

# The Role Of Women & Children In The Armed Struggle



## Chapter Two : Which Will You Be—Hammer Or Anvil?

Women and children's war against the armed rule of men is the most taboo thing there is. Yet it is coming. It is so taboo, so threatening, that not only do generals and popes and bankers shrink from it, but even feminists, socialists, anarchists and national liberation movements try to suppress any thought of it. Still, it must come. Women's political violence is thought unnatural, a violation of the most basic sex roles, contrary to the social customs of ages, almost unthinkable. Still, it is something that is necessary, natural and inevitable.

To individual men it will seem uncomprehensible, as though his table, his chair, his t.v., his bed all started attacking him. Because the ownership of white settler women by settler men has gone on so long, this property relationship appears normal to him. While he acknowledges that other nations and colonies will rise up and seize territory and the right to self-determination, will kill him, settler men see their antagonisms with white women as easily handled. A personal thing. Dealt with by a fist or a divorce or getting a replacement part. Because Dick sees other nations and colonies as dangerous groups, but us as a pacified individual "piece." And in the past 300 years so did we.

The beginning of consciousness for us came with the rebellions in the 1960s of New Afrikans, Puerto Ricans & Native Americans. Concepts of genocide and self-determination kicked a hole in the wall that surrounded us. Because we lived so deep in amerikkka we hardly noticed national struggles which took place on other continents. But when rebellion started here we were put on notice that not everybody saw amerikkka as eternal verity—that nations existed before the white man came here and that new nations could be built.

The problems of the white women's movement have much to do with women's unwillingness to admit the centrality of genocide for women's politics.

Even the concept of genocide against women is missing from our minds. We need to keep coming back to this point because we've been conditioned to never figure it out, to keep for-

getting about it, to accept the barren aftermath of genocide as what is normal. Look at how women reviewers of Margaret Atwood's novel The Handmaid's Tale spoke respectfully on it as a fictional warning, about how genocide might befall women in some perverted future if today's rightwing trends continued. But isn't the point that in real life it already happened long ago? It's history, *Jahne*, just history.

What I'm saying is that white women now are only a pale shadow of what free women used to be.

And because we haven't broken our bonds to the patriarchy, we still don't know how our world works. Most importantly, we don't yet know how to start an opposing culture of our own. The imperialist patriarchy understands genocide in a scientific way, 'tho they won't cop to it. They have a map & an owners manual, and have had long experience at operating it. We need an opposing camp of theoretical & practical clarity, which is why key concepts such as "genocide," "property," and "integration" have to be dealt with in a scientific way. We're going to talk about all this.

Genocide is above all else a property relationship. The propaganda that it's an "insane" aberration, a frenzy

of racist killing, is untrue. Genocide is a cold deal. It's what's normal in our world. The U.N. has defined genocide as the destruction of a nation or people, either physically or by destruction of their culture. Often the victims survive because their body is needed. But they survive as something else.

Indian women who survived "King Philip's Rebellion," the first major white settler vs. Indian war in 1675, were mostly sold into slavery to the Jamaican sugar plantations. They didn't live long although their descendants still survive. But not as Indians in what our gestapo called "New England." As Afrikans in Jamaica. Biological survival of individuals is not the same as the survival of a people, who are a people because they have an identity, a collective personality & culture.

Biologically and socially, those Indian sisters were integrated by capitalism into the West Indian slave economy. Their lineage goes on but not as those specific Indian nations. Isn't that what happened to women as a people? Integrated into the male economy, the male home, the male structures. For property ownership gives the right to split apart & integrate, to reshape & restructure, to use up, disperse & destroy. This is what war is about.



"I've seen the sun set  
on the mountainside.  
Does that mean that I should mourn  
the day gone by?...  
So I say to you today  
why not end the game we play?  
& learn a way to say good-bye."  
little esther

It's only natural that patriarchal imperialism creates the need in us for an opposing culture, whether you think of that as women's culture or revolutionary culture. But our attempts at a culture of our own sputter, flare and never really catch fire, because the minimum standard for a new culture today is that it has to confront the centrality of genocide. Otherwise it's not for real, not going to cut it.

Revolutionary women's culture is usually thought of as uplifting & entertaining, having to do with the creative arts (music, painting, drama, dance, literature, sculpture). Kinda our counter-part to the patriarchal capitalist arts. They have Michael Jackson and the Metropolitan Opera, we have Holly Near and Sweet Honey in the Rock. They got poems by T.S.Eliot, we got poems by Adrienne Rich & Pat Parker. This is misleading.

When i speak here of culture i mean the distinctive characteristic of a stage of civilization or the distinctive way of life of a given society. In that sense, Michael Jackson & Holly Near are both parts of patriarchal imperialist culture. Revolutionary culture isn't something you go to visit (such as a concert) or buy (such as a book). It's much larger than that—which is why no matter how hard you shop or how many concerts you go to you can't get it. It's something you gotta create by living in it—or not. Revolutionary culture is a way of life that counteracts genocide civilization, a different way of seeing & answering problems, a set of productive & reproductive relationships between people. It's what some call communalism and others call women's liberation. Many haven't found a name for it, it's just a dumb vision in their pain.

While listening to Holly Near may look like women's culture, when it's

divorced from the real relationships of Land & property & production, it becomes its opposite. Just as Michael Jackson came outta an oppressed culture but is regarded by everyone as a talented entertainer in & for white oppressor culture. This isn't to criticize either entertainer. A Holly Near might sing of Chilcah women who produce the fruit we eat, but if that isn't part of an opposing culture that says produce it ourselves or do without, then it's really an acceptance of genocide culture.

An outward show of a separate culture can be & is absorbed into genocide culture, a product that we can buy which makes us feel better about ourselves ("I care about other women, about oppressed people. I'm entertained by their struggles.") although we aren't better people.

We can see this pretty clear when it happens to other people, to Indian cultures, say. We don't think that the tour bus pulling up at "AUTHENTIC INDIAN POW-WOW \$3.00 ADMISSION" constitutes Indian culture. We don't think that robbing indigenous nations of their Land and productive life but having them make rugs & belt buckles for us is building their culture.

When it comes to us we got blinders on, however. We don't see it'll happen to us, too, without armed struggle, without territory & production. We think women's culture is somehow exempt from all this, but it isn't. We could end up with Adrienne Rich Blvd. and Andrea Dworkin Highway, too, just as this racist society has Sojourner Truth Elementary School and Malcolm X Blvd. Leaving us with nothing. It's only in going for all of it that you get to keep any of it.

In the substratum beneath all of world history lies a conflict between two parent civilizations. One represents in unbroken continuity many centuries of domination. It is in its nature patriarchal, class-ridden and property-driven, an oppressors and conquerors civilization. In its latest & greatest manifestation we know this civilization as patriarchal imperialism.

The other is a shadow civilizati-

on. As old as the oppressor civilization is, having evolved over many centuries thru different forms of class society, the shadow civilization is older still. It is the primal society, the first culture of human-kind. In opposition to the oppressor civilization it is women-centered, communal, non-owning. Broken by the rise of class-ridden society, the shadow civilization lives on as a fugitive among the oppressed. It represents our own past & our own future, however fragmentary, blurred-over and unconscious it is.

The conflict between the oppressor culture and revolutionary women's culture can also be seen as two different ways to answer problems, for what marks a culture is its own way of finding answers. This is the intersection where a culture makes itself evident in the rhythms of daily life; of producing food & clothing, providing shelter from the elements, shaping how we solve our myriad life problems. A culture is both a problem-solving tool & a survival guide for a people. Or it is left behind.

#### SETTLER WOMEN & "OTHER"

i want to talk about white women in amerikkka both because that is what i am and because european women have a different herstory than ours. Although we often wish to pretend that we are the same. That is when we are not busy pretending that women of indigenous nations & Latinas & New Afrikan women are just us with different colored skin. All just sisters, right or wrong?

We have a certain story that we tell, which we say is the story of how all women were enslaved & how patriarchal domination arose. In the past twenty years hundreds & perhaps thousands of like-minded articles & books have been written by white women outlining the fall of woman-kind, which our white amerikkkan

Fifty thousand women march down Fifth Avenue, August 26, 1970 in celebration of the 50th anniversary of suffrage—the largest women's demonstration up to that time.





women's studies departments say took place 3,000 to 5,000 years ago. It was so long ago that we can't remember it & no one we know is responsible for it. This is a typical example, as written way back in 1971 by Charlotte Bunch and Rita Mae Brown:

"The first division of labor, in pre-history, was based on sex: men hunted, women built the villages, took care of children, and farmed... men conquered women with the weapons that they developed for hunting... Although there have been numerous battles over class, race and nation during the past 3,000 years, none of them has brought the liberation of women."

This story, while it has truths within it, is as a whole untrue. It slides into a pre-conceived world view that amerikkka has put into our heads. It's very understandable that in the early days of the women's movement this stick figure sketch of how women were enslaved was a radical beginning, because it helped us see how patriarchy was born in systematic

In the first chapter we discussed how the long rise of euro-capitalism, beginning in the 13th century, led masses of european women to fight back by re-grouping themselves into the Beguines, a communal working women's culture with women's houses, women's neighborhoods, and women's fortified towns. This community sheltered a radical women's conspiracy against the ruling classes. The rising euro-capitalism only gained its unique powers by genocide against women, by the institutionalized killings and terror and looting of women in the centuries-long Witchhunt.

And, when armed with this power, euro-capitalism expanded to invade other continents, it encountered many societies in which women had always had real power & real equality. We used one example of Igbo women in Nigeria, where within a society with patriarchal trends those Afrikan women still had their own separate women's economy & women's self-government (parallel to that of men), whose rules were enforced by what in

For one, those women's communities were anti-capitalist. That is, they had communal worker economies and in both cases their political struggles were against the invasive euro-capitalism. To stay separate from it. But during most of the herstory of our white women's movement, it's been accepted as fact that patriarchal imperialism is something we have to "live with," accommodate to. We've spent much of our energies getting into it. It's so good for white men that most white women always think if we can just smooth out the rough edges it'll be great for us, too. So free women were fighting to get out while we're fighting to co-exist within it. Not the same at all.

The other thing is genocide. Those free women were fighting genocide, while white women in amerikkka are the sterilized result of genocide. We must describe genocide as a culture precisely because it is an accepted way of life to us. Which is why white women don't want to see that the first genocide is against women. It cuts too close to home.

We're still afraid to see that we are not what women were, that we are stripped of being women. In communal non-class societies women were a people, strong physically & strong ethically & strong as community. We made human community, and controlled reproduction as our science. Women as a people were self-reliant. What we needed we did for self, whether it was weaving textiles or developing agriculture or teaching our young. Production and reproduction and other sciences were shared by women's community.

There are millions of us but we don't have a housing program or a transportation system or a foreign policy. Wars go on all around us & over us but we have no army & no defense plan. We're not on any map & no one has to take account of us because we're not even in the ballpark. One white woman today may be a karate blackbelt or a cop, but that doesn't mean she can defend herself from a surprise attack or a gang attack, or that a hundred other women on the next block are any safer. That's proven fact. It's not the same as a community of women that didn't permit any strange or unapproved men to live around them & expelled men by force if necessary. Yet we are taught to never have communal women's solutions to our problems. Just individual white solutions.

Genocide doesn't always mean total physical elimination of a nation or people, when the oppressor needs your body live. Euro-capitalism in the Witchhunt burned millions of women, remember, to destroy women as a people, with our own communalism and culture. The terrorized survivors were needed as property, for our labor & our reproduction. But we weren't permitted to gather together or live together in any numbers. We were split up and parcelled out to men while the patriarchal State appointed itself our guardians & the regulators of our bodies.

Then we became settler women in amerikkka, Dick's junior assistants at

## Idyllic Goddess Theory Creates a Storm

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Dr. Gimbutas argues that between 6000 B.C. and 3000 B.C. the people of Europe lived in a sedentary agricultural society that worshipped the Great Goddess, depicted as a woman, shunned war, their contemporary men, women rather than facts and created a ceramic rather than weapons. The social system was matriarchal. Women headed clans or served as queen priestesses. Men labored as hunters and builders. But neither men nor women dominated the other sex. Death was not alien from this society.

...and make their own criticism more widely known. In the end, they say, Dr. Gimbutas's work raises serious questions not only about prehistoric civilization but also about the relations between speculation and scholarship and between scholarship and social movements.



The image of a flax, with the woman of the goddess, seen as a sign of her life-giving powers, is depicted on this egg-shaped amphora (700-675 B.C.), from a tomb in western Greece. Animals and birds surrounding the goddess are interpreted as signs of regeneration.

Dr. Gimbutas tempers her former notion of strict matriarchy, but her similarities to these predecessors divides her from many colleagues.

Anthropologists are now uncomfortable with what, a century ago, were popular schemes of civilization passing from one well-defined stage to another. Archaeologists remind Dr. Gimbutas's reliance on the folklore and mythology of historical times to interpret objects from many millennia earlier.

But what others see as Dr. Gimbutas's weakness, she sees as weaknesses of her discipline. Archaeologists are not interested in religion, she said, and they lack the knowledge and language skills to use comparative mythology and folklore to interpret their findings.

Interpretations involve as much as science. Fries

## Did Goddess Worship Mark Ancient Age of Peace?

Scholar Traces Modern Conquests to Disappearance of Female-Centered European Culture

By Jay Matthews  
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES—Among the efforts to explain Napoleon, Hitler and the other bloody conquerors of European history, scholars have gone so far back in time that they have dug up a 16-year-old story to the discovery of a goddess-worshiping culture.

Gimbutas expresses little doubt about her findings. She said her contrast between the thousands of pounds of weapons and swords left by god-worshipping Indo-Europeans, who are the fathers of temples and wars of earlier European cultures.

There is no question of the female orientation of the ancient societies. But

male, while artifacts of shattering depth show the influence of the goddess, who swept in from the East and planted the seeds of modern war and social turmoil.

"The Indo-European conquest transformed all of society," she said. "We are still living under the sway of that aggressive male invasion and only beginning to discover our own

themselves building houses and ships, hunting and producing tools, and all lived in harmony, she said.

Gimbutas's excavation in Yugoslavia, Italy and Greece show a gradual transformation of the god-goddess of ancient Europe over two millennia, beginning about 4500 B.C. The peaceful first Goddess began in Greece.

violence against women. But now, twenty years later, we should have developed a more scientific picture.

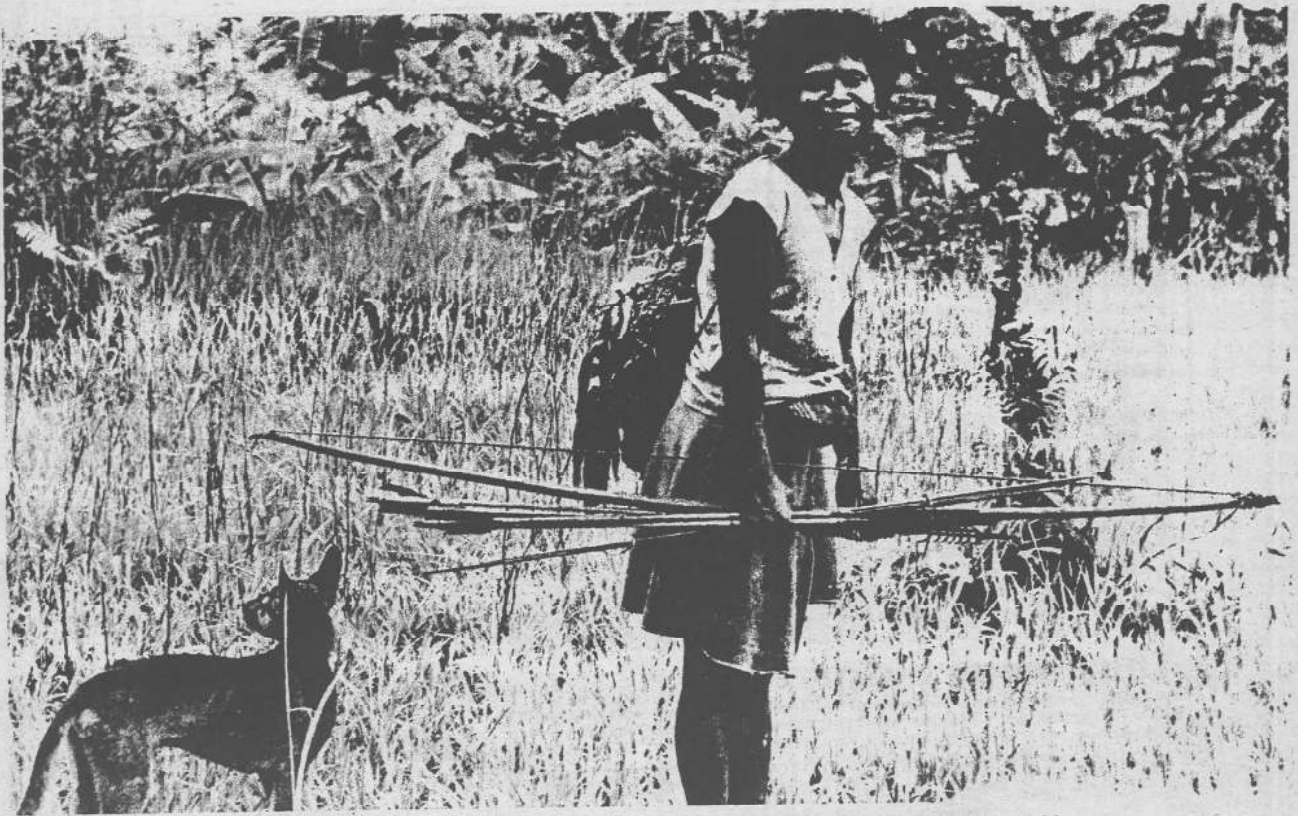
We haven't because amerikkkan women still believe that men's ownership of women is something near eternal, begun before history even, something associated with dark and primitive societies, and that only in our lifetimes are educated women in "developed" (i.e. white) countries beginning to get equality. And don't we believe that amerikkkan white women are the most independent, the most feminist of all? White men say that to us all the time, so we think it must be true. But it's us who are backward, who are dependent.

i see it as a measurement of how wiped blank we are by genocide that we can recite racist anti-woman lies that Dick has taught us—and think it's our feminist theory.

our terms would be a women's militia. Enforced on men as well as women.

It was to resist the British colonial taxation on their women's economy that tens of thousands of Igbo women began the 1926 Women's War, burning down colonial offices and freeing Afrikan prisoners from jails. Their defeat by British imperialist troops meant the destruction of their Afrikan women's economy & self-government. That was in 1926, not 3,000 years ago. But we didn't notice them.

We are so unlike those free women that we can't recognize them. They are less real to us than dolphins and redwoods. Nor are we the european women who waged their own communal conspiracy against capitalism for generations, and were only defeated by the Witchhunt after millions of deaths. amerikkkan feminists wanna believe we are those women, but we aren't.



Agta are one of the few societies where women also hunt. Here a woman returns from a successful hunt.

invading & doing genocide to others. But we can't see it yet, because if we saw how genocide worked on us then we'd also have to see how we've been reduced to helping do that same genocide to New Afrikan women, to Puerto Rican women, to women of indigenous nations. We're much less than women were yet we trivialize & deny our own genocide.

Certainly we trivialize & deny "other" women's genocide, since our white privileges are 100% dependent on us doing that. When Dick usta tell us he wanted us to be "wives", to stay home in his pen & serve him & have no independent income or life, we protested. That was marginalization & worse, being totally dependent on him & available to him. But we willingly attempt to force New Afrikan women to be marginalized & available to white men. Sure, when he does it to us we rightfully call it oppression, but when we help him do it to New Afrikan sisters we call it a "career." Isn't that what welfare is, what being a client or a case is, being available to white men and the imperialist patriarchy? Just like marriage is to us.

Isn't the mass welfare program for New Afrikan & Latin women part of a system whereby most of these sisters are from birth denied independence? And their nation is kept increasingly outside the economy historically built on their forced labor. Instead, to prevent uprisings during the dying, white men substitute the dishonestly named welfare. Which means these New Afrikan sisters are marginalized, hidden, available—subject to reviews & inspections & arbitrary commands & loss of their children. Dick has more profitable things to do with his own time, so traditionally he has left white settler women to operate his

marginalization system for New Afrikan women. Just as he calls it "defense" when he invades Panama & "welfare" when he tries to dehumanize Black & Latin women, when we assist him in his crimes he lets us call it "social work" or a "career."

We persist in trivializing "other" women's genocide in part because we still deny our own. We think of the housing projects that so many sisters are confined to as "housing", when really they're more akin to reservations or concentration camps. You don't really think they built projects cause Black people needed housing, do you? Actually, that is what we wanna think even though it's a silly thought. They built projects because they wanted social prisons for Black women like they have criminal prisons for Black men.

We force them to live there or be homeless, then we flood the projects with dope & alcohol & guns (none of which New Afrikan men produce but all of which are mysteriously freely available to them in any quantity no matter how poor they are) while our police threaten and disarm the women.

Remember the Central Park Jogger gang rape last year, when angry white women wanted to know why police hadn't dealt with "those brutal teen-age rapists" earlier? Then it turned out in interviews with women in the projects that these same accused guys had long been harassing, threatening & physically attacking Latin & New Afrikan sisters, but the police protected them. Even to the point of warning project tenants that anyone who tried to stop them would be arrested.

Once that got out white sisters shut down, looked the other way. Sure, political white women care that

## Woman allegedly fires at accused in W.Va. trial

HAMLIN, W.Va. (AP) — The mother of a murder victim allegedly pulled a gun from her purse in a packed courtroom yesterday and fired at her daughter's accused killer from the witness stand.

Pearl Marie Abraham allegedly fired a single shot from a .38-caliber pistol at Stuart Martin Elliott during the third day of his murder trial in Lincoln County Circuit Court. She was charged with attempted murder.

Mr. Elliott, 25, of Hamlin, is charged with killing Mrs. Abraham's daughter and raping her 10-year-old granddaughter in September.

Witnesses said prosecutor Jay Hoke had just finished questioning Mrs. Abraham when she pulled the gun from her handbag. The bullet hit the defense table and ricocheted into a door, missing everyone in the standing-room-only courtroom.

Mrs. Abraham of West Hamlin was subdued by a bailiff, and the chaotic courtroom was cleared.

Mr. Elliott suffered a twisted knee in the melee. He was treated at Boone Memorial Hospital in Madison and was returned to jail.

Lincoln County Magistrate Helen McCormick released Mrs. Abraham after she posted \$25,000 bond. She was whisked away by family members through a rear door without commenting to reporters.

Mr. Elliott is accused of murder, sexual assault, two counts of attempted murder and attempted arson in the death of Annette Abraham and the attack on the girl.





## They mean business

With four women's prisons on line and a fifth near completion, Florida organized this all-female "confrontation squad" to deal with disturbances. Females account for 10 percent of the prison population in Florida—a statistic that has doubled in the last three years, officials said. The squad is shown during drills at River Junction Correctional Center at Chattahoochee.

this is going on. Some care intensely. But we can't afford to really see it. We've so constricted our own lives & thoughts as the tide of violence against us grows, as we try to at least stay personally independent from Dick, that we can't see how the system acts against "other" women. Have you heard any discussion in the women's community lately about how our police promote the rape & terrorizing of New Afrikan women & Latinas to keep them captive? No, for us that cuts too close to home.

Like the patriarchy has given us the wink and the nod, so we know we got Dick's permission to go after penthouses & hustlers. We're "anti-porn" 'cause we're too terrorized ourselves to be anti-rape, anti-cop. Just think, 'tho, isn't it true when we were first enslaved that men didn't have no playboy, only the bible, the talmud & the koran? Millions more women have died 'cause of the bible than hustler. But we're justly too scared to cross Dick, to get him mad at us. As long as we deny our own genocide, we will still trivialize ourselves & "other" women.

The failure of amerikkkan women to extract ourselves from patriarchy, from economic collaboration, from parasitism, from physical submission to the rule of men has led to the hostility and derision the masses of Third World women feel toward us & our movements. New Afrikan and Puerto Rican women conduct continuous guerrilla warfare as they come up against us in their daily lives. Whether we appear as case workers, teachers, cops, or university professors, they do not fail to see that we are the comb that

divides the strands of who shall live and who shall die.

They are under no delusion that we are an independent community of women that can relate to their nations and peoples in revolutionary struggle. They hide their lives from us because they know that ultimately we will betray them to Dick.

We are weaker in the face of our male oppressor than they are in dealings with men of their nations. Even tho we believe the opposite. Genocide against the New Afrikan nation has been held at bay by their strength. Else why do our boys flood their neighborhoods with armies of cops & gangs & drug dealers? They are as yet undefeated. Function much more as communities of women. Don't doubt it.

Quick pictures: i remember a New Afrikan woman on my block threatening to throw her caseworker head first down the stairs if that white woman didn't stop messing with her. Next day all the "welfare women" threatened the worker. Day after, no more worker.

Eleanor Bumpurs, elderly and alone in her project apartment. They sent an army of cops to do her, a six-pack of SWAT with flak jackets and shotguns and all. 'Cause they were afraid of her. She might hurt them. They didn't doubt it.

Sisters think Miss Ann is one sad case.

And yet & again, we are hurt and baffled when women of oppressed nations who used to be in and around our

movements disappear back to their people. We sing a lotta blues about this. It's been seventy years since white women got the vote, twenty years since we built the women's liberation movement, and still no man is afraid of us. We killed no rapists & built no armies, took no territory & have no movement that can even begin. There is not a single street or park we can safely walk.

Meanwhile, our boys are moving night and day to inflict these conditions on women of other nations. Those sisters have to go home to fight because we will not fight.

There will be no international women's movement that includes us until we have achieved the status of free women. That is, that we can create armed struggle, a community, a nation, an ability to deal with genocide.

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**amazon nation or aryan nation**

# The Role Of Women & Children In The Armed Struggle



## Chapter Three : Science of Genocide

Nothing stands still, and our lack of breakthrough has meant political regression. There is danger that even the most radical feminist & lesbian thought will be erased over the next generation. This is scarcely an original concern. Many radical women's voices have long since sounded an alarm. As Sidney Spinster reminds us in her valuable essay, "The Evolution of Lesbian Separatist Consciousness," a decade ago TRIBAD was observing white lesbians' slip-page back to the patriarchy:

"We're not dangerous as individuals. We got scared of the political group and went back to being individuals in the economy.

"Mainstream culture prints liberal writings and calls it radical. The culture doesn't print radical writings (revolutionary political writings).

"Careerism has ruined the movement. What is now visible as Movement is not radical. All the Dykes went home to get a lover and a job."

This danger of regression is not mere speculation. After all, the first white women's movement, the women's suffrage movement that began in 1848 and climaxed in 1920, got completely wiped out. Leaving behind da zip, da nada, nothing. That's why we had to start from ground zero in the 1960s, having nothing & knowing nothing except that we were the first generation. Ever wonder about that?

### THE FIRST WHITE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

That movement was like ours in so many ways. It was created out of a time of struggle for the New Afrikan Nation, just as ours was. White women's politics in amerikkka have always revolved around New Afrika, as much as we deny it. From chattel slavery to segregation to integration & to today's genocide. How could it be otherwise here.

White women's suffrage grew out of the Northern anti-slavery movement. The first women's political organizations in the U.S. were the Female Anti-Slavery Societies, which were first started by New Afrikan sisters of Salem, Mass. in 1832 (just as New Afrikan women activists in Mississippi were the first to raise women's liberation in the 1960s).

Those local women's groups, of which there were a hundred by the end of the 1830s, were mostly white. Women as public speakers & going door-to-door organizing for a radical cause freaked out white society, which had prohibited its women from speaking on & taking part in political life and any public affairs at all.

The resolve of those women was clear in the resolution passed by the first Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in 1837, attended by over 200 women from ten states, who:

"...no longer remain satisfied in the circumscribed limits with which corrupt custom and a perverted application of scripture have encircled her; therefore it is the duty of woman, and the province of woman, to plead the cause of the oppressed in this land..."

In no time white women's political activity was a greater outrage to the established order than Anti-Slavery itself. Anti-slavery activists were commonly attacked then as now, and in 1838 the second Convent-

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# LIFE

## Women Arise

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# 5 Years in Jail Awaiting Trial

*For Me, 'Preventive Detention' Is Turning Into a Life Sentence*

By Laura Whitehorn

**J**ustice Rehnquist: "In our society liberty is the norm and detention without trial is the carefully limited exception . . ."

Ironically, those words are from a 1987 Supreme Court decision that upheld the constitutionality of preventive detention and thereby guaranteed that the gap between the ideal and the reality of the criminal justice system would widen.

His words have given me little comfort during the nearly five years that I've been held in preventive detention in Baltimore and Washington—with more years likely before I finally go to trial. True, during that period I served 19 months for contempt and for a conviction on related matters. But even if those cases hadn't existed, I would still have been spent the past five years in preventive detention.

I'm still awaiting trial, yet I've already been behind bars far longer than KKK leader Don Black, who served 24 months for stockpiling automatic weapons and explosives for an invasion of the Caribbean nation of Dominica. I've been locked up longer than Michael Donald Bray, who served 46 months for bombing 10 abortion clinics. In fact, I've now served more time in preventive detention than the maximum three years I could have received on the original charge against me.

My case is complex and confusing, and you may not be sympathetic to my political views and activities. But ask yourself: Should I be one of those "carefully limited exceptions"?

The story begins in May 1985, when I was arrested in a Baltimore apartment by an FBI team searching for a group of fugitive revolutionaries. Although I was not a fugitive and had no outstanding charges, I was arrested, handcuffed and hauled down to an FBI car. The initial charge was assault on an FBI agent—that is, resisting being pushed into the car.

The magistrate who arraigned me questioned whether the "assault" really happened but granted the U.S. attorney's request that I be held in preventive detention. In theory, the government has the burden of showing that bail should be denied; in practice, magistrates and judges usually grant such requests and defendants have the new burden of proving why they should be granted bail.

Over the next few months, the prosecutor added new charges—possession of two guns and of false identification—and preventive detention was reaffirmed.

Under the Bail Reform Act of 1984, a prosecutor can request preventive detention only if a crime of violence is involved. In my case, the unproven and contrived assault charge served as the required violent act. The prosecutor also must prove that the defendant is either a "threat to the community" or cannot be prevented from fleeing by "any condition or set of conditions." To establish my "dangerousness," the U.S. attorney cited my three prior arrests.

*Laura Whitehorn identifies herself as a political prisoner awaiting trial in the Resistance Conspiracy Case.*



LAURA WHITEHORN—PHOTO BY JEB (JOAN E. BRIDG)

It was true. I had been arrested before. Since the 1960s I've been active in a broad range of human rights and social justice issues. I've picketed, protested, demonstrated and defended myself and others when we've been attacked by the police. In 1969, I was arrested three times in anti-war and anti-racism demonstrations. I was released on bail in each case and appeared for all court dates. I violated none of the conditions of release. I successfully completed two years of unsupervised probation.

Nonetheless, the judge in Baltimore decided I should be held in preventive detention. At a later hearing, the judge articulated his rationale: I should be denied bail in part because I had stated in court that "I live by revolutionary and human principles." That decision has twice been upheld by the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals.

Now the story gets confusing:

- On Jan. 15, 1986, I began serving a contempt sentence for refusing to provide a handwriting sample in connection with the charges.

- On Jan. 26, 1986, a mistrial was declared on grounds of illegally seized evidence, but I remained in preventive detention while the government appealed.

- On Feb. 18, 1987, I began serving a two-year sentence on a New York conviction for making a false statement in applying for a passport.

- On July 15, 1987, my imprisonment for contempt ended.

- In February 1988, I completed one year of the New York sentence and was paroled—back into preventive detention.

Three months later, an entirely new element entered the picture—and further delayed the Baltimore trial. On May 11, 1988, I was indicted along with five other political activists here in Washington on charges of conspiracy and bombing the Capitol and other government and military buildings to protest the contra war against Nicaragua and the 1983 invasion of Grenada. (No one was hurt in the bombings.)

My codefendants had been arrested at various times and in various states in 1984 and 1985 on charges similar to the weapons and identification charges I face in Baltimore. They since have been convicted and are now serving outrageously long sentences because of their politics—12,

35, 58, 58 and 70 years. We still face trial on the bombing and conspiracy charges and are being held in the D.C. Jail.

I had a new bail hearing in D.C. on July 1, 1988 before U.S. District Judge Harold Greene, even while held in preventive detention in Baltimore. I was ordered held in preventive detention here, too—and the Baltimore case was held in abeyance pending the outcome of the D.C. trial.

In April 1989, the D.C. trial judge dismissed the charges against three of my codefendants for double jeopardy, and the government appealed. Since the appeal could take up to a year to be resolved, I again requested bail. This time, Judge Greene ruled that detention for more than a year would violate due process and ordered my release on the same bail conditions that the Baltimore courts had rejected. Again the Baltimore court rejected those conditions.

So now I am in the curious position of being "free" on bail in Washington but held in preventive detention here for the Baltimore court. My Baltimore case probably won't come to trial until I complete my Washington trial, and my Washington trial won't occur until the government's appeals run the course—whenever that is.

Under preventive detention, you start off with two strikes against you. The decision on bail is made within three days of the arrest—a time when the defendant is lucky to find a lawyer, let alone have time to prepare for a hearing. And fighting against preventive detention takes up much time and energy that should be spent on the case itself.

Being in prison before trial means you can't contact, interview and select witnesses. It means making collect phone calls to your attorney or witnesses and having them monitored. You can't review evidence against you or accumulate evidence in your defense. And it's practically impossible to go to the prison law library.

When the Bail Reform Act was passed in 1984, the government projected that preventive detention would apply to only "a small group of detainees." In 1985, the first full year it was in effect in the federal system, and the last year for which I could find Justice Department statistics, preventive detention was imposed in 29 percent of all federal criminal cases—including virtually every felony case involving a left-wing political defendant. From what I've seen, the other groups over-represented in these statistics are African Americans, Hispanics and the poor. Every lawyer I've spoken with believes that that percentage is considerably higher now. If only 10 or 20 percent of those held in preventive detention are acquitted (the Justice Department will not release the actual figure), that means hundreds, if not thousands, of people are being arbitrarily imprisoned and punished.

The prospect that more people who should be "innocent until proven guilty" will serve long pre-trial sentences is frightening enough. But more frightening still is the prospect that our nation, instead of solving its deep social problems and injustices, is bartering its most important liberties for a "law and order" non-solution.

## Mother plays detective to help in capture of rapist who pursued her daughter

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH. (AP) — A woman who staked out her 10-year-old daughter's bus stop with a camera after the girl complained of being repeatedly approached by a stranger has been given credit for helping catch an ex-convict who has been charged with assault with intent to commit kidnapping.

David Bruce Siebers, released last year after serving nine years of a 10- to 21-year term on several charges, including rape, was arrested Thursday and arraigned Friday.

The Kent County Sheriff's Department would not release the woman's name yesterday. She talked with the *Grand Rapids Press* Friday on condition of anonymity.

The woman told police her daughter was approached three times by a man at her bus stop. Officers watched the bus stop for a few days before giving up. After that, the woman watched the stop with binoculars and a long-lens camera.

The first time she became aware of the man was May 16, when the woman said she happened to be watching her daughter and a man in a car drove up to the girl.

"I went right out there to ask who that person was, and she said, 'He told me to get in the car. He'd drive me to school. He showed me money. Mom. A bunch of it,'" the mother told the newspaper. "When she said this was the third time he's done this, I was flabbergasted."

"She said, 'He's stupid to think I'd fall for something like that.' I don't think it occurred to her how dangerous it was until she saw my reaction."

Police put unmarked surveillance cars at the bus stop for a few days, but when that ended, the mother armed herself with binoculars and a camera with a zoom lens and placed her car in view of the stop. She said she spotted the car near her daughter Thursday.

"I watched him pull up," the mother said. "She [her daughter] turned and looked at him and ran for the house. . . . He took off, and I took off after him at about 70, 75 mph."

If convicted, Siebers could face up to 20 years in prison. Bond was set at \$25,000, but Siebers was ordered held because of possible violation of his parole.

The mother recorded the man's license plate and snapped a blurry picture of the car as she followed him. That led to Siebers' arrest.

In 1980, a plea-bargain agreement allowed Siebers to plead guilty but mentally ill to the August 1979 gunpoint rape of a store clerk. He also pleaded guilty to armed robbery and possession of a firearm during the commission of a felony, stemming from a November 1979 restaurant robbery.

In 1984, a judge reduced his sentence because he was described as a model prisoner.



( continued from page 17 )

ion was interrupted by mob violence and their hall burned down. The year before that the Congregational denomination had issued a Pastoral Letter read from New England pulpits, denouncing the "unnatural" activity of white women in the anti-slavery cause. The Pastoral Letter particularly objected to the "promiscuous conversation of females" on a subject "which ought not to be named." Namely, the white slavemasters' rape and concubinage of Afrikan women slaves.

The spark caught fire in 1840, at the international abolitionist conference in London, when the u.s. delegation learned that its white women members would not be allowed by the male British abolitionists to take part. Elizabeth Cady Stanton recalled the rage of that moment:

"As Mrs. Mott [Lucretia Mott, Quaker preacher and feminist] and I walked home, arm in arm, commenting on the incidents of the day, we resolved to hold a convention as soon as we returned home and form a society to advocate the rights of women."

So we started. Eight years would pass before they could plan & organize that meeting, which became the first Women's Rights Convention held at Seneca Falls, N.Y. on July 19 & 20, 1848.

The first white women's movement that grew from those anti-slavery roots was still part of the abolitionist movement. Its more radical members, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton & Susan B. Anthony, embraced not only suffrage (the right to vote) but the entire spectrum of issues bearing on the "Woman Question." Free love, divorce rights, criticism of christianity as anti-woman, white woman's right to wear "the bifurcated garment" (i.e. pants) and take white men's jobs at white men's pay—even as soldiers and sailors. This promised "Revolution" scandalized white settler men & for that matter the majority of white settler women for most of a century.

While envisioning a radical smashing of roles and rules laid down between white men and white women, feminists of that first movement didn't see themselves as separating from amerikkka. They didn't fight to extract themselves from the settler society. They didn't see themselves as having self-determination, being a separate people.

APPEAL TO THE WOMEN  
OF THE  
NOMINALLY FREE STATES,  
ISSUED BY AN  
ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION  
OF  
AMERICAN WOMEN,

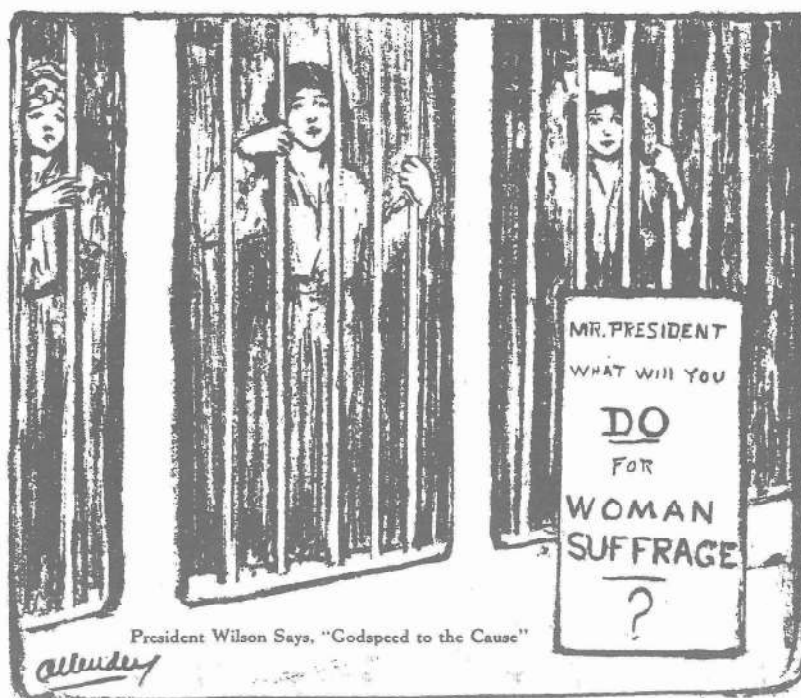
Held by adjournments from the 9th to the 12th of May, 1857.

# The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF  
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

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This is for real, not rantin' & rhetoric. i'm not trying to trash those sisters for "not being radical enough." Don't we got the same dilemma in our dogma? Our ideas about our nationality & identity, however unconscious, and our actions out in the real world interact with each other. By seeing gender conflict in white amerikkkan terms, even radical white women domesticized white women's struggle. Shrinking it to the changing or equalizing of relations between white men & white women inside their Big House. But outside, the patriarchy was changing everything.

Patriarchal imperialism was uprooting & transforming the globe during the years of the white women's suffrage struggle. The young u.s. ruling class was ruthlessly driving their settler empire outward bound & growing into an industrial world power:

Winning a fratricidal Civil War to do a stock takeover on their planter-capitalist brethren of the Old Confederacy; settling the New Afrikan revolt of 2 million ex-slaves by forcing peonage and neo-colonial manhood "citizenship" on them; taking not only the upper 40% of Mexico, but grabbing Puerto Rico and the Philippines from the Spanish empire; racing Westward to the Pacific planting forts & settler communities & railroads while crushing Indian nations by the dozen; setting up great new hellish industries and importing the wretched of europe to labor in them; leaping

into Asia to "open" Japan, take Hawaii, and push into China. Most of amerikkka's women property were not even white.

By conceding to the patriarchy the right to transform the real world around us, we ceded to them the right to determine our economy, the size & shape of our society, the whole social context in which we belonged. Isn't that the ballgame? Everything else is just pissing & moaning.

To be truly radical as their hopes early white feminists would have had to deal with the reality of this juggernaut, have had to find long-range feminist guerrilla solutions for resisting it & subverting it & separating from it as a people. Or be re-integrated by the juggernaut as really did happen to early white feminists. It's hard to begin to do this, but harder still to lose. After all, they spent 70 years & generations worrying about the vote—70 years to learn and build in could have meant alot to women's community.

Nothing better illustrates this than the realization that even radical white feminists of the first movement let the patriarchy determine their relationship to New Afrikan women. Women suffrage activists were angered in 1869 when the u.s. ruling class did the Fifteenth Amendment, forcing the ballot on disarmed New Afrikan men alone. White women had worked for



universal suffrage, giving the vote to them & New Afrikans at one stroke. At least, white women wanted the vote first if only one group would get it. For how, as one of their national leaders asked at a convention, could white men deny the ballot to the daughters of Washington and Jefferson but give it to "Sambo", white woman's servant? Good question.

The u.s. ruling class temporarily wanted New Afrikan men to have the vote to elect pro-Union state governments in the sullen ex-Confederacy. But a new electoral alliance of pro-slavery white men & white feminists like Susan B. Anthony fought the 15th Amendment in favor of woman suffrage first. That measure would have left New Afrikans outnumbered at the polls in the South by 2 to 1 (since white men already had the vote), ensuring the return to office of the forces of the Old Confederacy. With few exceptions, New Afrikan women accepted the 15th Amendment as a survival measure for their people. A permanent split came down between the white women's movement and the Black Nation.

After 1869, white feminism flipped the switch from anti-racist to pro-racist. There had always been a real identification with the oppressed, but for the white women's movement as a political vehicle there was a calculated dimension as well. They knew that patriarchy had no need or desire to give their women anything. It was only through some outside force or agency that white women could share white power. They hoped to be carried along by the Black Nation. That if amerikkan men could be forced to grant freedom & political rights to even the lowly Afrikan slave, then surely the educated & well-bred daughters of the better white families would get as least as much. Just like respectable Betty Crocker feminism of the 1960s also intended to ride on the backs of New Afrikans without any fighting or suffering on their part, to cash in on the reforms created by their rebellion.

Both moderate & radical factions in the women's suffrage movement took up white supremacy as the best leverage they had. They reunited into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890. The main argument used was that we should be enfranchised to double the native-born white vote, making sure that inferior peoples such as New Afrikans, Mexicans, and poor immigrant workers from Europe & Asia were kept out of government. A resolution at the 1893 NAWSA Convention said:

"...we call attention to the significant fact that in every state there are more women who read & write than all the illiterate male voters; more

Quotations & Illustrations on the women's suffrage movement from Judith Papachristou's book, *Women Together*

## Black Killers, Black Corpses: A Survivor's Story

By JUDY BELK

Earlier this year, I was almost murdered. If I had been killed, I would have been the third homicide victim laid to rest in the Belk family in less than 10 years. I, like my other two relatives, would have also been one more example of the increasing rise in black-on-black crime.

In 1979, my sister Vickie, 28, was abducted on her way home from her government job in Washington, D.C. Her body was found a few days later with the head. Although her case is still unsolved, law-enforcers strongly suspect she was one of several victims randomly killed by men on a rampage while

More recently, my cousin was murdered in a spray of my aunt and uncle's land in Virginia. His brother survived with 11 bullet wounds. The machine guns and were had quarreled with the day. Darryl just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time.

My brush with death began on a Sunday evening this past year driving my friend Joel to a predominantly black neighborhood in Oakland, Calif., often called "flatlands" in contrast to the white and largely white areas. During the next few days, the incident over and over in my mind. I thought about Vickie and the computer printout that had been sent about 10 years ago.

That's when I was called in for an annual physical at work. Each time I filled out a lengthy questionnaire into a computer. The questionnaire, among other things, asked for most likely causes of death. I was that if your pre-heart attack, lung disease, or possibly preventable illness. I was not you enough to take the appropriate preventive steps. I was shattered around us.

white women who can read and write more than all the Negro voters; more American women who can read and write than all the foreign voters; so that the enfranchisement of such women would settle the vexed question of rule by illiteracy..."

These not-too-subtle appeals to bigotry were echoed even by radicals like Susan B. Anthony. In 1900, addressing a white racist men's trade union convention, she told them that feminism would serve them well:

"By working to give your wives and daughters the ballot you would be working to double the representation of the home in the government; for the lowest men—the men who make up the slum vote—these men seldom have homes and women in them whose votes could be added to theirs."

I was taken aback to find out the computer had identified homicide as one of the most likely causes of my demise. Why? Because I was a healthy black woman between the ages of 18 and 35. "Don't take it personally," I remember the programmer saying. "It's all based on statistics."

"Any suggestions for prevention?" I remember asking sarcastically. At the time, I dismissed it all as just another racist experience. A month later Vickie was dead. Another tragic statistic.

### SOUTHERN HORRORS. LYNCH LAW IN ALL ITS PHASES



Miss IDA B. WELLS.

Price, Fifteen Cents.

THE NEW YORK AGE PRINT.  
1892.

NAWSA was built on the principle of "States' Rights." It was publicly promised that white women would have the power to exclude New Afrikan women from the movement whenever and wherever they wanted. Most chapters were segregated, opposed to New Afrikan women having the right to vote.

Those white feminist leaders admitted that white men decided their relationship to New Afrikan women. The price of being accepted by amerikka was to cede to the patriarchy the power to rule this relationship. Ida B. Wells is famous today as the founder & leader of the anti-lynching movement of the 1890s. She was an advocate of woman's suffrage & a leader of the New Afrikan women's clubs. But in 1913, when NAWSA held a national march on Washington to

reopen the campaign for suffrage, they asked Ida B. Wells to not march with them. They said they were afraid of offending the racist male politicians and klansmen that the women's movement counted on to help them get the vote. Strong New Afrikan women who led the fight against lynchings were too strong for white women.

We finally got that vote in the World War I days, 'cause the u.s. was moving to become the world power & wanted a solidly united white nation underneath it. "Americanization" campaigns back then signed up millions of immigrant white workers as citizens & white women's unity with Dick was on the agenda, too. So on Aug. 26, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified & white women got the vote. Whoopie. i say white because the great majority of New Afrikan women didn't vote until their national liberation movement started shaking amerikkka again in the 1960s. No thanks to white women, period.

That first white women's movement represented women who were only starting to wake up as people. Brought over as property by white men, divied up one to a man, they were blank from genocide. Out of it, literally, while white settler men ran around their "New World" wheeling & dealing, stealing & raping. They had no existence here separate from Dick & wouldn't have even been here without him. They were still dazed, just starting to come alive.

The women's suffrage movement, because of that background, was still so blank from genocide that self-determination and separation never occurred to them. It never occurred to them that women had to do things that hurt & lessened white men. Even if personally they didn't want to be near white men, they still defined themselves as in social partnership with white men. That partnership they called "America" & so do i.

So they didn't question why they were "winning" the vote. How does that song go? "Think I'm winning, but I'm losing again." They had no scientific understanding of what defines winning and what defines losing. Anymore, i gotta say, than we do when we say that our growing "success" inside patriarchal institutions with our equal rights is winning.



*Susan B. Anthony*

We don't question why our equal rights is so much stronger here than in any other white nation—whether Great Britain, Germany or the USSR? It's because settler women here in amerikkka have a special leverage—our ability to get concessions from Dick in return for helping him keep our New Afrikan property under control. Our willingness—no, eagerness—to step up on Black women & children is what makes white "feminism" so white.

It's still so hard for us today in 1990 to see ourselves as a people, who like any other must have self-determination (women's self-government). Who need our own army & laws, enforced by us, our own sciences & our own economy. This is where the road back from genocide runs.

So in the decade of the 1920s two women's struggles came to conclusion. One we all know about & call a great victory, although it left us less than we were. The other, the 1926 Women's War in Nigeria, is unknown & unimportant to us. It was easily kept from us. Yet & again, when thousands of Afrikan women rose up against patri-

archal imperialism, rose up specifically in defense of their women's economy & women's self-government, it was an affirmation of women's existence as a people. But we can't see it. Forgot it before we could learn it, just as Dick cullled us & bred us & conditioned us to do. He did that to us, you know.

Audre Lorde writes in Sister Outsider: 'As white women ignore their built-in privilege of whiteness and define woman in terms of their own experience alone, the Women of Color become "other," the outsider whose experience and tradition is too "alien" to comprehend.'

Let's break that down more. What i'm getting to is that it isn't being Afrikan that's too alien for us to comprehend, it's being women that's too alien for us to comprehend.

#### SCIENCES OF RESISTANCE

Women have relative to men today much, much less science than the communities of women did before Man's

## Will The Federal Suffrage Amendment Complicate The Race Problem?

A little study will prove that the national enfranchisement of women will IN NO WAY complicate the race problem.

In all of the fifteen Southern States, except Mississippi and South Carolina, **THE WHITE WOMEN GREATLY OUTNUMBER THE NEGRO WOMEN.**

In nine of these States, **THE WHITE WOMEN OUTNUMBER THE TOTAL NEGRO POPULATION.**

There are in the Southern States **2,017,206 MORE WHITE WOMEN THAN NEGRO MEN AND WOMEN PUT TOGETHER.**

The following table taken from the Census of 1910 proves this statement. The figures are for the total population of the States named. They may be found on page 100 of the Abstract of the 1910 Census.

STATES	Total Negro Population	White Women	Negro Women	Preponderance of White over Negro Women
Maryland	232,520	532,567	117,301	415,266
Virginia	671,096	685,446	340,554	344,892
North Carolina	607,843	745,520	158,260	587,260
South Carolina	835,843	335,617	487,705	-49,226
Georgia	1,176,687	797,314	598,784	198,530
Florida	308,009	311,009	147,397	163,612
Mississippi	1,009,487	384,055	506,691	-122,636
Alabama	908,080	606,941	480,488	126,453
Tennessee	473,088	841,810	238,376	603,434
Kentucky	261,526	997,918	130,164	867,754
Arkansas	448,891	546,566	219,568	326,998
Louisiana	713,876	680,606	360,020	320,586
Texas	691,040	1,533,411	346,108	1,187,303
Missouri	157,458	1,528,376	76,965	1,451,411
West Virginia	64,373	549,491	27,906	521,585
Total	8,044,490	10,661,926	4,130,089	6,531,837

In Mississippi and South Carolina, where negro women outnumber white women, negro men outnumber white men. There is no more reason why the presence of negro women should deter women from voting, than the presence of negro men deters men from voting.

Mississippi imposes a heavy educational qualification; South Carolina both an educational and a property qualification. If women voted, these qualifications would apply to women exactly as to men.

**A FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT MERELY FORBIDS THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF A WOMAN ON THE SOLE GROUND THAT SHE IS A WOMAN.**

There are to-day, in all our States, widely-varying voting qualifications—some wise, some unwise. Women did not frame these qualifications; and since women are disfranchised, they cannot change them. They merely ask that where a woman measures up to the standard required of a man, she may not be deterred from voting because she is a woman.

This will not make our electoral arrangements perfect, but it will remedy **THEIR MOST GLARING INJUSTICE, THE ALMOST COMPLETE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN.**

NATIONAL LITERATURE HEADQUARTERS  
NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY  
Lafayette Sq., Washington, D. C.







*Everyone who had demonstrated lined up in the parking lot nearby. A pickup truck came tearing down the street and drove straight into the crowd. We all scattered except this girl, who wouldn't move. The truck slammed on its brakes, then hit her. She got up after that. She wasn't hurt too badly.*

class society. Once most of the available technology was manifested in textiles, pottery, horticulture, medicine and other women's terrain. Women were once the artists, technicians & scientists of the human race. Today, patriarchy has developed whole sciences of their own, an over-all male system of knowledge that gets things done the way they want it. However lumbering & messed up it is, it works for them this "B-52 science." The patriarchy says that our only ambition can be to join these sciences men have made for themselves & their world.

We are in the first stage of rediscovering and developing women's sciences in a modern context. There is no doubt that in, say, the year 1492 that much of women's sciences in one part of the world or another was superior to the science of patriarchal euro-capitalism. But they systematically blocked off the future development of those earlier women's sciences by destroying the economy & culture they grew out of. At the same time, euro-capitalism looted women's sciences around the world to enrich men's sciences. The analgesic tea brewed from tree bark by American Indian women was looted to be "discovered" as aspirin by German scien-

tists, to use a household example.

It's wrong to mistake the products of science for the science itself. White men, for instance, spent over 500 years unsuccessfully trying to make alchemy work. Alchemy is the mythical secret of transforming base metals such as lead into gold. For 500 years euro-scientists worked & lusted after this—and in vain. But out of all their factual accumulation, their experiments with reagents, their work organizing knowledge learned from other peoples, came modern Western chemistry in the 17th century. Sir Issac Newton, the English discoverer of the law of inertia & a historic physicist and chemist, was also the last great alchemist. Sciences develop from diverse attempts to organize knowledge, from religions, from crafts, from wrong & even fantastical theories. Women's sciences were denied that full dialectic of development.

We are still beginners, not leaders. When it came to our own bodies, then we saw that women needed our own science. Wasn't the writing & publishing of Our Bodies, Ourselves such a milestone to us? Weren't feminist health collectives so basic to the early explosion of our women's movement? And isn't "Jane," the clandestine abortion service operated

illegally by feminists in Chicago during the pre-Roe v. Wade dark ages, a prideful thing to us even now?

Because we knew that we could never take back control of our bodies from the patriarchy unless we had all the knowledge. Because we sense that that which we do for ourselves, communally as outlaws, outside of men's laws & structures, is what is most free. But most of us still don't understand that it revolves around the further development of our own communal sciences.

It was customary in "other" societies for reproduction to be controlled by the community of women. We know this, but we refuse to see what they did as involving science (i.e. an organized system of knowledge). A science that was political for women.

After the defeat of the 1890s Herero Rebellion in Namibia against German colonialism, for example, those Afrikan women went on a birth-strike. They refused to provide more children to be slave laborers for the white plantations. Noting that the Herero population fell from 80,000 to only 19,962 from 1892-1909, Maria Mies quotes a complaining white settler:

"After the rebellion the native, particular the Herero, often takes the stand not to produce children... While the German farmers have been trying for years to remedy this sad state of affairs by offering a premium for each child born on the farm, for instance, a she-goat. But mostly in vain. A section of today's native women has been engaged for too long in prostitution and are spoiled for motherhood. Another part does not want children and gets rid of them, when they are pregnant, through abortion. In such cases the authorities should interfere with all severity. Each case should be investigated thoroughly and punished by prison..."

Those Afrikan women in Namibia limited births as women's strategy, without any A.M.A. or Dr. Kildare, because there, as in much of the world, women healers had learned to use native herbs and plants to induce abortion. Afrikan women in the Slave South used wild tansy. In Surinam they used a vegetable flower called "seven-broom" and green pineapple. Rhoda Red-

## Map leads to search for remains of girls

HODGENVILLE, Ky. — A 15-year-old girl killed a man who she said had chained her to a tree and raped her repeatedly for three weeks, and police used the man's hand-drawn map to search for the remains of two other missing girls.

The girl told police she was abducted by Phillip E. Clopton, 39, of Louisville and that she got free and killed him Thursday with his own shotgun while he slept.

Federal and state police began a search in three central Kentucky counties after a map and a journal found Friday at Mr. Clopton's backwoods campsite in La Rue County indicated two girls had been killed and dismembered. Divers also scoured the Rolling Fork River, but nothing was found, police said.



Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville, Mississippi. When Mrs. Hamer tried to register to vote, she lost her job as a plantation worker; in 1964 she ran for Congress in Senator Eastland's district.

dock reminds sisters that Afrikan women slaves in Jamaica had not only used abortions to limit the supply of new slave labor but had resisted the slaveowner's attempts to impose monogamous marriage to Afrikan men on them. By controlling their reproductive power those sisters played a big role in bringing down chattel slavery in the British colonies:

"...they were surprised by the resistance shown by the slave women who...recognized clearly their position as the property of the plantation owners. The fact is, that for more than 100 years, the majority of slave women in the Caribbean were neither wives nor mothers and by exercising control over their reproduction capabilities were able to deeply affect the plantation economy."

It's fact that communities of Afrikan women had an early science of reproduction different from that of Harvard & Yale. A non-invasive women's science passed on by healers

from mother to daughter. They had, relative to the euro-patriarchy of their time, more science than we do now. Which is why college-educated white women who feel quite superior to "other" have to beg the Big Nine for Dick's permission to buy an abortion, while Afrikan slave women controlled their reproduction as a communal conspiracy despite the watchful eye & the lash of the slave overseer. We think we're so superior, but really we're backward & dependent.

White women are just beginning to see the dimensions of our need for sciences of resistance. Our need in the first place because we have to re-invent ourselves as a people, almost from scratch (and isn't that what we've been struggling towards for 20 years now?). It isn't a matter for us of simply having equal rights, because free women's community with its culture, its structure of relationships, its material foundation in production and reproduction, has long been wiped out in euro-civilization. White women

## Women overpower, hold assailant

GLENDAL, Calif. — A would-be purse-snatcher who threatened two women, saying he had a weapon, was overpowered and held by the women until police arrived, authorities said.

"He said, 'I have a knife.' So I gave up trying to hold onto my purse. But my daughter jumped on him and I had to help her. He was tall, but not strong," said Rumiko Sera, 57, of the attempted robbery Wednesday.

Bystanders helped the women hold onto the man, who "kept spitting on the men and saying he was going to give them AIDS," said Mrs. Sera's 31-year-old daughter, Ann Kunitake.

Police arrested Lino Ochoa, 28, for investigation of robbery.

Mr. Ochoa pleaded not guilty Friday to unrelated charges of robbery and assault with a deadly weapon, said Deputy District Attorney Michael Pargament. He said Mr. Ochoa also is accused of two other purse-snatching incidents, and allegedly has been driving a car that was reported stolen April 3.

of amerikkka have never known any other life here than as Dick's live-in assistants in capitalism's invasion & occupation. If you think for a moment of "white woman" as a job title or a military rank you'll have a better sense of what i mean.

The other reason we need science to the max is that our struggle doesn't take place in a neutral setting, but within a vast killer culture. Like all oppressed people we need to be able to deal with force, with massive violence, as a practical fact of life. Every inch of this country and every body & blade of grass in it is owned by patriarchal imperialism, a killer culture which will butcher you and me, too, our kids & 10,000 other women the day they think it necessary. We know it, too, which is why we back down so often. Even on that one night a year when white women promise ourselves that someday we're going to take back what we lost.

Because we have no scientific understanding of genocide as a culture, no political-military science of our own (we are in fact still so colonized that many of us deny that women should even dare to have such a science), we are totally unable to deal with violence against women. We accept that as normal. The women's community has a great social analysis of rape, for instance, but hasn't idea one on what to do about it. No tactics, no strategy, no science. i say that the science of genocide can only be confronted by the science of war.

## THE SCIENCE OF GENOCIDE

i'm interested in this, in the ineffectiveness of anything white women have done about rape. Why nobody thinks it's odd. To me that's so strange it really stands out. A sister who did



support work for rape survivors later said: "Once when I was speaking to a large group of women about ending rape, someone asked me if I really believed that rape could be ended in my lifetime. Silenced for a moment, I replied that even if I didn't live long enough, perhaps my daughters would be free from male violence someday." She was brought up short because she didn't know what to say. Obviously, it had never occurred to her that she'd ever see an end to rape. And nobody thinks it's odd.

Proof in science is defined as the ability to predict ( & hence to use in practice ), whether it's about the stresses distributed along an airplane wing or the evolution in the relationship of nations. So we have a backed-up mountain of good insights about rape, but no scientific understanding yet. We're stalled because our practice & thinking have to be kicked still deeper into the heart of our fears: "To be radical is to go to the root." Rape can't be fully understood by itself, because it is a function of something larger—genocide.

Genocide deals with gender. That's the first thing we have to put down to replace the Hollywood cliché of genocide as only a police roundup in the night. It's true that the Indian nations were destroyed so that white settlers could steal their land to put up "America the beautiful from sea to shining sea." But when we break down how the process worked we see how much it centered on women, how it used gender & how rape was introduced to this continent as part of the process. I want to trace this example, since it's so much a part of us.

For much of the first century of white invasion, the small settler communities lived off of selling Indian women. Not only to support themselves, but to get the capital to buy the Afrikan slaves that would become the economic foundation of all white life. Genocide, after all, isn't an irrational "mad minute" but a vast economic activity. It must pay for itself & yield profits. Just as the butchering & looting of millions of women "Witches" did for the patriarchy in Europe from the 13th to the 18th centuries. Just as the mass looting of Jewish homes, shops and businesses was like winning the lottery to many law-abiding German women.

Settler men from Massachusetts down to Florida led bloody raids to kill all Indian men, wipe out those communities & occupy their lands, while paying for this war effort not with U.S. savings bonds but by enslaving & marching off all the Indian women and children they could find. In the colonial era hundreds of thousands of Indian women & children became white property. Most Indian men were considered too risky to hold as P.O.W.s; most were massacred. While most Indian women & children P.O.W.s were sold to the West Indian slave plantations & a quick but profitable extinction. We built not only "New" York and "New" Jersey and "New" England, but New Auschwitz, too.



Skokomish Woman

Throughout the early colonial amerikkka, Indian slave women labored in the fields & in the homes. In New York the settler government had to pass futile resolutions in the 1680s that peaceful Indians "are free and not slaves," because white men were simply taking Indian women & children for "lifetime servants" when they found them unarmed. In 1730 a census of Kingston, Rhode Island, found that the community owned 220 Indian women

and children & 330 Afrikans. We can imagine the satisfaction that white men had, not only wiping out Indian communities but paying for it by having Indian women as their property to do with as they pleased.

It was in the South, the Carolinas and Florida, that the slave trade in Indian women & children was most bloody. For the Southern Indian nations and peoples were more numerous than those along the New England and Mid-Atlantic coast. North Carolina & South Carolina were founded as white settlements on the traffic in Indian women. In North Carolina's war against the Tuscarora all the settler armies were led by slave traders, and were in fact slave-raiding parties. One led by the veteran slaver James Moore is described this way:

"Storming the Tuscarora fort at Noherooka in March 1713, they soundly defeated the North Carolina tribe. Several hundred of the enemy were burned alive in the fort; 166 male captives regarded as unsuitable for slavery were slaughtered; and 392 Tuscaroras, mostly women and children, were led back to the Charleston slave market."

Those Charleston slave merchants themselves touched off the Yamasee war in 1715, when they began the policy of seizing & auctioning off Yamasee women and children to pay debts for rum allegedly incurred by Yamasee men. Already the slaver Thomas Moore had extended his raids into Spanish Florida in 1704. In only six years after that, South Carolina settlers had captured some 10,000 to 12,000 women & children of the Timucas, Guales, and Apalachees in Florida for the busy Charleston slave market.

Were the small numbers of white settler men able to defeat far larger Indian populations because of more advanced European weapons & military



Navajo



Susan Meiselas, *Soldiers searching bus passengers, Northern Highway, from El Salvador*



Susan Meiselas, *Mother and daughter killed by government bombing, San Francisco Javier, from El Salvador*

organization? No, our invading euro-capitalism committed genocide with the weapon of war and the weapon of culture. Drawing Indian nations and peoples into its commodity civilization as addicts & property. Arming as many Indian men with guns as they could. Addicting as many Indians to rum and other trade goods as they could. Decade after decade, in a protracted war that was called something else. To get these commodities they'd become addicted to & protect their own safety, Indian men cooperated with the settlers in warring for Indian women of other nations.

Most of the fighting & capturing was done, in fact, by Indian men. In James Moore's 1713 expedition against the Tuscarora, for instance, he had only 33 white colonists with him but a large force of 900 Cherokees, Yamasees, Creeks, and Catawbas. More often the settlers lay back & bribed Indian nation to attack Indian nation until both were decimated.

In explaining the triumph of small numbers of settlers in destroying Indian civilization in the area we call South Carolina, one author says:

"By 1717 a white population of only about 1,500 males had succeeded in employing the larger tribes to enslave and shatter nearly a dozen coastal tribes and then had driven a wedge between the Creeks and the Cherokees at the moment when an alliance between them might have ended English presence in the region. Throughout this process, covering almost half a century, the primary weapon of the English had been trade goods."

In this process, rape as we know it, as an ever-present fact of life for women & a major structure of society, was introduced to this continent. Many indigenous peoples say that in their traditions they didn't even have the concept of rape. I've been told that in the whole colonial English period—1620 to 1776—there is not one case of a settler woman being raped by Indian men. But if settler men freely raped and used the bodies of their Afrikan women slaves, as we know they did, then why should we think it any different for Indian women.

Christopher Columbus, in his official reports to his royal patrons,

naturally makes no mention of rape. He and his men did capture seven Indian women for the return trip to Spain, purely for chaste reasons he assured Queen Isabella. None of them lived to reach Europe. On his second trip in November 1493, his ship captured an Indian woman on the island of St. Croix. We know this only because he gave her as a gift to a friend on the ship, Michael de Cuneo, who wrote about it in his account of the voyage. "I wanted to have my pleasure of her," de Cuneo wrote, but she fought him fiercely, lacerating his face. But after he beat and lashed her, de Cuneo concluded with satisfaction, "I don't mind telling you that she seemed to have been raised in a school for whores." I think it's fitting that Columbus Day is an Amerikkkan national holiday—only shouldn't we call it Rapist Day?

A 1715 report from a Virginia Indian slave trader to his London agent mentions the rapes of Indian women during his expeditions. The London proprietors of the South Carolina colony rebuked the settlement's traders in writing for their infamous practices, starting with rape:

"...to ravish the wife from the Husband. Kill the father to get the Child and to burne and Destroy the habitations of these poore people into whose Country wee were Cheerfully received by them, cherished and supplied when wee are weak, or at least never have done us hurt."

Almost twenty years ago our women's movement began identifying rape as an institution of political terrorism of the oppressed by the oppressor. We said that rape is to women as lynching is to Black people. It was economically important back in 1900s Alabama that most New Afrikans would not be lynched. What was also important was that the ever-present threat of lynching over them all, of a sudden mob hunt & brutalization & ritual white murder of a Black colonial subject, was a constant pressure to conform to all the rules of behavior for the property that you were. Same with women & rape. When those settler men raped Indian women & children P.O.W.s they were branding



Flathead Child





Chris Steele-Perkins, *Female victims of death squad, Apopa, from El Salvador*



Harry Mattison, *People trying to escape being trampled, from El Salvador*

them as property while getting their rocks off. Trying to terrorize them to suppress resistance. The personal is very political.

The genocide which began with the smaller Indian tribes of the coastal areas grew into the Removal Act of 1830, during the administration of the populist slaveowner president Andrew Jackson. The Removal Act ordered that lands East of the Mississippi River be sterilized of all Indian nations and peoples. While many small groups of Indians hid out & survived in dense forests and swamplands (the Seminole in Florida waged a 30-year guerrilla war that eventually forced the u.s. to let them stay), most were moved out West by the gestapo. On the infamous Trail of Tears the captive Cherokee Nation, marching under duress through the winter of 1838 without food or winter clothing, lost one-third of its people en route.

Then, too, the genocide was centered on women. President Andrew

Jackson told the gestapo to finish the business by killing Indian women as their main target. We didn't hear that in men's history classes or even in women's studies. No wonder in 1990 we still have people saying that you can do genocide by killing men. "An endangered species." No, to end a nation or people you gotta kill the women & children; that's obvious biological fact and cultural fact as well.

Segregation, the removal of all Eastern Indian survivors to concentration camps called something else, was a move in a long, protracted 200-year process of genocide. But so was integration, for even way back then there were loving white men promoting the idea of peaceful togetherness of Indian and white. Indian women, of course.

u.s. president Thomas Jefferson proposed integration as a final solution to the dwindling Indian nations. In his negotiations with the Mohicans, Munries & Delawares, Jefferson urged them to stop being so communal & join settlers in euro-capitalism:

"When once you have property, you will want laws and magistrates to protect your property and persons, and to punish those among you who commit crimes. You will find our laws are good for this purpose; you will wish to live under them, you will unite yourselves with us, join in our Great Councils and form one people with us, and we shall all be Americans; you will mix with us by marriage, your blood will run in our veins, and will spread with us over this great land."

u.s. president Jefferson favored the elimination of all Afrikans on this continent, starting with the children; believing that white men would never be safe otherwise (a view that's more popular than ever). But when it came to Indians he wanted integration. This was consistent. Privately, Jefferson wrote his envoys that any Indians who refused to join "will be wiped out to the last person." Notice he said "person" and not "man." i mean, our Founding Fathers were real pros in the business of genocide. That's what their main business was as a society. Same today with us.

When Jefferson was proposing intermarriage & Indians biological cross-over with white society, he sure wasn't talking about his granddaughter getting down with Crazy Horse. No, no, we can be sure of that! What he meant was that Indian women should become sexually more available to white men, that their daughters' bodies should be available to white men, and so on until Indians vanished.

To this day, white men have a fantasy love affair with Indian women. Indians joke that every other white man they meet says that their great-grandmother was an Indian princess. In public school, did we learn about the many Indian sisters who were extraordinary for their strength & independence, but who were part of societies where that was normal? Nope. We learned about Pocahontas, who supposedly loved white men so much she saved Capt. John Smith's life. That's the only thing i can remember they taught us about Indian women—how much (just like us) they supposedly loved white men. And isn't that what the rapist always says afterwards? "She loved it." "She wanted me to do it." "It's her fault."

When did genocide against Indian nations and peoples end? Doesn't seem to me that it's ever ended, but i'll let Indian sisters answer that. What i do know is that the process centered on Indian women & children is still alive inside us.

Last night i was flipping through the latest issue of New Directions for Women, and there was Lynn Wenzel's "Westward the Women," a composite review of seven books on frontier women. She's into this story because it's her family's, too: "Proudly, my grandmothers and great aunts kept alive the memories and exploits of the hardy pioneer women who settled this country..." She tells us:

"My great-great-grandmother Annie Carr was living in Arizona in the

early 1870s. One morning she saw dust and heard hoofbeats and realized Geronimo's band of marauders were approaching her homestead. Pregnant Annie grabbed her children. Terrorized, they hid in the root cellar... Only later did I come to understand what terrible treacheries had made a renegade out of a warrior."

i think that's a pretty average point of view for us: pride in our white foremothers & forgiveness for those Indians who got hostile at it all. But what was it like from women's point of view (as opposed to a white point of view), this Arizona frontier of the 1870s? And what were the things unnamed that turned Geronimo into a "renegade"? From a history book:

"More than anything else, it was probably the incessant kidnapping and enslavement of their women and children that gave Apaches their mad-dog enmity toward the whites... It was officially estimated that 2,000 Indian slaves were held by the white people of New Mexico and Arizona in 1866, after 20 years of American rule—unofficial estimates placed the figure several times higher... 'Get them back for us,' Apaches begged an Army officer in 1871, referring to 29 children just stolen by citizens of Arizona; 'our boys will grow up as slaves, and our little girls, as soon as they are large enough, will be diseased prostitutes, to get money for whoever owns them...' Prostitution of captured Apache girls, of which much mention is made in the 1860s and 1870s, seemed to trouble the Apaches exceedingly."

Do you think the settler women in that small frontier community didn't know what was happening? Of course they knew. When the menfolk are laughing about what they did to the Indian girl yesterday while you're cooking their supper, of course you know. How could you not, as a woman? It must have burned in your guts, that anger & fear of knowing.

To be a renegade is to be a traitor, a turncoat, a person who abandons their principles or people for another. Geronimo and his small band of freedom fighters were not that. But there were people there who had changed their principles and people for another. There were people whose only life was to help white men build the community of rape & enslavement of "other" women and children. And if today we're proud of what they did, see them as brave models of what we should be—then what is our culture?

The point is we don't have a culture of our own yet. We have a role inside white men's culture; we have a niche inside patriarchal imperialism. It wasn't only Indians and Afrikans who were property, after all. When euro-capitalism invaded this continent, the settler men brought with them their most "precious" property, the white women that would be their homes, be available for sex, and that would reproduce their own children. In return for being so useful in euro-capitalism's Big House, settler women got to share in a higher standard of living than we had back in poverty-stricken old Europe.



Apache Baby

If we can see that many Indian men were lured by addiction and social bribery into taking part in their own destruction, we should be able to see even better that the most important group being socially bribed to take part in genocide were and are white women.

That's why we blank out of our minds the systematic rape & slavery of Indian and Afrikan women in genocide. We feel proud of the pioneer white women who were serving the rapists and slavers. Oh, and the

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imperialist patriarchy still owns us so deeply that we truly believe these attitudes are "feminism."

But it isn't just bribery in the material sense. We, too, are kept as property by terrorism. Every Indian woman or child raped & enslaved back then was also a salutary example for settler women. A real threat, like the burning of "Witches" was. Like Death Squads are. Like women's prisons are. We are conditioned to be loyal to Dick's genocide, to never see anything or say anything. Or else. Like those German aryan women (our closest sis) who listened to those cattlecars full of Jews going by in the night, but never ever knew anything. 'Cause it might be them in the cattlecar, their daughter being raped, them in the koncentration kamp. We know Dick will turn on "his" women in a flash if he feels threatened or betrayed or just for the hell of it. So we are used to purchasing our flimsy piece of safety with our conformity to all his rules for the property that we are. That's why we back down so often.

When we were culturally sterilized in genocide we lost much of what women are. Because when you become property you aren't what you were, you're made to become something else. That's the idea. Just as the livestock in the agri-factory are not even biologically anymore the wild & free animals they once were, i use this comparison deliberately. Now "women" has been redefined in us. "Women" are fearful, weak, possible

## THE CRACK LEGACY

SYSTEM UNDER SIEGE

### 'Sitting on a Time Bomb Waiting for Kids to Die'

D.C. Child Welfare Services Overmatched

Last of Three Articles

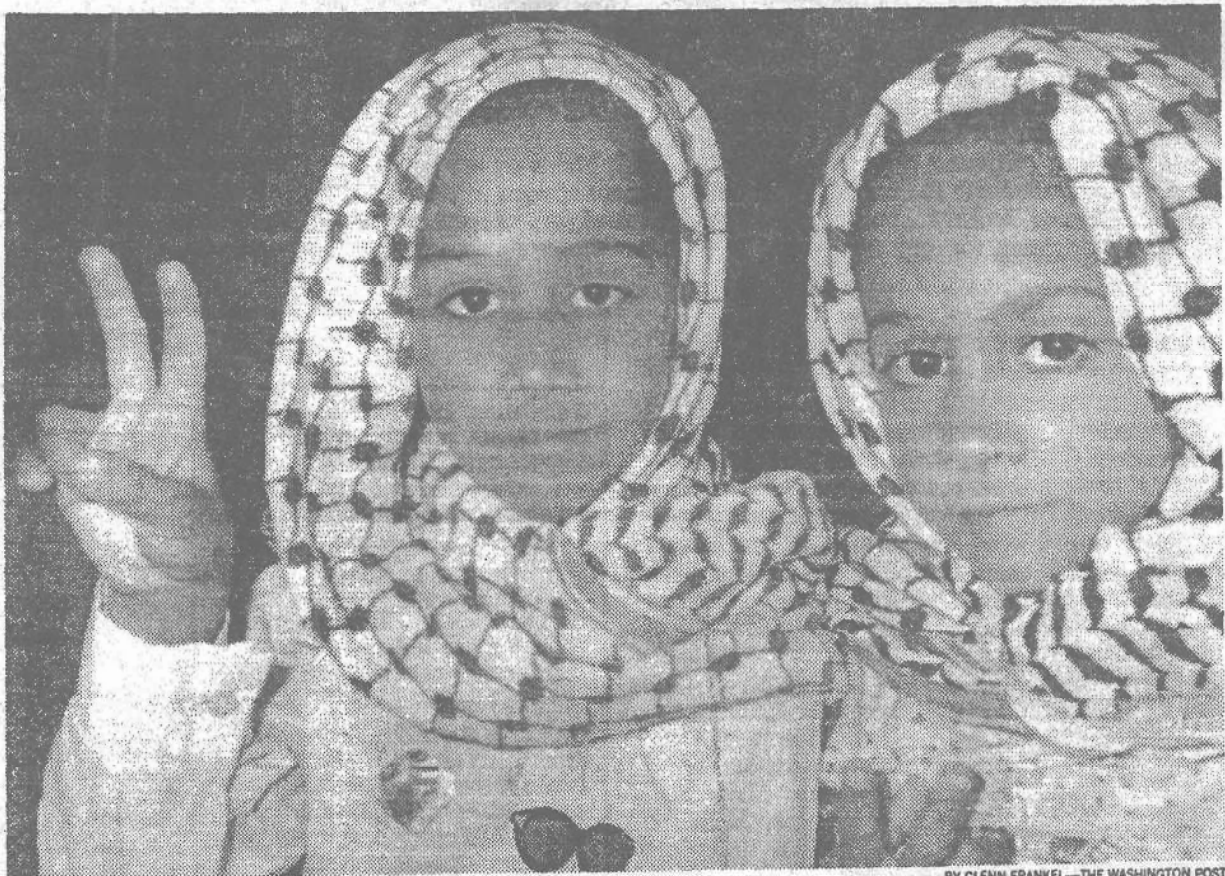
By Marcia Slacum Greene  
Washington Post Staff Writer

**C**hildren whose families have been ripped apart by the District's crack cocaine epidemic are being victimized twice: once by the drug scourge and again by a child welfare system beset with long-standing operational problems.

More than half of the system's annualized social work personnel are







BY GLENN FRANKEL—THE WASHINGTON POST

Mimouna Shukarna, 9, wearing pin with Palestinian flag, stands at left beside younger sister in Nahalin in West Bank.

victims of rape & other attack at any time. Always calculating whether it's safe to wear this, walk there, or say that. That's normal to us. "Women" have no community, but live & work completely split up in men's community. That's normal to us. "Women" cannot decisively defend ourselves either with fight or flight, unlike most beasts on the face of the earth. "Women" are not allowed territory, and by custom & law cannot patrol, curfew, or bar men out. That's all normal to us. What we think is not normal is being amazons.

That's why i get so angry at the colonized fantasies of so many white middle-class feminists, that we should simply wish ourselves back to those ancient non-violent matriarchies or non-conflictual communal bands. That using uzis or building a clandestine liberation culture is "playing men's

game", is "using tools of the patriarchy."

Let me say it better so it really is in plain sight: If women could have nonviolently stopped genocide they would have. Do you think that we're so much smarter & tougher than those Afrikan women and Indian women? They did the very best they could, protected their sisters & children the best they knew how. Don't dismiss our sisters so lightly. Peaceful non-military societies cannot stand up to predatory societies. It didn't work the first time around, when our women's science & abilities were much more developed and our enemy was much weaker than he is today. And we, too, need the weapon of culture. And the weapon of war.

TO BE CONTINUED.....