihanouk felt a need to work out a compromise with the D.R.V. Apparently convinced that the North Vietnamese and their southern compatriots in the N.L.F. would ultimately win their war against the United States, he was anxious to secure their guarantees for the sovereignty of his state. Thereby, he hoped to preclude a possible anti-Cambodian reaction from a future united socialist Vietnam. His decision was also prompted by pragmatism. He simply lacked the material means to do otherwise without requesting foreign military aid—a direct contradiction of his policy of noninvolvement and a serious threat to his astutely balanced internal political constellation.

By 1965, a series of informal agreements had been concluded with the D.R.V. and the N.L.F. that allowed their forces to pass along the Cambodian border en route to South Vietnam. Permission was also granted Soviet and Chinese ships to unload supplies at Sihanoukville. (It was the only important Cambodian port on the Gulf of Siam; all other goods were transported through South Vietnam and up the Mekong River). From that point they would be transported by truck to the N.L.F. zones. This proved a profitable economic enterprise, given the high prices paid in cash by the Vietnamese for rice and other Cambodian supplies and the government simply closed its eyes.

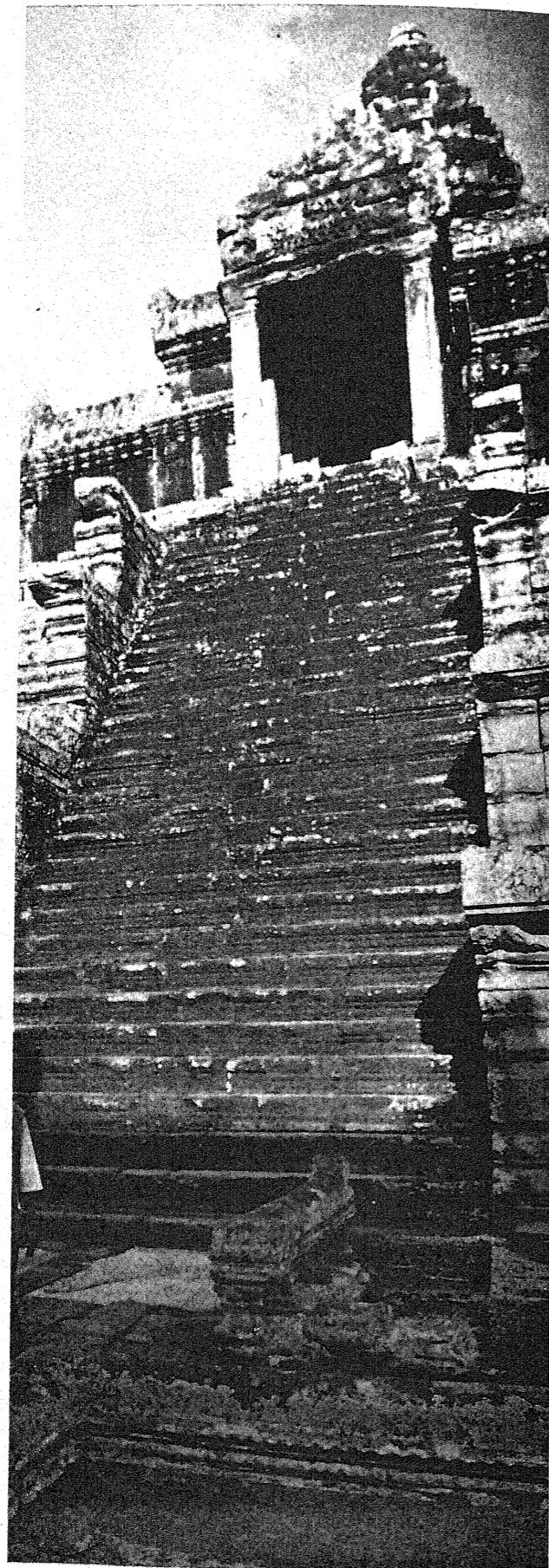
Even in the frontier regions, the Cambodian population did not seem to suffer from the presence of the North Vietnamese and the N.L.F. forces. Indeed, peasants living in these areas stated that they were allowed access to local N.L.F. hospitals and medical stations. The major disruptive factor was the increasingly savage attacks by American and South Vietnamese forces along the border. Such attacks, according to official Cambodian statistics, totalled some 1,864 border violations, 165 sea violations, and 5,149 air

violations before May 1969. In the spring of 1969, to cite only the best publicized incident, the U.S. defoliated 1730 acres of Cambodian territory, mainly rubber plantations, in the "fish hook" region.

The import of the agreements between Cambodia and the N.L.F. and D.R.V. was heightened in 1967, when Cambodia granted *de jure* recognition to the D.R.V. and to the N.L.F., and again in 1969, when Phnompenh officially established relations with the newly formed Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. In turn, both the North Vietnamese and the N.L.F. recognized the Khmer border claims. It is thus hardly credible to suggest that the Vietnamese presence in the Cambodian frontier regions at this time was considered by Sihanouk's government to be an "invasion."

Yet, within the Cambodian elite—among military, intellectuals and businessmen—there were increasing signs of opposition both to the Prince's foreign policy and to his style of leadership. Students of Cambodian politics had frequently remarked about the prospect of serious discontent in the army. In the spring of 1967, Michael Leifer concluded that the military was the "most obvious candidate for an alternative government; it has suffered the most from the rejection of American aid." As discontent grew in the military, there were also signs of increasing antipathy among merchants, businessmen, and administrators. Their restiveness, too, can be partly attributed to the cut-off of American funds. Leifer summed up in 1967 the tremendous and unsettling effects of earlier U.S. economic assistance on Cambodian society. "This aid, particularly in the form of budgetary support, allowed a level of expenditure well beyond the earned income of the country. The seriousness of the problem was disguised by a favorable trade balance in 1964, but a poor harvest in 1965 revealed the true state of economic affairs and necessitated financial stringency on the part of the government. The urban elite—accustomed to a high standard of living sustained by American aid . . . is now finding it difficult to adjust to economic austerity." The Prince's devotion to his own particular brand of economic planning, "Khmer Socialism," did little to solve the problem. And by early 1969, with a budget deficit of over twenty million dollars and an alarmingly stagnated economy, Sihanouk was in serious domestic trouble.

As his support dwindled among the Khmer elite, there were also signs of growing unrest, even a revival of activity on the left. During the mid-1960's, frustration among many young radical Cambodians had been somewhat offset by a combination of Sihanouk's anti-U.S. stand, his attempts to expand the nationalization program, and his policy of reserving a number of cabinet seats for popular left-wing personalities. But the controversy surrounding the elections of 1966 (the outcome determined more by the wealth than the popularity of the candidates), and the later formation of a right-wing oriented cabinet headed by army commander-in-chief Lol Nol, led the various leftist groups to direct their energies towards extra-parliamentary politics. In the spring of 1967, popular demonstrations, the first of any significance since independence, were organized in the north-western provinces. These soon developed into virtual armed uprisings in the peasant communities of Battambang province. Sihanouk, as usual, sought to balance off the two major forces in Cambodian society. After ordering Lon Nol



to quash the unrest, he himself replaced the general as the head of an "exceptional government" in early May. Nonetheless, the "red rebel" activity, as the Prince called it, continued.

As various groups on the left became isolated from Sihanouk's political universe, he, in turn, was less and less able to counter the influence of the right. Despite his impressive following among the largely peasant population, Sihanouk's position had always been a vulnerable one. Direct rule was not a viable alternative for Sihanouk. His highly personalized leadership was well suited to the vortex of forces in Cambodia, for it enabled him to maneuver constantly among the diverse factions in the society. In this way, though never dominating the varied and often contentious forces in Cambodian politics, he was able to neutralize them and thus guide his country. But this required

and Minister of Defense. As his Deputy Prime Minister, he chose Prince Sisowath Sirik Matak, an outspoken critic of Sihanouk, his cousin. Of the two, Matak was the more eager to challenge the Prince. In December, 1969, he was able to defeat the pro-Sihanouk cabinet faction on the issue of adopting a series of new "liberalizing" (i.e. de-nationalization) economic policies. Judging from reliable sources, the anti-Sihanouk elements within the army were also strengthened by the sudden decision of the extreme right-wing Khmer Serei mercenary forces to "defect," bringing with them their arms, vehicles, women and baggage. These pseudo-ralliers were transferred, thanks to Lon Nol, to the army and the police. Still another Trojan horse, as one can imagine the action that these mercenaries, armed, schooled, and trained by agents of the C.I.A., were capable of taking.

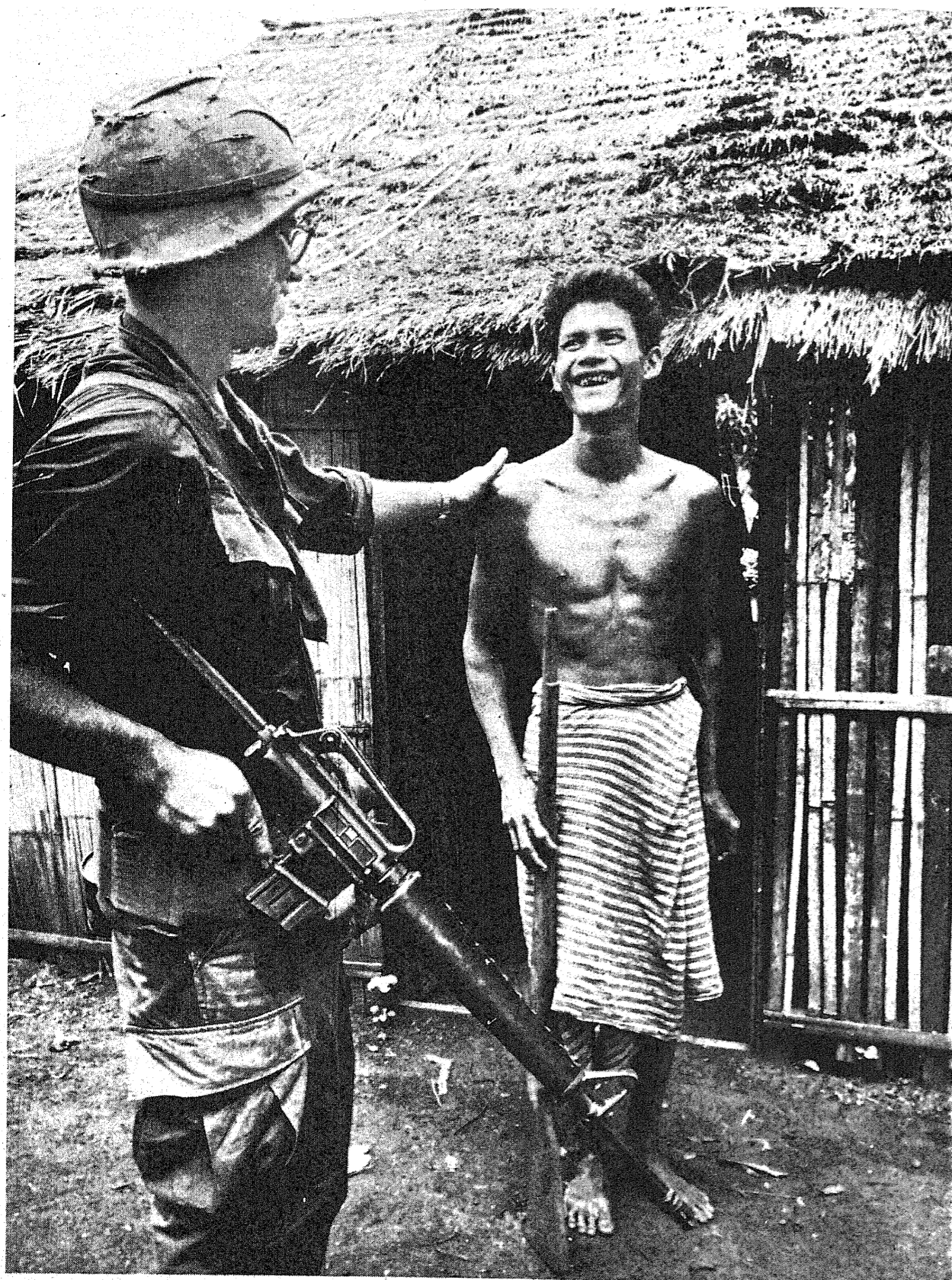
In January, 1970, the Prince left for France to undergo



an indirect sharing of power through a cabinet and the National Assembly. And when the various leftist elements were forces from these organs of government, Sihanouk was pulled towards the right. By the early part of 1968, the political situation in Phnompenh showed signs of slow but steady deterioration.

In July 1968, General Lon Nol reappeared in Phnompenh politics, this time as First Deputy Prime Minister of the cabinet. Schooled and trained by the French in Saigon and Paris, he had fought against the anti-colonial resistance forces during the war for independence. In 1960, he took command of the Royal Cambodian Army. In August, 1969, two months after diplomatic relations with the U.S. were re-established, Lon Nol was given the task of forming a new government. In it he held the positions of Prime Minister

an extended health cure. During his absence, Matak and Lon Nol—using Sihanouk's Vietnam policy as a pretext to oppose his power—launched a campaign further to undermine Sihanouk's strength by casting doubts on his policy of accommodation with the Vietnamese insurgents. They based their move on a crude attempt to exploit anti-Vietnamese feeling in the country. For although forming only about 7% of the total population, the Vietnamese commanded an important and long-resented position in the economic sphere. On March 8, shortly before Sihanouk was scheduled to return to Cambodia via Moscow and Peking, the first anti-Vietnamese demonstrations were organized in Svay Rieng province (the "parrot's beak"). The action was then switched to the capital, where on March 11, students and soldiers, along with some 200 Buddhist *bonzes*, were ordered to as-



semble and march to the embassy of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. According to T.D. Allman, the demonstrators were ordered to shout anti-Vietnamese slogans. While they waited in front of the embassy, a team of forty-five soldiers in civilian dress (probably Khmer Serei) entered and sacked the building. The scene was repeated shortly thereafter at the North Vietnamese embassy. According to Allman, "The some 10,000 marchers were hardly hostile to the sacking in a country where anti-Vietnamese feeling runs deep. But the demonstration was hardly spontaneous. Few of the students and civil servants would have shown up had they not been ordered, and they undoubtedly had no idea that the ultimate result of their demonstration would be the ousting of Sihanouk."

As planned, the sacking of the two embassies provided certain cabinet members with the excuse to vent their frustration with Sihanouk's rule and his seemingly pro-Vietnamese policies. Not only did the National Assembly officially encourage the riots as the "legitimate indignation" of the Cambodian people, but the following morning, Sihanouk, still in Paris, was notified of his subordinates' intentions to effect significant changes in foreign and military policy. The plotters called up 10,000 recruits to augment the 25,000 man royal Cambodian army. They also informed the D.R.V. and the P.R.G. representatives in Pnompenh that, though they regretted the demonstrations, all Vietnamese troops had to be withdrawn from Cambodia "at the latest by dawn of Sunday, March 15, 1970."

Events followed in confusing and rapid succession. Sihanouk, refusing to yield, cabled his mother, the queen, of his intention "to return to the country to speak to the nation and army and ask them to make a choice. If they chose to follow these personalities in the path that will make Cambodia a second Laos, they will permit me to resign."

Matak and Lon Nol, though worried by the Prince's determination, continued to encourage increasingly violent "protests." The D.R.V. and the P.R.G. took a conciliatory line and agreed to meet with Cambodian officials on March 16. The talks were polite but inconclusive. Had Sihanouk returned immediately, he probably could have forestalled the coup. Instead, he chose to meet with Soviet and Chinese leaders as originally planned (probably, as speculated, to ask their assistance in dealing with the Vietnamese). His planned return was thus delayed until March 24. During the next few critical days, his enemies consolidated their strength. On the morning of March 18, the National Assembly put a formal end to nearly three decades of Sihanouk's princely rule.

The American government promptly announced that its recognition of the Cambodian government would continue "for constitutional reasons," i.e., the Lon Nol-Matak government could be viewed as the already legally constituted regime. Sihanouk obviously did not agree with this interpretation. On the day of the coup, while still in Moscow, he denounced his ouster as "absolutely illegal" according to the provisions of the 1947 constitution and hinted at forming a government in exile.

Sihanouk's charges about American involvement in the coup, moreover, were matched by one observer's ambivalence about Washington's position and role vis-a-vis the coup. An excellent summation of the widespread speculation concerning U.S. actions appears in an article by Louis

Heren, Washington correspondent for the *London Times*. After discussing the C.I.A.'s "employment" of the Khmer Serei ("a Cambodian group dedicated to the overthrow of Prince Norodom Sihanouk"), Heren concludes "This does not prove that the C.I.A. was responsible for the coup in Pnompenh but it clearly is not regretted. The State Department was uncommonly quick to recognize the new regime, and according to the *Washington Star*, officials believe that the new development has suddenly given the Vietnam War the dimensions it deserves. For years officials have argued that the north-south struggle in Vietnam could not be treated in a vacuum, that it was part of the overall battle for the future of former French Indochina. This has always been the view of the C.I.A., which moved in even before the French departed.

Even as Sihanouk's successors announced their intentions of maintaining their country's "neutrality," Americans learned that South Vietnamese military operations (with American logistical assistance) apparently had been launched as early as March 16. At the same time, *Le Monde* (usually better informed than the U.S. media) reported a series of pro-Sihanouk demonstrations, often supported by D.R.V. and N.L.F. forces, being brutally crushed by Cambodian troops in a number of outlying provinces. Significantly, however, *Le Monde* indicated that such support was not necessarily direct and armed intervention. On April 3, it was reported that "the riots of the last eight days are principally the work of the Cambodians and not of the Vietnamese, as the government (in Pnompenh) claims." These reports provide a crucial perspective for determining the consequences of the U.S. escalation of the war in Indochina.

On April 30 the Americans and their South Vietnamese allies launched a full-scale conventional attack into Cambodia. The absurdity of this is all too evident. Despite long years in Indochina, American military commanders seem unaware that they are engaged in fighting a "people's war"—a war, according to General Vo Nguyen Giap, which "is the form of fighting of the masses of people, of the people of a weak and badly equipped country who stand up against an aggressive army which possesses better equipment and technique . . ."

If a maxim could be coined to apply to American intervention in the Indochinese peninsula, it might be: "where American intervention goes, the conditions for people's war necessarily follow." Cambodia would be no exception. By the beginning of April, Jean-Claude Pomonti of *Le Monde* reported that "in the Vietcong zones (along the Cambodian border), the Khmer peasants are even now being trained and armed." Were the North Vietnamese and N.L.F. actually invaders, as claimed by Washington and Pnompenh, it hardly seems credible that they would take the risk of issuing weapons to the victims of this same "aggression." This leads us to a crucial point—the position of the Cambodian people.

Ninety percent of the Cambodians are peasants. In a subsistence economy, they live at a subsistence level. Khmer villages (unlike those in Vietnam) are characterized by an absence of serious landlord-tenant conflict. But although these peasants produce food and the wealth of the country, they have always been divorced from political power. That power has traditionally remained above and beyond them—in the cities of Cambodia, where the country's elite reside, absorbing the peasant's produce and ruling in his name.

Headed by the king and royal circles, this elite consists primarily of commoners who managed to gain prominent positions in the Buddhist church, the government bureaucracy, or the armed forces. More recently there has grown up a small urban middle class, consisting mainly of white-collar government officials, mostly of Khmer origin. Below them rank the lower echelon clergymen, followed by commercial and professional elements, predominately Vietnamese and Chinese.

During the past few decades, the enormous gap between the rich and educated in the cities and the poor and illiterate in the countryside has widened. And while Cambodian politics have usually been played out on the Pnompenh stage, the rural population was left in the quiet. Sihanouk was never able (or perhaps never desired) to change this situation. True, he was popular among the peasants, and his very presence may even have alleviated some of the tensions created by this gap. Yet, he still played his role within the confines of ruling elitist ("city") politics.

In one sense, the March coup (and the subsequent American invasion) only signaled the shifting of power from one faction to another within the elite. But in another sense, it signals a wholly new potential direction for Cambodian politics. The further the American and South Vietnamese forces penetrate the country, the more powerfully they throw their support behind the government of "salvation" in Pnompenh, and the more surely the Cambodian people stand on the threshold of a new relationship to power. As they take up arms against the invader, they threaten to alter the role of the cities, and to pull power into the heart of Cambodia itself, the countryside.

The coup and the invasion have not only greatly exacerbated tension and confusion in the country, but have also contributed enormously to reinforcing the small groups of clandestine Khmer insurgents. Popularly known as the Khmer Rouge ("Red Khmer"), they have been patiently biding their time since the brief armed struggle in 1967.

Already in mid-April, *Le Monde* reported that many peasants, afraid of being arrested after participating in demonstrations against the new regime, failed to return to their villages. Their numbers have undoubtedly been augmented by many of their less politically minded compatriots as well—the surviving victims of wanton attack launched by the frantic Cambodia army. Allman, for example, reports that "the new policies (of the Lon Nol government) have been least popular along the border where they have endangered people's lives, driven them from their homes and killed their families and friends. Such a group of outraged people marched toward the provincial capital of Svay Rieng last week as government MIG's bombed their villages in an effort to stop the Vietcong. The Vietcong attacks were not stopped, but the column of demonstrators was. Cambodian army units fired on it with 75 millimetre recoilless rifles; the crowd of civilians fled, carrying their dead, into nearby ricefields which until last week were peaceful, and which now are fields of battle." On the basis of these and similar reports, *Le Monde* concluded that the rural disaffection could only benefit the Khmer Rouge; "the conditions for a more active insurrection are thus slowly created."

With the invasion of Cambodia, these predictions appear to have been realized. The coup of March 18 obviously had a catalytic effect on the Cambodian body politic. Yet jud-

ging from the presence of a number of talented leftists (jailed under Sihanouk's rule) in the Lon Nol government, it would have been rash to conclude that it had no chance of survival. However, any real hope for "stability" was shattered by the invasion. The latest reports from Saigon now state that the South Vietnamese have "no definite date for withdrawal," and U.S. air power will continue to provide support. This, coupled with Thieu's hints about an "exchange of territories" with the Lon Nol government, casts an even more ominous shadow over the future. Cambodian politics have become significantly—perhaps definitively—polarized. No longer is there a prospect for a "middle" path as Sihanouk sought, and no longer can Cambodia obtain refuge from the devastation of the Vietnam war through its neutrality.

That Sihanouk's resistance government will not be solely comprised of exiles in Peking was confirmed as early as March 26 when three prominent Cambodian personalities expressed their support for the prince. These men, Khieu Sampahnn, Hou Youn, and Hu Nim, all former members of the National Assembly, were elected by impressive majorities in 1966. They left the capital in 1967 to join the incipient insurgent forces in the countryside and are recognized today as major forces among the Khmer Rouge. In April, 1970, Jacques Decornoy, traveling in Kompong-Cham province, confirmed the formation of a "National Khmer Liberation Front of Damputchi," and reported that this "Khmer liberation army" (primarily armed with machine guns captured from the royal troops) was already operating in a number of liberated areas in the country. Within the Front's ranks he not only noted well-trained Khmer Rouge, but also pro-Sihanouk youths who had recently joined the insurgents. Estimates of the Front's strength today range from a conservative 3,000 to forces occupying well over a third of the country. AP reported that at least 30% of the troops engaged by U.S. forces are comprised of Cambodians. And *Le Monde* concluded that "the Khmer Rouge possess valuable leaders, and now that a part of the peasantry supports it, it cannot be presented, as does Washington, as a simple appendage of the North Vietnamese Communist Party."

At Prince Sihanouk's initiative, a summit conference of the revolutionary leaders in Indochina was held on April 24 and 25 somewhere in Southern China near the Lao-Vietnam borders. Pham Van Dong (Prime Minister of the D.R.V.), Nguyen Huu Tho (President of the N.L.F.), Prince Souvanouvong (leader of the Pathet Lao), and Sihanouk, there pledged mutual support for the anti-American struggle in their respective countries. Despite Sihanouk's obvious concern with the overthrow of the Lon Nol-Matak government, the 2,000 word declaration drawn up at the conference clearly showed that the Indochinese spokesmen intend to follow what has been termed a "traditional Asian strategy." The Vietnamese did not seek to seize the Cambodian capital, but to create liberated areas in which the Khmer Rouge, now with Sihanouk's blessings, can continue to organize far more effectively than they could by setting up a puppet regime.

Finally, on April 27, the conference's participants announced the formation of a "front of Indochinese people." The importance of Sihanouk's close alliance with the front, given his long standing popularity with the Cambodian peasantry, can hardly be overestimated. The same observa-

tion might be applied to the prospects of revolution throughout Indochina.

Meanwhile, American and South Vietnamese continue with "Operation Total Victory." The "North Vietnamese invaders" (a term which will be applied, as in South Viet-

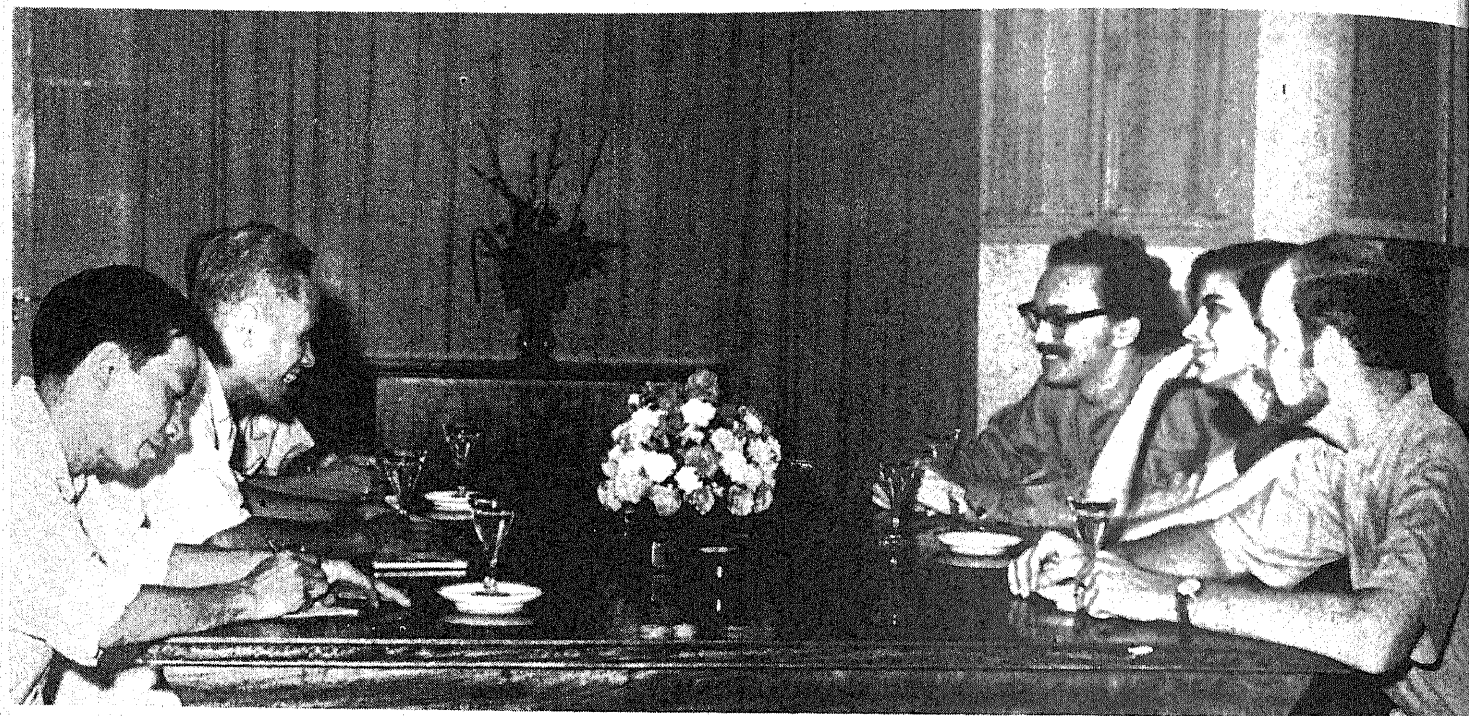
of the Cambodian countryside to "deprive the enemy of his supplies"; herd thousands of villagers into "refugee" camps to "protect them from the enemy": continue the forced evacuation and the massacres of the "pro-Vietcong" Vietnamese minority in Cambodia; and launch a



nam and Laos, to everything from Cambodian peasant children to water buffalo) will not be wiped out "with a single blow," as the American public has been led to believe. Rather we can expect to be told that, in the future, it will be necessary to: initiate extensive bombing and defoliation

thorough "pacification campaign" to "subdue" those ethnic Cambodians "seeking to overthrow the legitimate Cambodian government." Once again, the cycle of death and destruction is repeated.

—From The Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars



Bob Greenblatt, Susan Sontag, and Gay Kordell meet with Vietnamese representatives in Hanoi.

the people's peace treaty and may first

The following is an interview with Bob Greenblatt, a member of New University Conference, a group of radical young faculty and graduate students. NUC has voted to support the People's Peace Treaty. Other groups involved in planning and discussion of the Treaty at this point include such diverse groups as the Women's Strike for Peace, the Panthers, the Young Lords, the National Student Association and the Chicano Moratorium.

WHAT IS THE CONCEPTION OF THE PEOPLE'S PEACE TREATY?

The conception of the Treaty is to begin a process where people in this country can begin to act in concert with our brothers and sisters in Vietnam to force an end to the kind of devastation that our government has been carrying on. Step 1 is to bring the information of what the essential conditions of peace are, give people an opportunity to examine it, and to ratify it. We must make clear that ratification is just a first step towards implementing it.

The conditions of peace, for ending the war in Vietnam, exist and are quite simple, and the only reason that the American people don't know about

them is because the Nixon administration has been working very hard to make sure that we don't know. The Vietnamese and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) in Paris and independent forces in South Vietnam have made clear repeatedly what the two or three very simple basic principles are which would need to be satisfied. If people knew about them I think they would accept them.

WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS FOR PEACE?

One is that the U.S. must publicly commit itself to a fixed date by which time all military personnel and military equipment will be withdrawn from South Vietnam. The PRG's proposed date for that is June 30, 1971.

The second condition is total withdrawal of military and economic support by the American government of the Thieu-Ky regime, a regime imposed on the people of South Vietnam.

The third condition is that there would be no intervention by the U.S. in the internal politics of South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese are willing, able, and only await the settlement of the first two conditions, to settle their own problems.

WHAT ARE THE INDICATIONS THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM SUPPORT THE

SUBSTANCE OF THE PRG 8-POINT PROGRAM AND WOULD BE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE A PEACE TREATY WITH THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES?

The indications are very many. Unfortunately they are not available to people who only have access to the establishment press. But through the European press, through conversations with returning GIs, through conversations with the Vietnamese, through conversations with some of our own people who have gone over there unofficially (because if they know who we are, they won't let us into South Vietnam), and through conversations with American reporters who will tell you privately things that they can't get printed in their own papers—we get a whole different kind of picture.

Within four or five days after Mme. Binh issued the 8-Point peace initiative in Paris, a leading member of the Saigon national assembly, part of the puppet government, a man by the name of Duc, was in Paris and issued a statement which in substance really is in agreement with the 8-Point Program. When he was threatened by the Thieu government that he would be arrested on his return, his statement and his stand and his safety were supported by the Saigon Students, the Women's Committee for the Right to Live, the heads of the faculties of the Saigon universities, the Vice-President of the National Assembly, and leading Catholics and Buddhists.

Most of the students of Saigon belong to the Saigon Student Union. Its statement in response to the Nixon five-point plan again clearly indicated a substantive agreement with the PRG position, and also a willingness and a readiness to have talks with the PRG and to enter into a coalition with them and a determination to get the Americans out.

WOULD YOU EXPLAIN WHY THE TIMETABLE IS IMPORTANT IN GETTING THE AMERICANS OUT?

There is a timetable in the spring. There's Tet, the Lunar New Year, in early February. The local climate and conditions are such that major offensive political events are difficult if not impossible to organize before Tet. Things will begin to come to a head more and more after that. Then there is September, 1971, which is the time of the presidential elections in South Vietnam. The legitimacy of that Saigon government has to be clearly challenged before that time.

The other date is May 1. May 1 gets its first significance not because it's a good spring day, but because May 1 is one year and one day after the invasion of Cambodia. But more important than the symbolism is the strategy. May 1 is the date projected by the Nixon administration and specifically by Secretary of State Rogers as the hoped-for deadline for completion of Phase II of Vietnamization. That is, by May 1 they hope to have converted the American participation in the war to technological warfare. No American combat troops

engaged in the field. There will still be a couple of hundred thousand GIs over there to protect American military installations, to keep the Saigon troops in line—whom they're petrified of, and for good reason—and to use as a backup repressive force to try to crush the popular political uprising that they are beginning finally to see is coming. That's the kind of groundwork on which we have to operate.

I think that what is likely to happen is that by the late spring and early summer—around the May period—the popular forces will have created enough of a political pressure in the cities of South Vietnam that will in fact cause the government in Saigon to fall unless they begin to see the writing on the wall and capitulate beforehand. In that sense it would be reminiscent of 1963, when Diem's regime was overthrown. The difference would be that the '63 revolt was led primarily by the Buddhists, with some other forces that they were able to rally to their support. In 1970-71 the movement is being led by a number of different forces—women, students, etc.

In May and throughout the spring struggle the political forces in the cities and the military force of the National Liberation Front will be reinforcing each other. There is good communication between them and the political statements from both groups clearly indicate the same objectives as far as what ending the war means.

WOULD YOU EXPLAIN WHY IT IS IMPORTANT THAT AMERICAN ANTI-WAR ACTIVITIES BE COORDINATED AT THE SAME TIME, IN TERMS OF COMPARING IT WITH THE CRUSHING OF THE 1963 REVOLT?

There is one important lesson to be learned from 1963. One for us, and one for the NLF. They've learned it, and we still haven't. And there is another lesson from 1968 Tet which I want to tie it to. The lesson of '63 is that a political movement in the cities even without direct cooperation with the NLF can in fact be strong enough to topple the government in Saigon. The other part of the lesson is that it can't make it stick. One difference between 1963 and 1970 is that everything is on a higher level—all the stakes are greater.

In 1963 the U.S. had 16,000 troops there. In May 1971, even if all of Nixon's withdrawal plans go exactly the way he says, there will still be 200,000 GIs there. ARVN had a couple of thousand men under arms in '63, they have over a million under arms in 1970-71. And the popular movements are correspondingly larger. They are much stronger, but they also face a more armed and a stronger opposition.

What happened in '63 was that the American government, and particularly the CIA, began to see that the Diem regime was falling and that they couldn't really bolster it up. So at the last minute—sort of at the 11th hour—the CIA moved in to oppose Diem and was thereby able to get its agents working with and influencing some of the more

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Joint Treaty of Peace Between the People of the United States, South Vietnam and North Vietnam



Be it known that the American and Vietnamese people are not enemies. The war is carried out in the names of the people of the United States and South Vietnam but without our consent. It destroys the land and people of Vietnam, it drains America of its resources, its youth and its honor.

We hereby agree to end the war on the following terms, so that both peoples can live under the joy of independence and can devote themselves to building a society based on human equality and respect for the earth. In rejecting the war we also reject all forms of racism and discrimination against people based on color, class, sex, national origin, and ethnic grouping which form the basis of the war policies of present and past United States governments.



1. The Americans agree to immediate and total withdrawal from Vietnam and publicly set the date by which all U.S. military forces will be removed.
2. The Vietnamese pledge that as soon as the U.S. government publicly sets a date for total withdrawal:
They will enter discussions to secure the release of all American prisoners including pilots captured while bombing North Vietnam.
3. There will be an immediate cease-fire between U.S. forces and those led by the provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.
4. They will enter discussions on the procedures to guarantee the safety of all withdrawing troops.
5. The Americans pledge to end the imposition of Thieu-Ky-Khiem on the people of South Vietnam in order to insure their right to self-determination and so that all political prisoners can be released.
6. The Vietnamese pledge to form a provisional coalition government to organize democratic elections all parties agree to respect the results of elections in which all South Vietnamese can participate freely without the presence of any foreign troops.
7. The South Vietnamese pledge to enter discussion of procedures to guarantee the safety and political freedom of those South Vietnamese who have collaborated with the U.S. or with the U.S.-supported regime.
8. The Americans and Vietnamese agree to respect the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos and Cambodia in accord with the 1954 and 1962 Geneva conventions and not to interfere in the internal affairs of these two countries.
9. Upon these points of agreement, we pledge to end the war and resolve all other questions in the spirit of self-determination and mutual respect for the independence and political freedom of the people of Vietnam and the United States.

By ratifying this agreement, we pledge to take whatever actions are appropriate to implement the terms of this joint treaty and to insure its acceptance by the government of the United States.

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opportunistic elements that joined the overthrow of Diem. So they were able to dispense with Diem but then reconstitute essentially the same repressive regime. And there would be nothing to say—if there were simply a movement in the cities—that it couldn't happen again.

But unlike in 1963, the movements in the cities today are cooperating with the NLF. The NLF and the PRG in particular are a much broader coalition now than they were in '63. The second missing element in '63 was that the American empire was able to isolate its crisis in South Vietnam. There was nothing really dramatic and challenging and supportive going on in this country. And so the U.S. could get away with whatever it wanted to do over there.

In 1968 the Tet offensive was the other side of the coin. The military objective of Tet was to take the cities. And they did. In that sense it was a complete military victory. What the NLF did not count on was that the American response would be to destroy the cities. And this has been amply documented, the U.S. destruction of cities.

So in '63 you had the political movement without the military, and in '68 you had the military movement without the political base in the cities. And this hurt hard. Because Vietnam itself was primarily an agricultural country, most of the people were based in rural areas, and the NLF quite naturally developed its program and its organization based on that strength of the people.

The American strategic response to that over the years has been to destroy the fabric of Vietnamese society, not simply as a kind of malicious thing for its own sake, but because if that was the base of the strength of the people, then it would have to be destroyed. For example, the six million refugees in South Vietnam who gather in hovels around the main cities—these are not the sorry side-effects of a military strategy; their urbanization is the substance of that military strategy.

This took the NLF, I think, to some extent by surprise. At least it meant that a fundamental revision of their strategy was necessary, and this took some time to develop. That is, the NLF had to begin to learn how to organize in the cities, how to develop programs for that kind of situation. And it took from 1963 to this point to develop that and to overcome the repression of '63, and to be able to rebuild that movement in the cities.

DO YOU THINK THAT THE U.S. WOULD HAVE BEEN LESS WILLING TO SHELL AND DESTROY THE CITIES IN 1968 IF THE ORGANIZING IN THE CITIES HAD BEEN STRONGER? OR DO YOU THINK THAT THERE WAS A LACK OF RESPONSE FROM OUR MOVEMENT THAT MADE IT POSSIBLE? OR WAS IT A COMBINATION OF THE TWO?

More important was that the movement in this country in 1968 wasn't strong enough. That's the deterrent. The United States government, whether

it's Nixon or anybody else in there, is perfectly willing and able to do anything that it can get away with to the Vietnamese to maintain control. And what "getting away with" means is what kind of price we can extract as a movement in this country; what we allow them to get away with.

DO YOU THINK THAT WE ARE STRONG ENOUGH NOW TO STOP NIXON?

What we and the Vietnamese both know is that the events of last May indicated what we are potentially capable of, just on the basis of outrage. I think that that's just the tip of an iceberg of what we are really capable of if we're organized. But that means that we can't wait to demonstrate in outrage after the movement is crushed. Remember, in South Vietnam it took seven years to rebuild the movement after 1963. If it is crushed this time, the repression will be so heavy that it will probably take the cities another seven years to gain enough strength for an offensive. We have to understand what is likely to be coming, and be prepared to act accordingly. As this stuff builds up and comes more and more to the surface in South Vietnam, we've got to be building a counterforce here so that Nixon can't say well, I don't have to worry about what's going on at home. When that crisis comes that topples the government in Saigon Washington has to be worrying about its own stability a little bit. That's the element that we need. What we know is that the force in this country exists. What we also know is that as an *organized* force, it doesn't exist yet.

WHAT STEPS ARE BEING TAKEN NOW TO ORGANIZE SUPPORT FOR THE PEOPLE'S PEACE TREATY? ARE THE MAY 1 DEMONSTRATIONS BEING PLANNED TO ENFORCE THE TREATY?

Phase I for the Peace Treaty is pretty much kind of a massive campaign to inform people about what the conditions for peace in Vietnam are, and to give them an opportunity to ratify it, and we think they will. This is for radicals and middle-of-the-roaders and anybody else. We want millions of people willing to say that they agree with these conditions and are willing to work to develop in their own communities and their own institutions what implementation of this would mean. In its most simple and maybe most desperate form what it means is that we're going to take ourselves out of that war as a people if we have to do it brick by brick, one institution at a time.

INSTITUTIONS CALLS TO MIND SCHOOLS. WHAT ROLE COULD STUDENTS PLAY IN THIS?

I think it's quite logical that students in fact lead off. They tend to be a weathervane for the rest of the country. And I think not only are they not isolated—although Nixon's working very hard to prove that students are isolated—but in fact they may be at most only one or two steps ahead, maybe a little bit freer to act—on the same things that most other people believe in. Students are not

without parents, they are not without working sisters and brothers. They don't come out of a vacuum, they come out of communities, and they go back to those communities.

So far as I know, the first place the Peace Treaty was discussed was at the National Student Association (NSA) Conference this spring. The officers of NSA were mandated to pursue it. The NSA did organize a delegation of students to go to Vietnam to talk with Vietnamese students about a student-to-student peace treaty.

IS THE CONFERENCE GOING TO BE AN ATTEMPT TO GET MILLIONS OF STUDENTS TO SIGN THE PEACE TREATY?

It's a little more together in the student area right now, but basically we want every single man, woman, and child in this country to have an opportunity to look at the Peace Treaty and see if they don't agree, and have an opportunity to ratify it.

Now the actual mechanism in different places might be quite different. The students certainly plan to take the initiative in bringing it to the campuses. And there it can take many forms. In some cases it will be taken directly to student governments where that's considered a representative enough body, and to faculty councils. We really want a record of every person who actually ratifies it. Ratifying the treaty means that you are willing to implement it, and willing to work on what implementation means.

Once a campus ratifies, that's not the end of the task, that's just the beginning. That means beginning a campaign to demand of the administration that they officially recognize that that campus is out of the war. That means that campus begins to work out the ways in which it can show that they are a people at peace with the people of Vietnam. Which can mean material aid, it can mean 5

percent of the library budget goes to buy books for Vietnamese students.

It can and should also mean learning from the Vietnamese. They have a lot to teach us about different kinds of educational forms that they've had to develop because of the conditions of war all these years. They have some really far-out ideas about what client-controlled community health programs are like, where they have been able—with a 100th of our kind of budget—to develop 100 times as effective health services for people in rural and urban areas. We are not so over-developed relative to the Vietnamese in every sphere of activity.

DO PEOPLE WORKING ON THE TREATY HAVE A TIMETABLE FOR RATIFICATION AND IMPLEMENTATION?

We are suggesting that the various drafts of the treaty include an effective date of May 1. On May 1 we demonstrate our willingness and intention to actually implement it—this is real. There still is and should be a lot of discussion about the form that such a demonstration would take. Having demonstrations in the formal sense that indicate our size, our numbers, our militancy and our determination might be the way. Some places could hold a one-hour work stoppage. Some areas could make public the specific implementation plans that large numbers of people have already agreed to. There's a large variety of things.

We're not trying to predetermine what May 1 should look like. For example, later in February we'll have a much better sense of whether or not we're taking the right approach to the people in this country. Once we know the kind of support we're getting we'll be in a better position to project the kind of implementation that makes sense. At this point we should be talking about ideas and testing those ideas.

—LNS



and then there's laos

In June 1968, Jacques Decornoy, reporting for Le Monde, was permitted entry into the Pathet Lao zones of eastern Laos. Decornoy's account of his experiences there, although already over two years old, remains a classic statement on the horrors of the "forgotten war," and one of the most insightful presentations of the political program of the Pathet Lao. We are reprinting excerpts from his articles which appeared in Le Monde on July 3 through 7-8, 1968.—Eds.

We had come to Sam Neua province from Hanoi, but had we changed countries? The Soviet-made command car proceeded hiccupping over a road struck by bombs and made slippery by the rain. It took almost two full nights to reach here, with much skidding in the mud and many dangerous encounters with trucks on the small mountain road...

The Owls in the Cave

To the very end of the journey, the car had to be navigated between craters left by bombs and rockets. A wooden ladder leaning against the limestone rock gave access to the cave-hotel, a natural hole in the mountain, "improved" with dynamite. The traveler passes through a series of "rooms", walking on a "floor" of sharp pebbles, in order finally to reach his "bedroom." From his bed he can see the sky through a slit in the mountain. A fresh wind might blow in, but it would take an extraordinary bit of bad luck for a rocket to nest in this

hole. In any case, the bottom of this shelter was perfectly protected from bomb explosions. A tiny motor distributed that extremely rare commodity in "liberated Laos": electricity.

Jacques Decornoy
(translated by
Cynthia Frederick)

This retreat for hunted guerrillas is managed by Mlle. Kempeth Pholsena, an anti-French graduate of Moscow University, daughter of Quinim Pholsena, the Laotian Minister of Foreign Affairs and neutralist leader who was assassinated in Vientiane in April, 1963. Life here is very simple. On the rocky platform which forms the entrance to the cave a washbasin has been set, a dangerous place for whomever sticks his nose too far out of the mountain; at times it is impossible to finish shaving because of the jets from Thailand prowling about. Then, one lies flat on the floor of the cave, his only view a glimpse of the sky and a few flower pots attached to the rock by a wire. A difficult life, but still possible in this season. But when the rainy season begins, water penetrates the chalky mass and drips into the "hotel." A silent world, for the surrounding villages have disappeared, and the inhabitants also live hidden in the mountains. Some water buffalo and a few pigs wander about at our feet among the craters made by American bombs. At the end of 1967, several large explosives fell twenty meters away from the cave; at any time of day or night it is dangerous to lean outside...



Thousands of Bombs

A "usual" morning... at 7 o'clock, an AD-6 plane prowls overhead. It circles for about ten minutes, then leaves. At 7:30 the plane returns, makes a pass and drops three loads several kilometres from the "hotel." At 8 o'clock, there is a flight of jets. At 8:30, new jets and bombs. The same operation at 9 o'clock. In the afternoon we hear planes again several times. It is not surprising, under these circumstances, to see a breathless secretary of state of the defunct National Union Government arrive at the "hotel"; he has run from one cave to another, papers in hand. Even in this region, which they themselves control and administer, the leftist Laotians seem to be clandestine: guerillas camouflaging themselves in the shelter of the rocks, as if the enemy reigned in the valley, whereas actually he is only master of the skies.

Apparently the intensity and density of the bombings is even greater in Xieng-Khouang province, the Plain of Jars. Such persistence in this zone of caves raises the problem of the American's real motives. Prince Souvanna Phouma told us in Vientiane that the raids were aimed less at the Laotians than at the North Vietnamese at their point of entry into the country. Certainly the U.S. Air Force does attack the trails. But such fury against this region can only be explained if the central administration of the Neo-Lao Haksat is an equally important target. In the last three years thousands of bombs have fallen on a small area two or three thousand kilometres long. In front of the cave where Prince Souphanouvong received us, the craters were so close that they overlapped. In contrast to the attacks directed against North Vietnam, the raids in this deceitful forgotten war have never been officially reported, but simply "admitted" after much delay and discretion. The Americans are trying to "break" the Laotian left psychologically, and if possible, physically.

In Vientiane, the Prime Minister cannot be unaware of this fact: the Pathet Lao, which knows that he encourages these offensives, is not ready to forgive him. It places equal blame on Thailand, where the bombers are based, and on the governments supporting American intervention or maintaining absolute silence on the subject. To assert, as Prince Souvanna Phouma does, that the Lao Haksat "will rejoin the national community" when it is "liberated" from "North Vietnamese ascendancy" is to be completely mistaken about the views of the leftist leaders who ask, on the contrary, that Vientiane be free from such enormous American influence, and that the Americans stop intervening in the country.

One of the officials of the Sam Neua district told us that between February 1964 and March 1968, sixty-five villages were destroyed. This is a figure impossible to verify for a short report, but it is a fact that between Sam-Neua and a place about thirty kilometres away where we were able to stay, not a single house in the villages and ham-

lets had been spared. Bridges have been destroyed, and fields riddled with bomb craters...

Shelters in the Hill

We move on to Sam-Neua, but cannot stay in the village. After camouflaging the command car, we leave on foot, taking a mule path, crossing a stream on a bamboo bridge to arrive finally, in the forest, at a shabby frame hut with a roof of sheet iron and a "floor" of beaten earth: the office of the chairman of the district administration. A map of this area, pierced by bomb splinters, is attached to a nail. Hand-drawn and without scale, it is one sign among others of the great poverty of the Neo Lao Haksat. In another hut close by, surrounded by men and women of the militia who were busy reinforcing a shelter dug out of the hill, we will eat glutinous rice, the staple of the Laotian diet. In the afternoon, American planes will fly over us several times.

The first real raid against the urban district itself was launched on February 19, 1965. Very serious attacks were made on it quite recently, on March 17 and 19, 1968. The town looks like one long street bordered by European-style houses, built during the French colonial period, and by traditional Laotian dwellings of wood and bamboo. The two ends have been razed to the ground. The old ruins from 1965 have disappeared; those of March 1968 are still "smoking" when we visit them. Shredded trees lie along the stream, and the houses have been totally burnt out.

At the other end of Sam-Neua, the sight is even more painful. Enormous craters everywhere; the church and many houses are demolished. In order to be sure of hitting anyone who might be living there, the Americans dropped their all too famous fragmentation bombs. Here, by the side of the road, lies a disemboweled "mother bomb." All around, for tens of meters, the earth is covered with unexploded "daughter bombs" containing hundreds of steel pellets, little weapons that the Vietnamese know so well. One of them had rolled into a shelter, under a mat, mortally wounding the three people who had taken refuge there.

The inhabitants scattered into the forest, only to find very thin protection there. As night falls, they are seen reemerging, walking about, feeding their cattle. A few venture into the town to gather the remains of beams or doors, the unburned wreckage from their destroyed homes, which they carry off into the forest. No trace of the A.A. guns—just as mobile, apparently, as in Vietnam—but a few were located in the area at the time of the March raids. About two kilometers from Sam-Neua, the debris of a downed plane can be seen: the pilot was torn to bits by the bombs which he did not have time to release.

All the populated zones situated around the urban center have suffered greatly. One district official recites the litany of these misfortunes: March 1966, 15 killed in such-and-such a village; Novem-

ber 1966, 15 killed in another; the same month a pagoda destroyed, 6 bonzes killed; September 26, 1967, 7 killed; October 1967, 8 killed; November 1, 7 killed; November 19, 16 killed; February 1968, 4 killed.

Add to this the many wounded. The inhabitants ask themselves the reasons for this deluge of fire and steel. "I don't even know where America is," says a peasant woman whose daughter has just been killed and who has lost all her belongings. A peasant remarks: "Before, I understood nothing about what was said against American aid, against the United States. After the raids on my village, I know what they mean."

The Factories of the Night

Bane-Kang . . . "During the course of the last two months, American planes dropped almost as many bombs on Laos as on North Vietnam," noted *Time* magazine on March 22, 1968. In these conditions, rare are the islets where it is not necessary to live permanently underground, hidden in the forest or sheltered in a cave.

The village of Bane Kang, very near Viet-Nam, is one of these, although it is not quite known why. A few unexploded bombs do lie scattered about; over-flights are frequent, but we were able to sleep without fear in one of those houses on piles beneath which flocks of ducks and black pigs wander day and night. During the hottest part of the afternoon, men and women go to different places in the stream to bathe. On the opposite bank, some officials proudly took us on a tour of the rice fields: the second annual harvest is growing there. Although this is commonplace in rural Viet-Nam, it is revolutionary in Laos.

The village is prosperous, somewhat more so than the hamlets we were able to see in the region of Sam-Neua. Here there is no lack of rice, fruit, or fowl. There was not one school here before 1954. Today all children attend school. They can be seen working in their small classes, close to the houses where the women weave their clothing. The men who are not in the fields smoke a water pipe or drink from a jar of rice alcohol. The struggle is being waged against the illiteracy of the adults. Male nurses lavish care on their patients. The village is kept impeccable, and there is no sign of endemic disease or of undernourishment.

At another place in Sam Neua, we made our way along a path cut by the flow of a torrent. In front of individual caves, youths were practicing high jumps. We then passed some homes destroyed by the bombings, and climbed toward a series of caves sheltering forges. Raw material comes from Vietnam, from worn-out trucks, from unexploded American weapons salvaged on the spot. Using this, the workshops produce household appliances, agricultural implements, and machetes. In the rocky, humid recesses, buzzing with mosquitoes, men and women workers sleep. During the day, they sleep in darkness; at night they work.

Here, the enterprise has not been hidden in a

hole at the foot of the mountain, but well above, in an almost inaccessible place which must be reached by scaling rocks cut into rough steps and marked by bamboo. Since another mountain faces this cave directly, no bomb, no rocket can hit these workshops, from which come materials for clothing as well as for military uniforms. In a space of about 80 meters, one passes from Chinese machines, run by electricity, to the most antiquated spinning wheels. To the left, in a small rocky enclave, the young female accountants balance their books.

Everything here was brought, installed, and constructed by the textile workers, male and female. Before, there was nothing in this wild ravine, in this nature of bush, huge trees, and tangles of bamboo. At the foot of the mountain, an entire village has been created: dormitories for girls, dormitories for boys, straw huts for the families of officials, a carpenter's shop for the manufacture of wooden looms, a dyeing shop, an esplanade for meetings, dances, and ping-pong meets, a cave for the power plant, etc. Eight hours a day, fabrics are manufactured, but the work does not stop there. Houses must still be built, wood must be searched for in the forest (11 tons a month), a watch must be kept, rice and manioc cultivated, pigs and fowl raised, cultural and political courses taken. On Saturday, at noon, the machines stop. After a quick meal, we saw the employees scatter, notebooks and pencils in hand. The carpenter's shop, the canteen, and other straw huts as well were transformed into class-rooms where geometry, algebra, and geography were studied. Later on, when night falls, there is dancing.

In North Vietnam, especially in the various administrations, there is a permanent education system which makes it possible to give the inhabitants a fairly solid grounding in general culture. At a much more modest level, a similar endeavor is being carried out in "liberated Laos." The laboratory for this experience—the caves, of course—is found at the training school for instructors and teachers . . . Students can be seen scattered about, busy learning their lessons. They have made everything: the tables, the benches, the houses, the picture, the access ways to the rocky classrooms. Classes are difficult for study: young people seated near the opening of the cave are lucky enough to write by daylight, but the majority must be content with tiny oil lamps. The instruction aims at being comprehensive: everyone cultivates his own vegetables and livestock. The goal to be reached is support oneself by oneself. Until this is achieved, rice is still received from the central administration.

The director of education in the "liberated zone" and the headmaster of the school presented us their work and their ideas. From them, even more than from other cadres, we listened to the most committed expositions of "progressive national education." The school serves, of course, to raise the cultural level, but also to defend the country, to "serve the people" to "hate the Americans."

"Reduce Them to Zero"

"For this country finally to make some progress, everything would have to be leveled. The inhabitants would have to be reduced to zero and rid of their traditional culture, which is blocking everything."

With these words an American diplomat in Vientiane expressed to us an opinion which can only further alienate the United States from the Pathet Lao, and which should make the officials of a central government which is dependent on Washington really think. Presently in Vientiane, a city which is becoming "Saigonized" and which is rotting morally and culturally, it is possible to observe an irrational and futureless mixture of traditional Laotian life and a search for Western "values": rudiments of French and English, a fascination with money, Japanese motorcycles and cars. The nightclubs are filled with Thai prostitutes and talentless Philipino orchestras. On March 23, Army Day, General Kouprasith Abhay, who commands the stronghold of Vientiane, sat enthroned beside Miss Thailand, something which many young officers found to be of more than doubtful taste. In the capital, little is said of the terrorized pillaging of the "liberated zones." The people survive in this dream world without faith, knowing "this cannot last." The training of cadres, of teachers, of peasants, of workers in the "liberated" caves is regarded as inevitable, as a fate against which nothing can be done. The Americans accuse the North Vietnamese of military intervention in the country. But they are the ones who talk about reducing Laos to zero, while the Pathet Lao exalts national culture and independence.

Vientiane . . . "Vientiane makes me think of an under-developed district in Mississippi," lamented an American fellow journalist landing here on a stop between Hanoi and Washington. A strange district. Here the diplomatic representatives of Peking, Moscow, and Hanoi are stationed, while in the zones beyond government control the American Air Force shoots at anything that moves. The U.S. maintains a real colony here: villas scattered about the capital, an "American quarter," with American streets, American lawns, American bermuda shorts, American fences, not to mention various buildings for aid services. The merchants have gotten into the habit of putting up signs "in English." And to all of this the hippies must be added, a good number of whom have come from beyond the Pacific. Having withdrawn from the bank all the money they need to live well, they may be seen singing refrains from Bob Dylan or songs about union revolts, between cigarettes which are not made of Virginia tobacco ("grass" is sold freely here). They show little concern about the destruction inflicted on this country by the airplanes of a society they claim to have fled . . .

A diplomat we met in Southeast Asia recently estimated that "the Laotian problem will be more difficult to settle than the Vietnamese problem."

the fate of Laos, which has already been mentioned in the course of negotiations on Vietnam, is in danger of being used as evidence for the "domino theory." A solution can be no longer effectively drawn up by accords like those of 1962, which, by counting on the vain hope of the participants' respect, and by presupposing an entente between forces having nothing in common, would only lead to the perpetuation of the civil war and of foreign intervention.

On the contrary, from the internal point of view everything will push towards the victory of the Pathet Lao: the seriousness of its social and political organization and of its nationalism, the courage and selfdenial of its militants, and the basic structural incompetence of the opposing regime, to say nothing of its leaders. Thus it would be erroneous to say that the "fall" of Laos is necessarily related to the "fall" of Vietnam.

How would such a development—if it could be worked out—be accepted by the Americans? Will it be consented to by Thailand? This powerful country, itself convulsed, is too often ignored in the political analysis of the region, as are its close ties with elements of the Laotian right. Foreign interventions must in any case cease if Laos is to become itself. The incessant pounding of the Pathet Lao by the American airforce and Washington's hold on Vientiane must also come to an end some day. Then, as everyone in the capital knows, the Pathet Lao will be able to prevail with or without the aid of Hanoi. Its strength comes less from abroad than from its roots in authentically popular social forces. One cannot forget, after all, that if the "domino theory" were really to work, it would not only be to the detriment of that "free world" which today makes its presence felt by the thousands of bombs it drops each month, . . . but also of the feudal clans which desperately rely on a foreign air force to perpetuate conditions of another age.





2 MONTHS WITH THE NLF

John Moran

After four months as a physician with the Quaker Rehabilitation Project in Quang Ngai, Marjorie Nelson flew on January 1968 to Hue for a brief Tet vacation. At Hue she stayed with Sandra Johnson, an International Voluntary Service teacher, in a house the latter shared with several other young women who were away for the holiday.

As part of the North Vietnamese-NLF Tet offensive, Hue came under attack on the morning of the 31st. By 7 A.M. the two women had locked themselves into an improvised bomb shelter in the dining room, where they were to remain during four days of fighting and aerial bombing. Within an hour they heard the voices of NLF soldiers who had established a post in the yard. On the fourth day the soldiers demanded entry at the front door, then went to the kitchen door which they forced. . . . After searching the kitchen they fired several shots, trying to open the dining room door which was bolted from within. Dr. Nelson asked them in Vietnamese what they wanted. They said they wanted the door open . . . and it was opened to them.

After a search of the house disclosed no weapons and no other people present, the soldiers asked the women their names and professions, assuring them they would not take anything from them. They then returned to their post.

On Feb. 5, three soldiers came to take the two occupants of the house to a large public building a short distance away, where each received food, a blanket, and a pillow. After two nights there they were moved with some Vietnamese prisoners to a house where they were officially registered as POWs. They turned in most of their belongings for which they were given itemized receipts. A soldier told them, in English, that they would be taken to the mountains, whence they would return—with the return of peace.

After departing for the mountains, the two American women along with about twenty Vietnamese male prisoners, had to walk most of the night to a small village where they rested for a few hours, then after breakfast, resumed walking until late afternoon when they reached a jungle camp.

On their first evening in camp, a young soldier, Nam, again asked them in English for their names, professions, and affiliations. After they answered his questions, Dr. Nelson asked their interrogator

his name. Though momentarily flustered, he said it, "Nam." He was the political cadre, responsible for the care, interrogation, and indoctrination of prisoners in the camp. During the ten days they spent there he visited them for at least a few minutes each day. Though they sometimes discussed politics, the conversation more often dealt with topics such as teaching, medicine, and Vietnamese life.

He did not interrogate Dr. Nelson beyond the preliminary questions; but he subjected Miss Johnson to what seemed his standard perfunctory treatment, which began with an apparently *pro forma* accusation of spying for the CIA. Though quite committed to his cause his personality seemed to Dr. Nelson to preclude high-pressure, "hard-sell" techniques, or attempts at "brain-washing."

During the first three days in camp, the two women lived in a jungle house with a Vietnamese "family group" spanning three generations, who worked at preparing rice with a hand mill. Later they were taken up a hill, round a bend in a stream, where they learned of several similar houses about 150 feet away, occupied by prisoners under guard, with whom they were thereafter to have their meals. Among the prisoners were about 25 U.S. military and civilian personnel who were captured in Hue.

When I asked Dr. Nelson how the GI prisoners seemed to act, she hesitated, then replied, "I felt in a very uncomfortable position with them. They'd been sent to Vietnam while I'd come of my own volition. Here they were, stuck; very likely many wouldn't survive; some had children . . . And obviously I was comparatively at ease with the situation." When I asked again how *they* reacted, she said slowly, "Very varied . . ." She elaborated to the effect that one said he did not feel like a prisoner . . . it was the greatest learning experience of his life. Others were bitter, angry, and unhappy. Yet one, who had been among the most bitter, said after awhile that even if he had a gun he doubted he could bring himself to kill any of his captors.

Dr. Nelson told me that she did not observe any inhumane treatment of prisoners by her captors. "The conditions were very rough," she said, "but we lived under the same conditions as those of the NLF troops. What most impressed Dr. Nelson about her captors was their high morale and cheerfulness under what they acknowledged to be very severe conditions.

The Vietnamese prisoners were put to work by day at construction and bamboo cutting. The others were not put to work, in part it seems, because of the communication problem and their greater "visibility." Dr. Nelson found her ability to speak in Vietnamese invaluable, for a great deal of time was spent just talking to people, especially soldiers.

Shortly after arriving at the camp, the Americans were told by Nam that they would soon be moving to another camp, about ten days away by foot, which had better facilities. In preparation for the trip the cadre secured footwear for all who needed it, plus a plastic ground cloth for each of the women. Around February 20, the group of about twenty-five prisoners began their move under guard of five soldiers with Nam in charge. They walked and camped in the mountains for six days. Since the prisoners were fatigued and footsore from hiking over the rough jungle terrain, the guards bore most of the camping burdens: setting up camp, starting fires, cooking, breaking camp. But everyone enjoyed talking and singing each evening after supper.

On the evening of the sixth day, Nam and one of the guards joined the two women at supper—a unique experience which they found very pleasant. Nam sat with them for awhile after the meal, then announced that “Tomorrow I won’t be going with you. We will be separating.”

Next morning, after saying good-by to their fellow prisoners and the guards, Nelson and Johnson were taken by Nam to a second camp where they remained about a month until their release. Mr. Bon, the cadre at this camp, explained the rules to them: First, “Don’t escape!”—which provoked laughter coming as it did after so much walking; Second, “You must be friendly and greet everyone,” which suited their inclinations.

Soon the doctor was a patient, suffering from amoebic dysentery. A nurse summoned by Bon administered a standard anti-diarrhea treatment—an opium derivative in tablet form—which did not work. Word was then sent for a physician who arrived about the middle of the next afternoon. The skill of this young doctor, who was trained in Hanoi and spoke neither English

nor French, very favorably impressed his patient-colleague, as did the range of remedies available to him. He listened to her account of symptoms, examined her and prescribed what she called “appropriate therapy” which included vitamin injections (C, K and B) along with “intravenous fluids” administered hypodermically in case they were not sterile. She thought it was especially remarkable, however, that she was given chloromycetin tablets, having anticipated second line drugs at best. In four days her symptoms were gone; she was weak but had recovered.

During her convalescence, she was given powdered eggs, a can of condensed milk and some sugar to supplement the regular diet of rice and fish sauce. In addition, the cook, the only other woman in the camp, would catch fish in a stream and prepare them for her and Miss Johnson—both of whom were receiving better fare than the guards during that period. For several days she also received regular visits from a nurse—“a very attractive girl”—who apparently had been trained locally.

When Dr. Nelson regained her strength, she and Miss Johnson were asked by the cadre, Bon, to collaborate on a joint statement covering such topics as their reasons for coming to Vietnam, their views on the war and impressions of the NLF. Neither objected to making a statement, but both objected to a joint statement. At the cadre’s insistence, they tried; when he exclaimed at the result “This is terrible!”, they girlishly sing-songed “We told you so . . .” He then agreed to have them write separate accounts that “reflected our individual convictions freely and accurately.” The gist of her statement, Dr. Nelson said, was that she had opposed the war before coming to Vietnam and had seen nothing to change her mind. Excerpts from both statements were broadcast on Radio Hanoi. Dr. Nelson said there was no distortion in the broadcast version of her’s, while Miss Johnson felt that the omission of one sentence from her’s made the expression of her feeling less subtle, but there was no significant distortion.

At one point a cadre who sometimes visited the camp—and who appeared to outrank Bon—and Dr. Nelson were discussing people they both admired, including Robert Williams, Anna Louise Strong, Norman Morrison. The cadre had previously shown a lively curiosity about the Society of Friends, and when Morrison’s name came up, Dr. Nelson pointed out that he was a Quaker. A bit startled, the cadre exclaimed “I thought he was a Catholic, like me.” He told her he had been brought up as a Catholic, had studied at the University of Hanoi under the French, and that although he was non-practicing he considered himself “philosophically Catholic.” Dr. Nelson said she was puzzled by this distinction, but her answer to a question at the end of my interview may illustrate something of what the cadre meant by “philosophically Catholic.” In spite of all I had been told, I felt that thoroughness required raising the question of sexual assault

in connection with the lengthy imprisonment of two young women by foreign military. “The cadres took great care to avoid circumstances in which sexual assault might occur,” she said. “How Catholic” I thought—though of course not exclusively so—to avoid “the occasion of sin.”

Miss Johnson concurred on the absence of such assault. She recalled that several Vietnamese soldiers had shown a romantic inclination toward her, but quickly lost interest when they learned that she was over the marriageable age limit: twenty. Some said they would like to meet her younger sister. While marching through a dense part of the jungle, one of the soldiers, noticing that her long hair frequently caught in the underbrush, gave her his hat for protection . . . a gallantry for which his buddies teased him at great length.

Around the middle of March Dr. Nelson and Miss Johnson were told they would be released as soon as arrangements could be completed. Miss Johnson recalled being told their release was an humanitarian act, for they had committed no crime against the Vietnamese people. She said she told her captors on three occasions that IVS received money from the U.S. Government, but having decided to release her they apparently did not want to hear of any possible reasons for not doing so.

Some of the soldiers made aluminum combs for them, using metal salvaged from napalm cannisters, and they were lectured on the preferability of combs over napalm cannisters as a use for aluminum, “to which we heartily agreed” in the words of Dr. Nelson. Then the camp commander announced a farewell party for the two captives. Gathered around a small light in a bomb shelter, eating fresh peanut brittle and drinking hot tea they chatted with the soldiers who asked the usual friendly questions about personal matters, plus questions about farming, agriculture, and wages in the U.S.

The revellers could not long forget that the shelter was a shelter; their return some days later was more in keeping with its design. A high-altitude, inaudible aircraft (presumably a B 53 dropped a bomb over the rim of a near hill. The soldiers said to “get down . . . they’ll be back.” After a few minutes, one of the soldiers looked at his watch, remarking that “It won’t be long now.” “Then it came,” fifteen minutes after the first drop. “There was a big explosion, knocking us around in the shelter.” Emerging from the shelter, they found no crater. The most apparent damage was to the trees. The scene in the immediate area was of innumerable smaller branches snapped; and ragged chips out of the trunks or larger branches. Though the bomb sprayed fragments over several houses, injuries were prevented by the alert.

Release: False Start

Before finally leaving the mountains, Dr. Nelson had most of her possessions returned to her. The first plan for releasing her and Miss Johnson, though, was scratched. On the 28th or 29th of March, they were told they would be put on a road leading to a U.S. Army outpost. Everyone involved was apprehensive about what might happen to them in “no man’s land.” Both women feared an attempt might be made to rescue them, resulting in casualties for either side, since they had heard a broadcast announcement that a party of U.S. Marines was searching for them. The plan was tried on the 30th, but they were met on the trail by the cadre who told them to go back, they could not do it this way because there had been word of B 52 strikes in the direction in which they were heading. That night, which they spent in the camp, they heard on Radio Hanoi a Vietnamese Language announcement that they were to be released. This was a source of relief, for it meant the Americans would be expecting them.

Next day they walked through the mountains in the company of the cadre and several soldiers, who turned them over to two women and a military man with whom they had a rendezvous. After dark, the three escorted the prisoners down to the plain, across which they walked until the middle of the night when they reached a farm house. Before departing, the escort party told the peasant family to get the prisoners to the highway in the morning. They emphasized to the prisoners that no harm should come to the family in case American troops found them there. Several hours later, after giving them breakfast, the peasant family put the two prisoners on a path leading to Highway No. 1, north of Hue, where they caught a bus.

—John Moran



AN APPEAL FOR PEACE in SOUTH VIETNAM

by
ngo
cong
duc

Mr. Ngo Cong Duc is Deputy from Vinh Binh Province, South Vietnam. In addition, he is Secretary-General of the Socialist Opposition bloc in the National Assembly, President of the Information Commission in the Assembly, editor of Tin Sang, Saigon's largest daily newspaper, President of the Federation of newspaper editors of South Vietnam, and Secretary-General of the Inter-Collegiate Association of South Vietnam.

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 moment 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.

1. A Few Salient Points Concerning the Population of South Vietnam

(1) The current war is destroying untold human and material resources in South Vietnam. Not including the forces of the NLF, the army of the Republic of 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 Southeast 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-Song 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 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.

(2) On the political level, with the Vietnamization of the war, the United States seeks only to uphold the militarists and prolong the war.

The government of Mr. Nguyen Van Thieu is a dictatorial government which persecutes all those who struggle for peace and independence, and jails the innocent. In the single province of Vinh Binh, of which I am a deputy, more than three hundred people were last arbitrarily arrested and jailed. In 1969 the Americans stated that there were only twenty thousand cadres in South Vietnam; at the end of 1969, however, the government arrested more than seventy thousand people, and it appears that the number of Communist cadres has not diminished. These very figures condemn the repressive policies of the Saigon government.

At present the Nguyen Van Thieu government severely represses all opposition movements. Several hundred war victims are being held in jails; several hundred students were taken to military training camps; the President of the Student Union of Saigon-Hue is in prison. All are subjected to the most savage kinds of torture.

During the past six months of this bitter struggle the opposition movements were not alone in being subjected to repression; the press met the same fate. The press was not only deprived of indispensable paper, but was confiscated more than two hundred times: the daily *Tin Sang* (Morning News) in particular was suspended eight times and confis-

cated seventy-five times during a six-month period.

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.

(3) On the economic level, South Vietnam is in a catastrophic situation. The annual budget amounts to 210 billion piasters; income amounts to only seventy billion. Every year, in addition to American aid, inflation wipes out eighty billion piasters.

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 foods 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 the 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.

(4) 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.

II. The Upsurge of Opposition Movements Against the U.S. and the Nguyen Van Thieu Government.

Having become aware of the imperialist policies the U.S. wants to impose in South Vietnam, and having also become aware of the dependence of Nguyen Van Thieu's government on the U.S. the South-Vietnamese population is now rising in revolt.

The time has come when not only the NLF partisans but also the entire South-Vietnamese people are revolting against the U.S. and against Generals Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky. Living with the Americans, or in close proximity to the Americans, the South Vietnamese understand better than anyone how wicked American policies are. This wickedness is understood even by those who have collaborated, or are collaborating, with the Americans or with the government of Nguyen Van Thieu.

Let us cite a few examples: in Binh Tuy, last August 28th, a group of American soldiers raped, thus provoking the deaths of, an old woman and her daughter-in-law, who were on their way to work in their field. During their burial crowds turned the funeral into a street demonstration against the American presence. In Saigon, on August 22nd, a little shoe-shine boy lying on a street corner was run over and killed by a car driven by a G.I. Over two hundred other little shoeshine boys pooled their meager earnings to buy a coffin, displaying their solidarity with the tragedy of one of their own provoked by the cruelty of the Americans.

At present there is not a single newspaper which has not taken a position against the U.S. for this is the position of the entire South Vietnamese people.

With respect to the Nguyen Van Thieu government, the people are becoming increasingly aware that it is a puppet of the Americans: it has collaborated with the Americans in order to prolong the fratricidal war; it employs more than one hundred thousand military police agents to repress and savagely torture the adherents of the movements defending the right to life and demanding a return to peace.

The South Vietnamese people know that Mr. Nguyen Van Thieu supports the Lon Nol regime which has massacred more than twenty thousand South Vietnamese citizens in Kampuchea.

Faced with a government which is totally dependent on the Americans, and with neo-colonialist policies, the popular forces have revolted against the Nguyen Van Thieu government and against the establishment of American imperialism. The movements most actively engaged in this struggle are the following:

The Buddhist movement which is demanding a return to peace and independence, led by the United Buddhist Church.

The Movement of Struggle of the Students, which is inspired by the Student Union of Saigon and the big cities, and which is demanding independent universities, the abolition of compulsory military training, the abolition of forced recruitment into the army and is opposing the policy of pursuing the war.

The Movement of Women, which is demanding the right to life and a return to peace and which is led by the Women's Action Committee for the Defense of the Right to Life.

The Movement of War Victims, which is de-

manding food and housing, and which opposes the poor treatment these victims have received from the U.S. and the Nguyen Van Thieu government.

In addition, there are Youth and Secondary School Student movements, the movement of small landed proprietors opposed to the agrarian policy, and the movement opposed to the government's fiscal policies.

Although these movements are savagely repressed, we are convinced that nothing will prevent the growth of these opposition movements. The U.S. and Mr. Nguyen Van Thieu seek to destroy them or, barring that, to buy them off. The power of the dollar, however, is no match for the spiritual and moral strength of the Vietnamese people.

The opposition movements are inspired neither by the Communists nor by the NLF. The entire population, conscious of its patriotic responsibilities, is preparing for struggle against the threat of extermination by war and against the danger of imperialism.

They serve neither the NLF nor any particular ideology. We must frankly admit that most South Vietnamese are firm in their resolve to struggle against the U.S. and against the Nguyen Van Thieu government. Nevertheless, they are still fearful of an eventual "communization" of South Vietnam.

In conclusion, these are the deepest aspirations of the South Vietnamese people:

1. The immediate withdrawal of all American and foreign troops from South Vietnam.

2. An immediate end to the war, so that the Vietnamese may settle their affairs among themselves.

III. Proposals

We solemnly propose:

1. A de-escalation of the war and a halt to all repression of the movements struggling for peace, independence, democracy, freedom, and national reconciliation through the following conditions:

1. The Americans must withdraw from the territory of South Vietnam all their forces and war materiel, as well as the forces and war materiel of Thailand, New Zealand, Australia and South Korea.

2. The Americans must cease encouraging and supporting the Nguyen Van Thieu government in its repression of the opposition movements struggling for peace, independence, democracy, freedom and national reconciliation.

3. The Nguyen Van Thieu government must put an end to its practice of torture, free all illegally-held prisoners, stop all repression of Buddhists, university and secondary school students, women, those wounded and disabled by the war; workers and all progressive movements struggling for peace, independence, democracy, freedom and national reconciliation in South Vietnam.

4. All parties to the war must begin to de-escalate the war. The Americans must stop the bomb-

ings and stop using harmful chemical products on the territory of South Vietnam. The National Liberation Front must halt all indiscriminate bombings by rockets or mortars, which victimize the innocent.

II. When the above-mentioned conditions have been fulfilled, the Paris Conference must be enlarged:

That Paris Conference of Vietnam currently consists of four parties: the American delegation, that of the Nguyen Van Thieu government, that of the National Liberation Front, and that of North Vietnam. But the overwhelming majority of the South Vietnamese population demanding peace, independence, democracy, freedom and national reconciliation is not represented.

This is why there must be a delegation representing the political and religious groups and forces struggling for peace, independence, democracy and national reconciliation, in order that it may join the other delegations in finding a concerted

solution to the problem of Vietnam.

III. *With the seating of the delegation of the forces struggling for peace, independence, democracy, freedom and national reconciliation, the Conference will be able to proceed:*

1. To discuss the conditions for a cease-fire and for the withdrawal of the North Vietnamese forces from South Vietnam, and to solve the problem of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam and of the Army of the National Liberation Front.

2. To establish a neutral provisional government in South Vietnam.

3. This neutral provisional government will have the task

—of implementing the conditions agreed upon at the Paris Conference,

—of normalizing political, economic, cultural and social activities in South Vietnam,

—of establishing relations with North Vietnam.

—of organizing free elections in South Vietnam.



THE FIFTH STREET WOMEN'S BUILDING

only the beginning

It takes a lot of energy from a lot of people to create something really beautiful. And that's what the Fifth Street Women's Building is. Something really beautiful. Created by the energy of dozens of women. Women working together in solidarity with their sisters in the squatter's movement. Women taking an abandoned building and providing services desperately needed by the immediate community and the community of women as a whole—arts workshops, a health education and health care center, a Feminist school, a food co-op, a Lesbian rights center, a child-care center. Needs which have been ignored by the City. To use good space, now abandoned and wasted, to care for it and, together, make it whole.

So, New Year's Eve, over 150 women marched in the snow across 4th Street to the abandoned Women's Shelter and Welfare Center of 5th Street between 1st and 2nd Avenue. It was cold and it was snowing. There was no heat and there was no running water. But there was plenty of spirit and plenty of energy. And a lot of love. The spirit and energy and love of 150 women determined to set up their own building. And it was set up. That night the second floor was cleaned of glass chips and lead paint. Heat was provided by space heaters, food by the women in the community. A first aid station was set up. There was singing and chanting. Most of the women stayed all night and by the next morning it was no longer an abandoned shelter. It was a community building. It belonged to the women. It was ours.

The next few days were spent trying to get the second floor into some kind of livable condition and get projects going. Heat was the main problem. Plastic was stapled up over the windows which were almost all broken and work was started on the boiler which turned out to be in excellent condition, equipped with a modern Honeywell safety system and supplied with 3000 gallons of fuel oil—enough to heat the whole building for more than a month. The electricity was working in parts of the building. An electrician figured about \$25 and a couple hours work would put the electricity on throughout the building. The plumbing was a problem, since the City had vandalized

most of the pipes, but a scheme was figured out that would have brought running water up to the second floor—a working bathroom had been found in the basement shortly after we took over the building.

12 days later, when the Department of Real Estate and the TPF arrived, the women were running a functioning community building. For the past four years children had been playing in the building with holes in the floor, live electricity, broken glass everywhere, poisonous lead paint chips, an open elevator shaft and working elevator and a leaking sewage system and nothing had been done by the City or the Department of Real Estate. The building had, in fact, been entirely ignored. Now that women had cleaned large areas of the building, secured the elevator and windows, repaired the boiler and begun to repair the plumbing and had put security guards on duty 24 hours a day for the protection of the occupants of the building, suddenly the City, so very concerned, declared the building unsafe and arrested three of the women who refused to leave.

The women brought health care, art, love; the City brought the TPF. Adding crime upon crime, injustice upon injustice, lie upon lie.

A demonstration and a press conference were set for the next morning to indict the officials of the City of New York for false arrest, bad faith in negotiating, criminal negligence and attempted murder against the women and children of the community.

It was quiet at 9 in the morning when the press conference was scheduled to start. It was cold. Women arrived one by one, then in pairs and groups, bringing signs and posters. The press didn't appear. The arrest of three women the night before and the occupation of the women's building by the TPF wasn't their kind of "news." The women formed a picket line and began chanting. FREE OUT SISTERS. THE BUILDING IS OURS. There were well over 100 women marching, chanting, when a group of construction workers appeared. They were from the Department of Real Estate. Come to board up the windows. Seal the entrances. Women gathered at the side of the building to demand an explanation. 20 women got inside the building and began reading our press release from the window.

At 7:30 Tuesday night, January

12th, the TPF surrounded the 5th St. Women's Building and unidentified New York City officials interrupted a meeting of the 5th Street Women's Health Project. No sisters were allowed to enter the building...

The words were passed from hand to hand, read out the 2nd floor window to the cheers of the women standing outside.

...and the three women who refused to leave were arrested for criminal trespass.

The Real Estate hard-hats standing by. Ruderman, attorney for the Department of Real Estate and the Ninth Precinct detectives talking, trying to break the women's spirit, telling us we had no right to the building, that they would let us go in three by three and remove our things. Our things—the free food, clothing, books and records we had gathered for the community, for our sisters. As if we could ever go in three by three and remove the work and the love we had put into that building—our building.

It is the City of New York who are the criminals. The City Government is not providing for the needs of the people, and when the people try to provide for themselves they are arrested and sometimes brutally beaten. This is not an isolated instance.

In the background. Away from the eyes of most of the sisters who are intent upon the women reading from the window. A construction truck pulls across the entrance to the driveway, blocking the only entrance to the area where the women are congregated. "Sisters, they're blocking the entrance. Get around to the front!"

We express our solidarity with all people who are squatting in different parts of the city in an attempt to provide basic human necessities for themselves and their families.

And one by one they rushed in. The Ninth Precinct. Clubs raised. Without warning.

We will no longer tolerate these conditions. We are strong and determined women. We will protect ourselves. This is only the beginning.

And it is only the beginning. The 5th Street Women's Building is ours and we intend to keep it. The building is temporarily occupied by enemy forces but the final victory will be ours. We need women to join us. Any correspondence, information, etc. can be gotten temporarily at the 5th St. Women's Building-in-exile, 76½ E. 4th St. (bet. 2nd & 3rd Ave.) or at the Women's Center, 691-1860, 691-1861.

—Susan Sherman



C.S. Litwin



C.S. Litwin

changes

ARMY SCABS AGAIN

Thirty-six Farmworkers and supporters were arrested today at the Fort Lewis main gate by military police. The group, many of whom had small children with them, had arrived at the gate to request an interview with General Pearson about the Army policy of buying scab lettuce—a practice which they claim is an effort to weaken the national boycott.

The civilians were confined most of the afternoon at MP headquarters, where they were photographed, fingerprinted, and then given letters permanently banning them from the base. One man, Francis Goodrow, was charged with criminal trespassing. He had been previously banned for participating in the dedication of the Post Chapel to Saint Maximilian (A Christian anti-war saint) last June. He had come to the gate to request permission to re-enter with the other farmworker supporters, but was ordered from his car and taken on-post with the rest of the group. He has been released from federal confinement on \$500 bail pending hearings in front of the U.S. Magistrate.

The banned civilians are claiming that no opportunity or warning was given to the group to disperse prior to the arrest.

The events today are connected with local servicemen's efforts to support the national boycott of scab let-

tuce. The GI-Airmen-Sailor Coalition in Tacoma areports 400 signatures to date on a petition from servicemen and dependents to Senator Jackson, asking him to put an end to the military's strike-breaking practice of buying up scab lettuce. Many additional signatures were collected today on Fort Lewis by farmworkers who entered at other gates.

The United Farmworkers' Union claims that 60% of the Army's lettuce is supplied by Bud Antle Inc., chief target of the national boycott. The military is once again employing tactics used against the Farmworkers' grape boycott when it bought 8 pounds of grapes per man per day. The lettuce boycott began August 24, 1970, and between July and October of 1970, the Defense Department bought as much lettuce from Bud Antle as they had in all of 1969. All the lettuce on Fort Lewis, according to the GI-Airmen-Sailor Coalition, carries the "Bud" label.

United Farmworkers' Organizing Committee

PUBLICATION OF TERMS USED FOR VIETNAMESE ARE VERBOTEN

Publication of the words "dinks," "gooks," "slants," etc. currently used by Americans in Vietnam were censored by the State Department in a Congressional transcript of a recent hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This was revealed in a January 16 dispatch by Reuters, the British news agency.

According to the dispatch, the transcript of an exchange between Senator Fulbright and Sgt. Richard Wallace, who had worked with South Vietnamese forces in Quangnam Province read:

"The Chairman: We have often read in the papers that Americans soldiers, including marines, refer to the Vietnamese as dinks, gooks or slants. Is the terminology generally used?"

"Wallace: (Deleted)."

"The Chairman: Which is the more fashionable?"

"Wallace: (Deleted)."

"The Chairman: Is this a word of affection?"

"Wallace: (Deleted)."

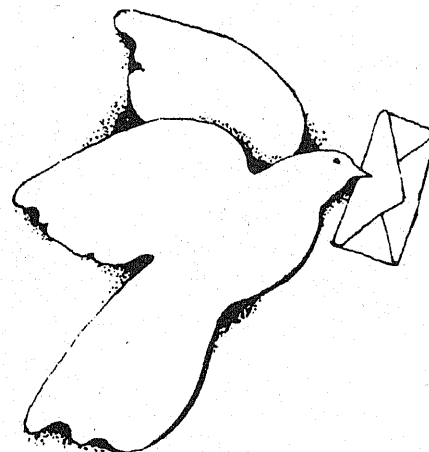
"The Chairman: Is it respect? What is it?"

"Wallace: (Deleted)."

—J.P.

Sam Coleman, a vice-chairman of the War Resisters League and one time member of the WIN editorial board died of a heart attack on January 25, 1971. During the 1940's Sam was a member of the Communist Party, eventually serving as New York State chairman of the party. Imprisoned under the Smith Act, he became a pacifist during the 1950's. For many years he taught philosophy at Columbia University. Sam is survived by his wife, Edna, a son, Danny, and a daughter, Paula.

—Eds.



Although Ted Glick has been imprisoned since he replied to my article, ("Organize, Don't Burglarize", WIN, October 1, 1970) I still feel it necessary to "set the record straight" for those people who might have read the article and letter criticizing my article.

The reply must deal with more than just answering charges of "half-truths, distortions, open lies and vituperative rhetoric" made by Ted Glick. The difference between the two people rest primarily on the fact that I was a local organizer, working within the community for almost two years, and a bit more in touch with the mood of Wilmington, Delaware. Glick, on the other hand, is a sort of wandering draft board rip-off artist traveling to many states for a short time, doing "an action," and splitting.

First, let me cut through a lot of the myth of the effectiveness of the rip-off. Glick states that Delaware was unable to meet its draft quota for three months. *Fact:* The population of Delaware is less than 1/2 a million people. The draft call for the months Glick cited never exceeded 12 people. The two boards that the raiders hit had a combined quota of 3 people. At best 36 people weren't called, but probably it was less than ten. *Fact:* The three boards not hit in the

raid were the bulk of Black and Brown people in Delaware. In an effort to fill the quota, the most likely place is in the minority communities where an understanding of SSS procedure is unlikely and where a legal challenge probably won't originate.

More important than these facts though is the idea that the raiders have tried to foist off onto the movement. People in the movement have been fighting the war for many years, but the reason I demonstrated and organized was to raise the level of awareness of the American people in order that collective pressure may be used to end American imperialism. I don't think I ever believed that marching in the street was an immediate attempt to save lives, but more of a long-range hope that massive public pressure would wind down the war. Too many people have turned away from the movement disillusioned because a particular action did not immediately end the war. Glick's statement that he "believes that those people are too hung up on openness and not enough hung up on trying to save lives," epitomizes the elitism I criticized in my article. Who anointed the raiders as the "saviors of life" over other movement people? If we abandon openness, we abandon all we struggle for in our attempt to bring about a popular mass revolutionary base with which to overthrow the American ruling class.

Had Ted Glick spent a couple of lunch-time periods at Rodney Square, the site of the rally, he would have known that a couple of hundred people collect there everyday, and the rally day was no different. The bulk of the people were DuPont employees of the managerial class. The people whose kids enjoy "white skin privileges" and 2S deferments. That same class reacted to the draft board rip-off in the November election by sending a complete Republican slate to both the state and federal legislatures. Delaware's new attorney general, riding hard on law n' order can out-class John Mitchell for reactionary politics. What the raiders did in Delaware was to help provide the basis for the complete repression "of filthy, lawless communist rats." If you don't think it's that

bad, then read an earlier issue of WIN where we wrote about the National Guard patrolling our streets for ten months. Live through the nightmare of army repression, the blacklisting of movement people which marks them for economic extinction, the colony living off the DuPont State, and then talk to me about saving lives by a midnight raid. If all the raiders were so concerned about saving Delaware men from death, then where were they when the police and army ravaged the Black community. If one wants to talk about the terror of our times, then one should live in Delaware, Mississippi or Nor Philadelphia. Remember that we all live in a manner which reflects the terror of our times.

Ed Sohodski



Referring to Michele Clark's article "Women's Liberation and the Sexual Revolution" in the January WIN, I think it was beautiful!

This summer my friends and I all swam naked in a lake near Plymouth Union in Vermont. The townspeople would row out in boats to watch us or stop their cars and honk and shout at us as though we were putting on a freak show.

It doesn't make sense to me why I should be called filthy or whorish because I seem different to other people who I don't even know or even more important, people who don't know me.

The human body is a beautiful thing and each individual chooses how they live when it comes to sexual freedom of their body. But when other people take my freedom as an invitation to jump into bed it limits my freedom in any kind of nudity or exposure or my body because if I go ahead and be free I'll be afraid that I'll be used as an object not as an individual who merely wants to live without being exploited.

Rose Kunkel
Philadelphia, Pa.

DOVETALES

IN & OUT—John Braxton got 2 1/2 years, Dec. 29, for refusing to report for alternative service. Contact Marcy Morgan, AQAG, 3407 Baring St., Philadelphia 19104. . . After 18 months in jail, Bruce Dancis, one of the first Resistance organizers, is now out on parole. . . Charles Turcheck, William Tilton, and Donald Olson received 5-year sentences for breaking into Minnesota draft offices. Brad Beneke and Peter Simmons as "youthful offenders," face up to 6 years in custody. . . Charlie Muse of the Chicago 15 decided the

underground route was not for him, turned himself in in Seattle and was sentenced to 10 years plus 10 on probation in Chicago. . . Questions posed to a conference of California prison chaplains, "Whom do you work for, the Department of Corrections or God? From *Connections*, 330 Ellis St. San Francisco 94102, a newsletter on prison conditions and prisoner organization in California.

TRIALS: Members of the 26th Army Band at Ft. Hamilton who were transferred to Vietnam, Korea, and Ft. Bliss

because they signed antiwar petitions are suing the army for violating their free speech rights. Send letters of support and contributions to Committee to Defend the Ft. Hamilton GI's, P.O. Box 11, St. George Sta., Staten Island, N.Y. 10301. . . National United Committee to Free Angela Davis, 3450 W. 43 St., Suite 104, Los Angeles 90008, asks that all local defense committees get in touch with them so that they can send information, buttons, posters, etc. . . The trial of John Sinclair, Pun Planondon, and Jack Forrest of the Detroit White Panther Party, 80005 Drexel Blvd., Detroit 48200, for conspiracy to blow up the Ann Arbor CIA offices opens Jan. 26.

MEDIA: Feb issue of *Esquire* has an article on radical cats including inter-

views and pictures of two WIN people, Mayer Vishner and David McReynolds (page 66). . . A new record: "The Ship of State," a satire by Lewis Allan, narrated by Anne and Lewis Allan, features Capt. Milhous at the wheel, Spiro Gagnev in the crow's nest, and the crew in irons. Order from WILPF, P.O. Box 7515, Miami 33155 (\$2.50). . . "FTA still causes a large pain in the neck and other parts of the anatomy of Fort Knox's brass," so the editors ask for \$5 or \$10, FTA, P.O. Box 336, Louisville, Ky. 40201. . . The Selma Project, P.O. Box 2628, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401, a group giving legal and technical aid to poor people, particularly in Alabama's Black Belt, will send you their monthly newsletter upon receipt of you-know-what. . . *Ark River*

Review, to be published this spring, invites poetry, short stories, and reviews. Address Jon Katz, 1410 W. Murdock, Wichita, Kans. 67203.

NUGGETS FROM NCAWRR CHICAGO CONFERENCE, JAN. 8-10: POW relatives, used by Nixon to tug at America's heart-strings, are beginning to feel just that-used. . . Black GI's are prominent in the Bay Area GI movement. . . A Vietnamese writer! "It is very unfortunate that you wear eyeglasses (NLF or Saigon/Washington tinted) before you look at us." . . CO: If you sign the Individuals Against the Crime of Silence Declaration, you can use it as proof of your conscientious objection. IACS (P.O. Box 69960, Los Angeles 90069) will keep a record of your signed statement and

send a "To Whom It May Concern" letter for your file. . . Psychiatrist Dr. Wiebke Thomas, a pacifist agnostic, cannot practice in Georgia because she refuses to become a citizen. This would entail swearing to bear arms; only religious C.O.'s are exempt. Although immigration authorities have finally agreed that the Supreme Court's broadening of the basis for conscientious objection should apply here, the judge is a strict constructionist. Some put-on. Since when are American women sent into combat?

WANTED: by volunteers for Peace Workers, full and part-time, with office skills, particularly in the Bronx and Lower Manhattan. Call Ken Curtin at Catholic Peace Fellowship, 673-8990.

—Ruth Dear

Classifieds

THE EYE OF THE STORM by Lewis Allan. Timely, poignant, protest poems. Satire, humor. \$1. Peter Piper Press, 6666 S.W. 64. Pl., Miami, Fla. 33143.

Read the ABOLITIONIST, individual-anarchistic publication of the Radical Libertarian Alliance. Free sample on request, GPO Box 2487-B, 10001.

PET PLAN for a cooperative economic democracy. 2 copies/\$1.00 from U.S. FARM NEWS, 1024 Grand, Des Moines, Iowa, 50309

TWO, THREE, MANY... Anti-Imperialist magazine (Ex-Peace Corps Volunteers.) Subscriptions \$2.00. CRV 840 Oakdale, Chicago 60657

RECORDINGS OF POLITICAL MOVEMENTS. Songs of GI rebels, Angola Guerillas, Latin-American Revolutionaries. Interview with Huey Newton. Write for catalog, Paredon Records, Box 889, Bklyn, NY 11202.

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ALTERNATIVES—56 P.O. Drawer A—Diamond Hgts. Sta. San Francisco, Ca. 94131

THE RED WHITE AND BLACK, by Eric Bentley, a patriotic demonstration with music by Brad Burg. Opens at La Momma February 24 at 10 PM. Published as the May 1970 issue of Liberation,

"NO MORE TEACHERS' DIRTY LOOKS" Being a groovy teacher isn't enough to beat school oppressiveness. Be a radical teacher. Ideas, experiences, lessons, analysis. 75¢ for two issues of NMTDL; \$2 for sub. BARTOC, Dept. A, 1445 Stockton St., S.F., Ca. 94133

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Pamphlets available on: Anarchism (classics and new material), Women's Liberation, Indian Culture and Ecology, Friends of Malatesta, Box 72, Bldwell Station, Buffalo, N.Y. 14222.

If you stock "A Draft Law Primer" by John Reints, write to the Fellowship of Reconciliation to obtain a supply of revision sheets for your present stock and for notification of further revisions.

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The Match! Anarchist Monthly. A journal of essays and articles on anarchism. Subscriptions: \$3.00 per year. Student Libertarian Action Movement, P.O. Box 3684, Tucson, Arizona.

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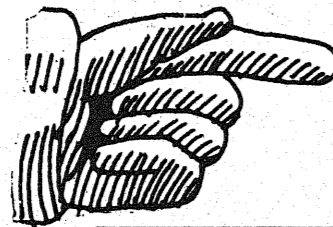
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Local WRL Groups

WRL-West (Western Region Offices, 833 Haight Street, San Francisco, California 94117, (415) 626-6976

Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence (Southern Region Office), P.O. Box 7477, Atlanta, Georgia 30309 (404) 875-0646

WRL-Southwest (Southwest Region office), 116-B Hermosa S.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87108. (505) 268-8871

Akron WRL, 753 Brown Street, Akron, Ohio 44311 (216) 535-6783.

Albany WRL, Box 1237, Albany, N.Y. 12201 (518) 272-2237

Boston WRL, c/o Olmsted, 28 Lawrence Street, Boston, (617) 627-4952

Suffolk County WRL, Box 536, Sag Harbor, N.Y. 11963.

Manhattan Beach WRL, 1014 Duncan Place, Manhattan Beach, California 90266. (213) 379-0315.

Detroit WRL, 28314 Danvers Court, Farmington, Michigan 48024. (313) 335-0362.

Columbus WRL, 30 West Woodruff, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

Milwaukee Area Draft Information Center and WRL, 1618 West Wells, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (414) 342-0191.

Cobb County WIN, c/o AWIN, Box 7477, Atlanta, Ga. 30309. (404) 875-0646.

Olivet College WRL, Box 507, Olivet, Michigan 49706.

In addition to the above groups, there are about a dozen efforts to organize local WRL's going on around the country. These are what we could call embryo WRL's and when they reach the stage of being able to organize and work outside the WRL membership we will list them as local WRL's. If you would like to begin organizing a local WRL or would like information on the local WRL program please write to the National Office.

literature

THE ONE-MAN REVOLUTION IN AMERICA. Ammon Hennacy's final book—about 17 individuals throughout American history who, like himself, fit into such a category. Paperback, 338 pp., \$5

WAR RESISTANCE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE. A mini-"Conscience in America" by Larry Gara, first man to be jailed, in 1947, for counseling draft resistance. pamphlet, 23pp., 55¢

THE PROBLEM OF PRISONS. David Greenberg's study of prisons which concludes by calling for their abolition. pamphlet, 40pp., 75¢

TRAINING FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION. A manual compiled by Theodore Olson and Lynne Shivers and published jointly by War Resisters Intl. and Friends Peace & Intl. Relations Committee. Pamphlet, 40pp., \$1

EXPLORING NONVIOLENT ALTERNATIVES. This guide, citing 85 specific instances, is by Gene Sharp whose "Creative Conflicts in Politics" has long been a popular WRL item. Paperback, 128 pp. \$2.25

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