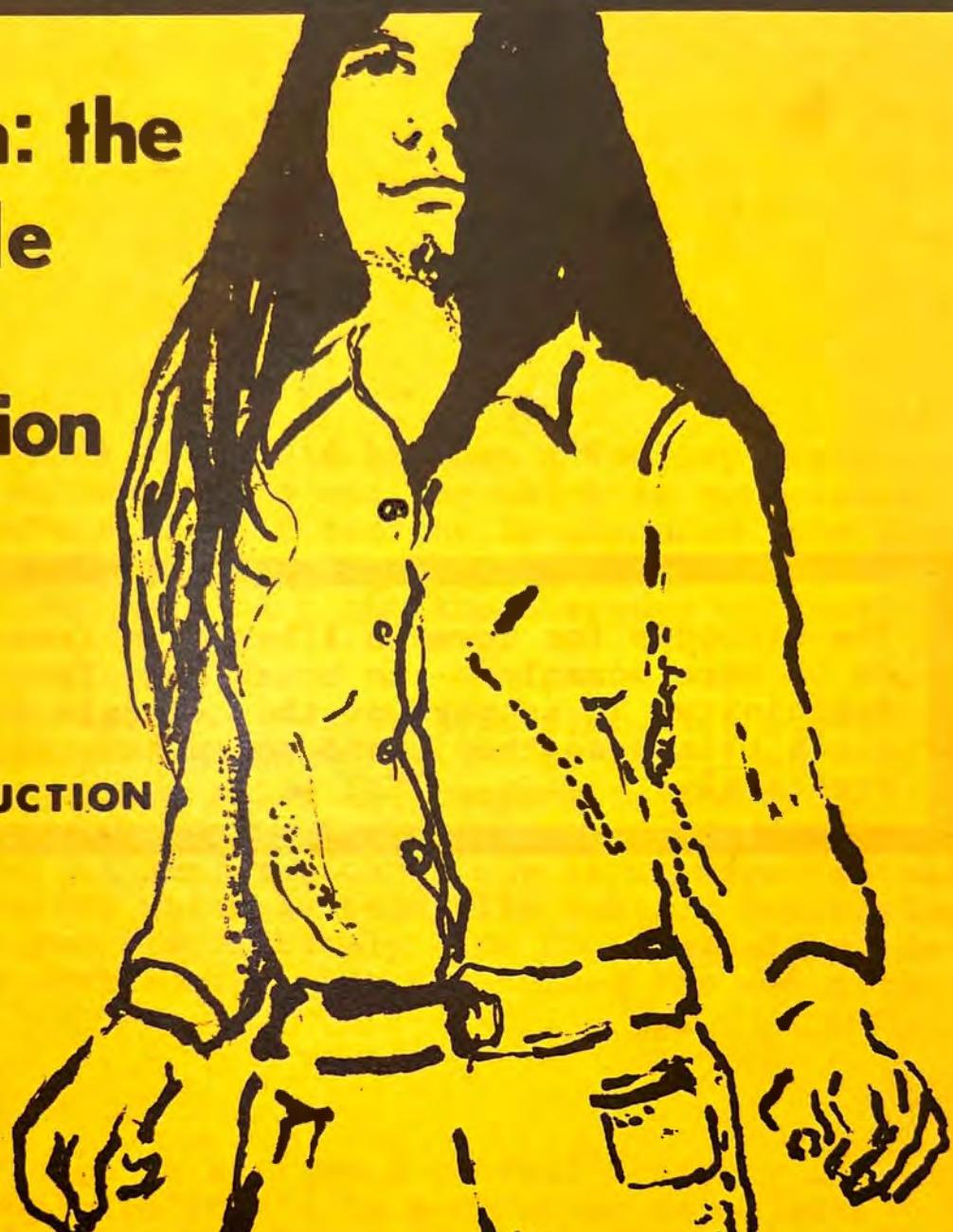
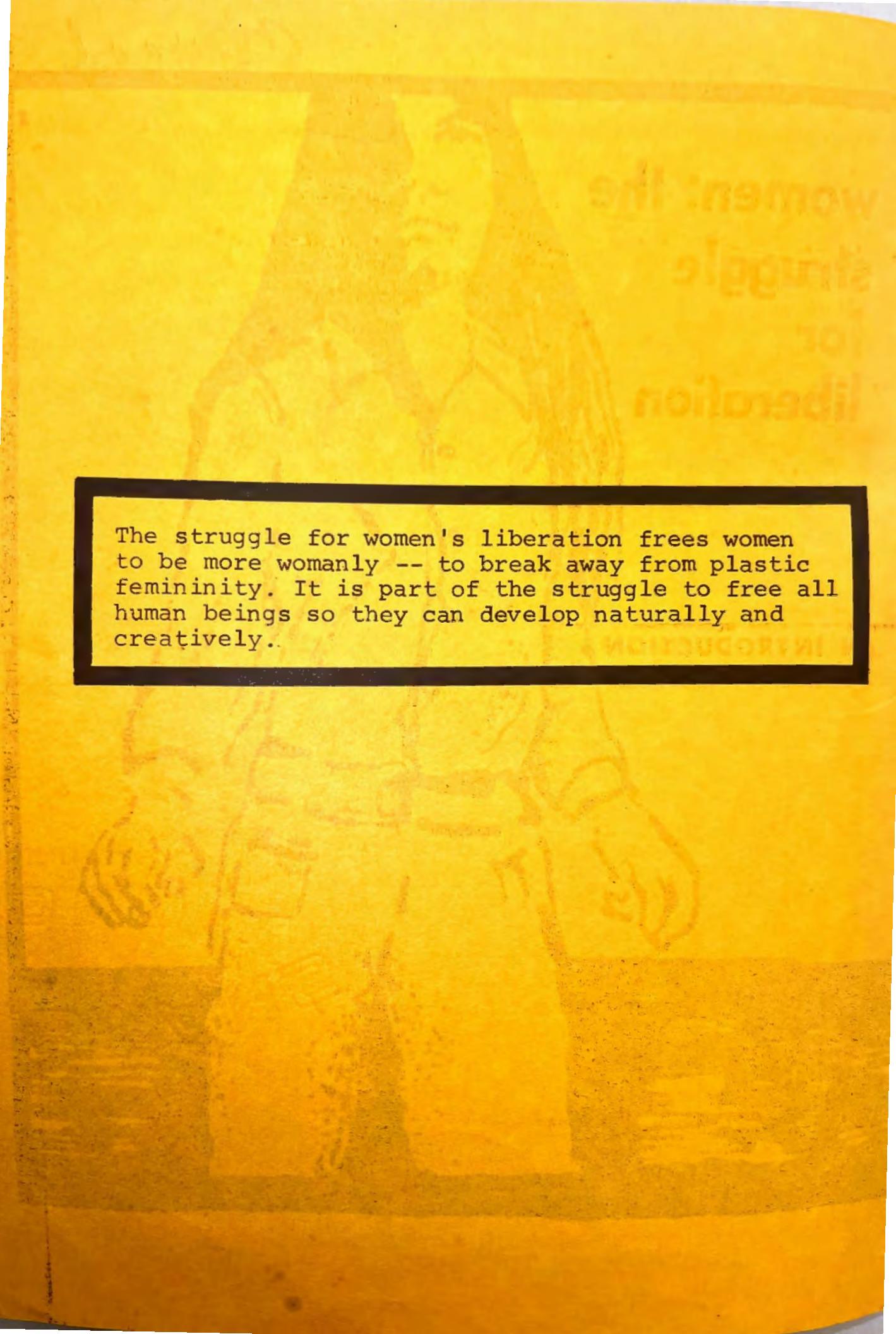


Atwood

women: the struggle for liberation

AN INTRODUCTION





The struggle for women's liberation frees women to be more womanly -- to break away from plastic femininity. It is part of the struggle to free all human beings so they can develop naturally and creatively.

Women are caught in a void between a fantasy world they can never achieve and a reality which is oppressive. But, the true nature of that reality is obscured from them by the on-going myths; and, without a consciousness of that reality, women can not fight the everyday oppression they face.

Both the myth and the reality stem from that great old American Dream: "You can make it - be fulfilled - if you only follow certain rules and conform to the 'moral standards'." The problem now is a perverted and distorted definition of fulfillment (which is why it is never attainable) and a reality which is painfully full of oppression. That oppression results precisely from the slave-like, de-humanized roles that society has prescribed for women to conform to.

on call

Women experience in extreme a general tendency in society: for people to relate to each other as objects rather than as humans. To regard someone as an object is to use them for some predefined function - whether it be that of a worker, consumer or a hussle.

The objectification of women is the cause of the most reknown stereotype of women: female as sexual object, SHE is an object which can titillate and satisfy HIM. The man's ego must be catered to and bolstered at all cost.

Madison Avenue is one of the foremost pushers of this definition of women by telling women that they should feel insecure if they are not adorned with all the latest "alluring" products. Over and over again in America's mass

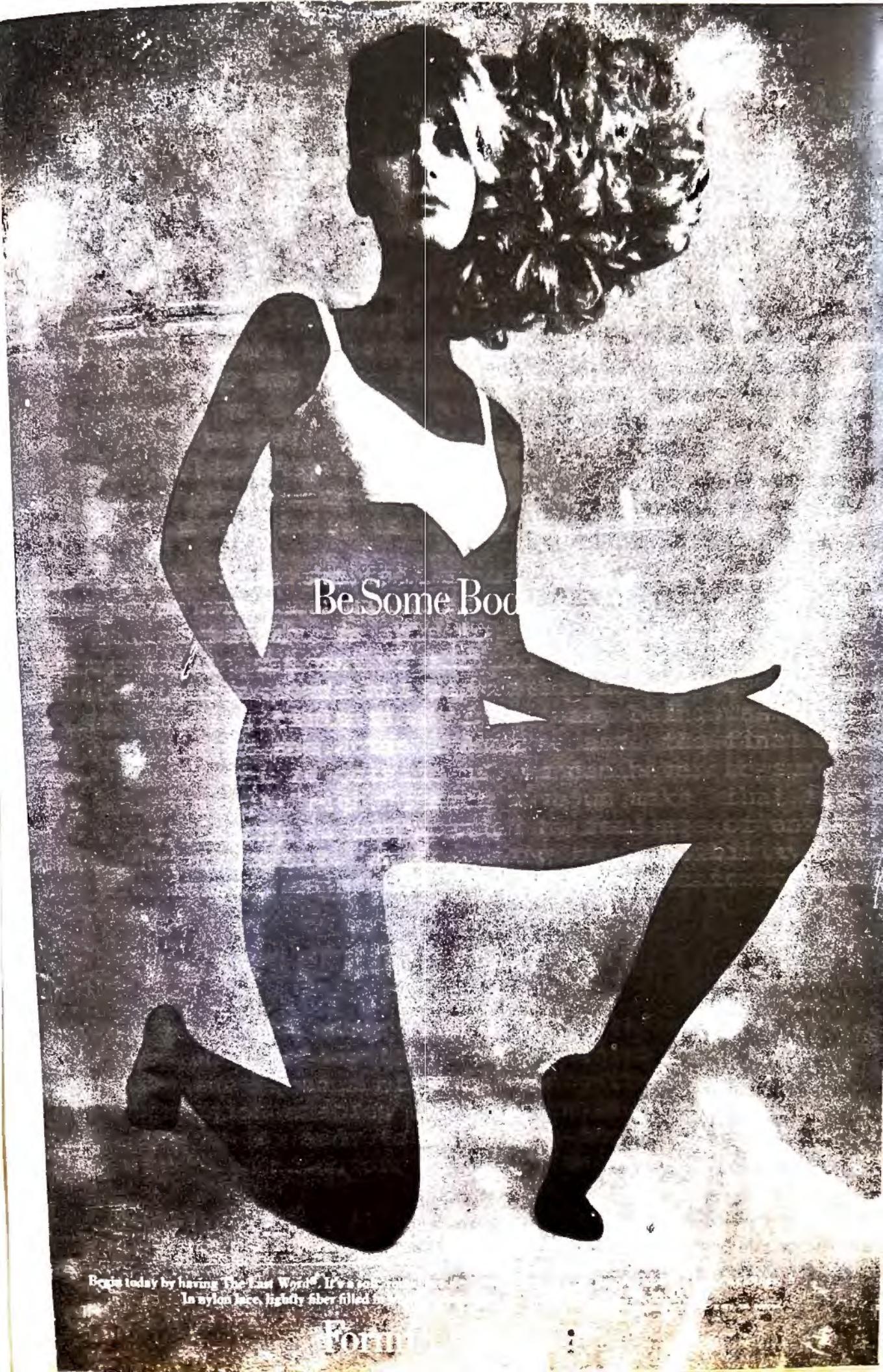
media, women are depicted as passive-voluptuous and yet seductive creatures. They describe a woman's identity solely in terms of exterior criteria such as outfits, perfumes and make-up. Who she is as a human is not pertinent information. From tooth paste to deoderderant to hand cream, the pitch is always the same- but this product to make you more seductive.

We know that in reality, most men and women are unable to have satisfying sexual relations, precisely because they relate to one another as objects rather than as specific human beings. Men exploit women sexually to achieve satisfaction (though in some instances it is mutual exploitation). Women come to believe that their value lies in being chosen to be exploited. Their identity becomes tied to the compulsive striving to be the most desirable sexual object among all women.

The college years especially are a time when women are induced to focus much of their attention on finding a mate. There is the unspoken pressure to be hooked by graduation. As Freshmen, women are on parade as men gather around dorms to rate and evaluate girls as they come and go. Obviously, in that set-up, men are relying on little more than those standardized commodity criteria to judge them.

Women students are under continual pressure to avoid that crisis of a Saturday night without a date. Fulfillment is defined right from the start as a secure relationship with a man - even if the quality is not so good. Yet, when those cherished dates occur, women find that they are not allowed to develop themselves through the event, to discuss or do things which interest them, but are expected to laugh and prance to humor the guy. They are shown off to his friends as another one of his conquests.

Because of this passive/seductive definition, women come very early to be defined and to define themselves in terms of men, or a man. A woman "comes into her own" only when she is married, and her identity, and fate, is sealed by her husbands work and consumption patterns. Only then does she really feel that she is a legitimate human being.



Be Some Bod

Be some today by having "The Last Word". It's a
la-nyon lace, lightly fiber-filled

For more

As women, we must defer to men to assert our identity and control our lives. Women are not allowed to develop that essential aspect of their identity which is the will-ful, creative development of their own history. Further, because women define themselves in terms of men, they regard each other with competitive distrust. There is no basis for close, creative relationships between women as individuals. Women tend to assume the attitude, originated with men, that all other women are boring, stupid and worthless. Each woman concludes that she is somehow an exception to the rule. Usually, women know each other only as some other man's girl-friend or wife.

Because of these factors, women are the group which is most susceptible to the compulsive consumption ethic of developed capitalism. Unable to internally define their identity, they seek commodities which can fit them into a pre-packaged stereotype. Also, women look to family relationships to provide the creative outlet they are denied in other ways. We need to take a closer look at these two experiences to understand how they specifically affect us in destructive ways.

consumption

Our economy is characterized by its developing technology which creates an ever-greater scale of production. Lack of social control over this increasing production (i.e. the planned use of the productive forces for and by the people of the society) means that the dominating goal of productivity is profit, and profit can only be sustained if markets can be found (or created) to absorb an increasing volume of goods. This is the dynamic of imperialism - the relentless search for new markets which drains the resources of developing nations of the Third World and cripples their independent economic development. It is also the dynamic of domestic imperialism of consumption: the creation of internal markets through a process which defines persons as consumers (and then as commodities) and cripples their development as free human beings.

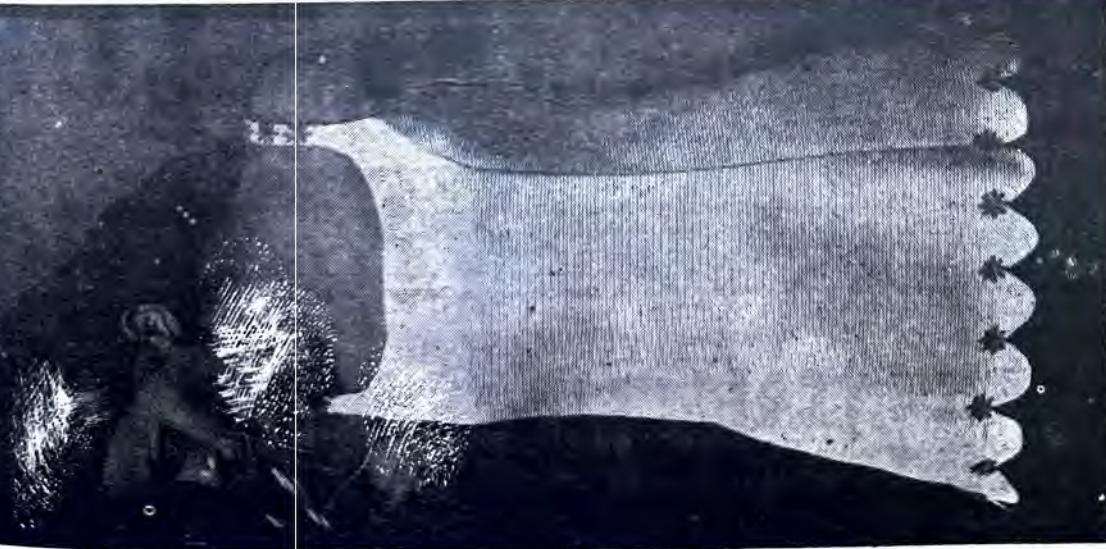
These economic patterns inevitable create a life in which people express themselves through things, through

acquiring, rather than becoming. Leisure time becomes a time to acquire more commodities as a means of self-development.

A culture of consumption is created by the mass media, supported by the \$16 billion/year advertising industry, to channel all potential human development into commodity forms. Thus, through this dynamic we have been induced to think of ourselves and others in commodity terms. Further, we have no control over those commodities. Rather, those products which are the most profitable to produce are the ones which are defined as legitimate and are condoned by the "moral" ideology.

Most clearly in the sphere of women's clothing and accessories we can see how deeply we have been affected. Women compete with each other in styles, and for women out of school that competition extends into the appearance of the home. Our roles as sexual objects are persistently reinforced. Instead of actively being a person, we are pressured to adorn ourselves to resemble a particular mold and then passively await judgement.

Although the call for compulsive consumption is extended to all parts of society, it affects different groups of women differently. The vast majority of women never get to actually indulge in much consumption. It is merely a part of the American Dream they strive for; and, within the limited extent of their purchasing power it determines choices, often conflicting with real needs. Only when



Break away! . . . beat a different drum! . . . sing a different song!
This year, you're the Lady of the Sea in Sirena's one piece swimdress with embroidered scallops; separate pants. In white, corn or blue. You'll look like a different person! R-18 \$27

leisure time is available, can women actually carry consumption to its absurd extremes.

The differing degrees to which various groups of women are oppressed must be understood in a class context. Women are not oppressed as a class, but as a group within each class. Some women are more oppressed than others. Therefore, Black women are among the most oppressed because they are oppressed both as Blacks and as women.

family

Under the current system, women have been permitted one other major way of seeking some identity - through their children. Because she is not allowed to develop or express her creativity through work, a woman sees her children as the only exterior creation she has ever produced. She must express her identity through her children.

We have all experienced the astounding unwillingness of our parents, especially our mothers, to allow us to become independent, especially if we are a girl child. For years, we were the only identity our mothers had, and her ego was completely infused into our existence. This neurotic child-parent relationship is inevitable as long as the mother has no other means of expression. When the child begins to assert independence, which should be the goal of a healthy parent, it is a real threat, because it will leave the mother without an identity or rationale for existence.

If a woman is able to attain independence from parents, however, it is only to quickly hand over the guardianship to a man. A woman is even taught to seek a guardian, and the feeling of being without one is both upsetting and disorienting. YOUNG WOMEN HAVE BEEN GIVEN NO REASON OR EXPERIENCE TO DIRECT THEIR LIVES OR BELIEVE IN THEIR ABILITY TO DO SO.

THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION UNDER CAPITALISM

We need now to look at the reasons why a supremacist ideology is essential to capitalism by looking specific-

ally at the case of women. In order to see our way out of our dilemma we must realize that there are certain conditions in society which are responsible for the definitions of women which we have so far discussed. They are no accident. It is easy to see that these roles are oppressive, but we must have confidence in saying that they are the result of certain historical conditions and not natural phenomena.

We have seen how one aspect of capitalism directly affects us, through consumption. But, this domestic imperialism is a recent phenomenon, a characteristic of a highly developed stage of international capitalism. It affects different groups in different ways. But, there are basic forces of capitalism which serve as the fundamental determinants of women's roles. And, if capitalism is to be maintained, these roles must be maintained.

First, women serve as a surplus labor market. They are called in during wartime when men are taken by the military. Or, they are used to supplement the regular labor force during a temporary expansion or during a period of high demand in a certain industry. And, they do this for less than the regular wage scale. As well, because jobs are scarce, pay less and have little security for women, they are susceptible to being used against collectively organized male labor when they refuse to work.

Second, women serve the role of providing free services for the ruling bourgeois elite. Although that elite is clearly little concerned for the human welfare of those who work for its exploitative system, it must at least provide a process by which minimal subsistence is supplied. Every day, millions of forced work hours are spent by women providing food, shelter and clothing for the working men. They receive no recompense beyond survival, nor are they able to control very many aspects of the work. Definitely, they don't have the freedom to decide whether or not to do that work.

These services are no less crucial to the functioning of the economy than the production of steel, for no steel



**looked at... looked over...
never overlooked...
LILLY PULITZER**

could be produced without these functions having been performed. Yet, there is no process by which the execution of these services could be socially organized, or by which there is an equal division of labor among the whole population to assume these duties.



The above two dynamics of capitalism appear to be the most dominant factors in determining the overall position of women. There are also a number of secondary forces which define their position; and where women often feel the brunt of oppression most immediately.

We have looked at specific economic roles which are assigned to women - reserve labor and survival services. In addition, women are assigned the role of caring for and raising children. When we realized that most women have at least two of these roles at once, and many must assume all three, we arrive at a new perspective. Most women must spend every minute of every day trying to keep up with the assigned tasks. These work assignments serve to systematically exclude women from active participation in any activities which encompass concerns beyond their home or their job. Concerns of the world are left to men. The irrelevancy and incompetence of

irrelevancy and incompetence of women in the larger society is thereby reinforced even more. A woman is robbed of her potential ability to function as a responsible, capable social being. Instead, she is forced to fulfill the prophecy of the dumb and disinterested female.

Another secondary dynamic arises as a result of the inevitable frustration and anger which working men feel in response to their own powerlessness and humiliation on the job and in society at large. That anger must be expressed. In an everyday situation, however, to release that frustration at the immediate boss-- whether it be a foreman or a school administrator (for teachers) -- would endanger his job.



So, instead, that frustration is vented at the wife or girl-friend over petty occurrences (and often at children as well). That anger is real emotion, but by using women as a lightning rod, it is drained off temporarily instead of being directed at its real target - the real source of the oppression. This means, for example, that the potentially revolutionary violence of exploited and oppressed people against the original forces of their exploitation are transformed and diverted into oppressive

violence toward those who have even less power than they do - e.g. women. Note, however, that the violence exists nonetheless.

Further, these situations force women to play the role of comforter, to salve the wounds of the social impotence of the man. She willingly submits herself to the man's subsequent desire to prove himself at her expense - sexually and socially - to regain his dignity. At the



same time, women start to bitch at men as her recompense for her treatment.

Women must therefore deal not only with their own frustration and hostility, but that of the men as well. Since there is no visible target on which she may vent her anger (except on her children), she is forced to internalize and repress most of these feelings. Her neurosis increases and deepens; she is less and less able to rely on her own judgements and rationality and the validity of her own feelings. Somehow her days are bad, but as there is no apparent cause, it must be her fault. She must not be able to understand what is going on. Repress the anguish today, and hope that tomorrow will be better.

This process by which anger is misdirected and the true cause is obscured, helps obscure the class nature of society, helps obscure the reality that one group of people own power and another has no real power. Instead, we look around at other powerless people as the cause of our oppression and the potential threat to our minimal security. Each bears his own burden, without being able to see that the problems are social in nature, and that the solution can only come from a social, collective solution.

THE IDEOLOGY OF MALE SUPREMACY

Capitalism has therefore mandated a secondary, dehumanized role for women. As the needs arose, those definitions were rationalized through the ideology of male supremacy. The complete legitimization of women's secondary status has taken hundreds of years, but that ideology has now assumed a life of its own; it has gone beyond the direct economic needs into all aspects of life.

The smooth functioning of the work place is the ultimate source of stability within a system. An ideology is created by a system's need to take the values which are necessary to maintain a certain situation at the work place, and with them to permeate the whole fabric of society. The social codes and mores outside the work place

must reinforce and maintain the value system necessary in the immediate economic sphere.

The ideology is consciously promoted by that group of people who benefit from the maintenance of the system -- in our case, the corporate owners and the small elite in the fields of law and government who help them maintain their position. The multi-billion dollar advertising industry is in the vanguard in promoting the ideology in our society, but the courts, the police and school administrators play a major role as well.

In school, women are channelled into courses and programs which train them to accept secondary jobs with low pay and low "status" such as nursing, home economics, secretarial programs, social work, and teaching. The courses even dwell specifically on the "appropriate" codes of behavior for a subservient worker. In the more elite schools, the channelling is less overt, but somewhere along the line most of these women, too, learn how to type, and decide not to be doctors, lawyers, college professors or corporate board members. She learns also that any job she might select must be transplantable, for she will move around according to the needs of her husband's career. No one would expect most men to move to suit the needs of his wife's job! All of this is supported by the ideology that says that this is the woman's "natural place".

Indirectly, everyone maintains the dominant ideology because we have been taught to believe in it as the only natural and "moral" code. But, those classes of people who do not own power, never self-consciously further that ideology which in fact works against their interests.

why women?

In dealing specifically with that aspect of the dominant ideology we have called male supremacy, the question remains: why women? How did the society come to accept the oppressive, secondary role of women? We have seen the needs of capitalism which are filled by women, but how did women get chosen to do it?

We leave the question of the original evolution of women's role to a more thorough, documented paper. But, it is clear that since the pre-feudal days in Europe, the ruling elite has been made up of White males. Non-Whites and women were both large, identifiable groups which were relegated to subordinate social roles.

What kind of woman are you, anyway?

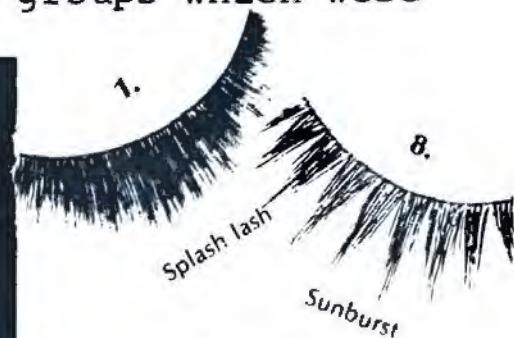
Throughout the development of Western capitalism, White males have been able to identify most easily with the ruling elite because they look like them, talk like them, etc. Consequently, they are most easily duped into thinking that they can make it in the system, into believing in the American Dream. Because they think they have more of a stake in conforming, they are the group which can most easily be manipulated into being supremacists.

individualism

The most important precondition for this malleability is individualism. Under the competitive ethic of capital-

Eye-identify!

ism, we are taught that in our personal efforts to "make it", all others are potential threats. From the first day of school, approval is acquired under a competitive system of grades and selection. If we are to do "well", someone else must do "poorly", and vice versa. Often the criteria are not even rational, and we are forced then to learn how to weasel and connive in our frantic efforts to stay above water.



Individualism is crucial for a supremacist ideology because supremacy is merely the endorsement of eliminating a whole group of people from the field of equal competition. They are no longer potential threats. In other words, White men would not have to compete equally with women or non-Whites for jobs and status in a rough competitive system. Thus, White men complied with the ruling class in legitimizing and enforcing the degrading roles for which this elite needed Blacks and women, and did not have to face these added challenges to their potential security.

We have found, however, that one positive result of the exclusion of women from the possibilities of achieving social recognition is that we have not been as damaged by the ethic of aggressive individualism. They made it clear to us from early childhood that we were not "suited" to accomplish any important (potentially creative) task -- so we never staked our legitimacy so thoroughly on the terms of the system and its ideology.

Our performance in school competition was not judged so much in the harsh context of future consequences. We were not expected to be accepted or respected by the larger society, the world of business and commerce, only by a man. Because we didn't have to live with the constant threat of social failure, we have been more able than men to maintain the capacity to respond humanly to the society around us. Much of this capacity is wasted on paternalistic charity work, or manipulated by male-run organizations such as political parties.

But, we also look back and see that women were among the first to organize themselves to help union struggles - their own and those of "their" men. Further back, women played a leading role in building a struggle for the abolition of slavery. (The reaction to women's outspoken role in the abolition movement incited women to organize for their own rights, and thus the Suffragette Movement.)

THE SYSTEM OF MALE SUPREMACY

However, it was still a male dominated society within which women struggled. White males became sole heirs to

the respectable tokens of status, became the only ones deemed "full" human beings. These "privileges" remained false, however, because it was still status as defined and controlled by the system -- it was not power or dignity or potency. In fact, they were only the perverted privileges of superiority, of chauvinism, which served to cut them off from the real potential source of creative development -- the struggle for a healthy society for all.

The analogy with racism is enlightening: White workers carry out the racist oppression of Black workers in the shops. While racism may serve to perpetuate the relative privilege of White workers, White workers do not ultimately benefit by dominating Black workers, nor do men ultimately benefit by dominating women. Rather, it is to say that women (or Black workers) suffer their immediate oppression at the hands of men (or White workers) who maintain a dominant position for themselves, and as supremacists, try to perpetuate that position of dominance.

We come to see that there is a system of male supremacy which is derived from economic necessities of capitalism, is endorsed by an ideology, and carried out by everyone in the society by means of social sanctions. We must see that this system is our enemy (not individual men). We must begin to expose and dismantle the ideology of male supremacy, and fight against the real conditions which that ideology produces for women and men.

It is clear that a male supremacist ideology is antithetical to the interests of men and working people as a whole. For the minor benefits and privileges derived from the present system by men, they receive in return a permanent block to the possibility of unifying all in the struggle for freedom. As long as men will accept a male supremacist role, that very role will be used against them.

Rather than taking out their frustrations on women, men must recognize that women have a vanguard potential for struggle. Now, women are hired as strikebreakers at low wages because they are prevented from obtaining equality. Now, women become neurotic and bitch at men because

they are prevented from identifying the true cause of their oppression. If women are free to recognize the multiple sources of their oppression, they can play that leading role in the struggle of all against the oppressive system. The efforts of men to struggle will be stunted until this catalyst role of women can develop.

Men and women must understand that they are acting in a supremacist way by willfully accepting the subordinate position of women. When men or women reinforce the values of consumption of objectified sexuality, they are actively perpetrating the oppression of women.

Further, acceptance of male supremacy enforces the legitimacy of all the neurotic, bourgeois definitions of human beings a la American Dream. The ideology of male supremacy cannot be separated from attitudes of White supremacy or anti-working class sentiments for it endorses the subjugation of one powerless group by another powerless group. It perpetuates the damaging oppression of women -- and the self-destructive sexual (as well as racial) chauvinism which men must resort to in order to rationalize the way they are being used.

BREAKING FREE

As we identify the economic mandates of capitalism and the ideology of male supremacy as the cause of women's oppression, we must also understand the way to build a struggle against those forces and, in the process, understand what the liberation of women might entail. Women's liberation, as distinct from the earlier suffragette movement which sought equality for women within the system, has been defined as an issue since the early days of the civil rights movement. However, this movement is still only beginning to know itself and its task, and to see the issue in the context of the total movement.

The women's liberation movement first took the form of weekly discussion groups among movement women. These groups, usually only one or two to a city, tried to define the problem: how did we as women feel limited, stifled, and oppressed by the predefined roles we were expected to



play -- as student, date, mate, mother and employee. Women presented their own experiences as the objective data which formed the legitimate basis for a rational analysis of their oppression. It proved that the problems were not individual hang-ups, but were common among all women.

The format of all-women's groups proved useful in most cases. In the initial attempts to understand women's oppression, women have to verbalize realities which are annoying or taboo subjects among men. It is also true that, as women, we have been damaged in various ways by the long years we have struggled to "adjust" to the definitions and roles they assigned us. Our defenses and insecurities are by now deeply engrained and we take them for granted in our daily thoughts and actions.

We haven't known the feeling of having the ultimate, creative power over our own destinies -- of willfully being a particular human who is able to understand the world around her in the context of her own feelings and judgments. Our powerlessness has led us to look to men and the system for the legitimization of our very being, as well as of each thought and action. And, because the final source of judgement is outside us, we can never be sure that we are "being" "right". Each move we make, that is at all new or different is accompanied by feelings of anxiety and guilt. We are always anticipating the possibility that we could be "wrong", as predefined by that exterior code.

liberation programs

Discussions with women help clarify these dynamics. But, we also need to develop programs which allow us to struggle for the freedom of women. Only the struggle for against oppression enables us to learn how to be willfull, proud human beings, and, to eliminate the conditions which are now demanding our subjugations.

Women are starting to demand equal treatment and creative opportunities in every aspect of life. Groups are organizing around issues such day-care facilities, job opportunities, and shorter work hours for men to free

them for greater participation in family responsibilities. On campus, we can attack recruiters who exclude women, or those who recruit women for meaningless jobs. We can also expose firms who are conspicuous perpetrators of neurotic consumption values.

Women students are starting to insist that women's history be included in the curriculum. We want to learn the history of women's oppression in order to help us build our struggle. We can challenge sociology, psychology and economic courses which condone the definition of women as inferior beings (most do).

Women's SGA's and dorm government structures perpetuate endless rituals to socialize women. By exposing these rituals and pointing out the way the administration pits women against women, we can free women students from that build-up of guilt and fear which stands in the way of our struggle.

In addition, women students must support and help struggles of working women in their community. We can bring the ideas of women's liberation to women who are training for traditional women's vocations: nurses, social workers, secretaries and teachers. The issue of women's liberation can lead these women to an understanding of other forms of oppression in society, since they are derived from the same source. For instance, had the issue of women's liberation been strongly introduced into the N.Y. teachers strike, many women teachers who opposed community control could have understood why it furthered their struggle as well as the struggle of other oppressed groups.

the special responsibility of women

We have come to understand that women must begin to talk with men about male supremacy, and that our struggle for liberation must include men. It was stated earlier that it is the system and ideology of male supremacy that is the enemy, not specific men. But, we must expose and explain how institutions are promoting male supremacy -- and, even more difficult, we must confront the men in our

lives with their cooperation with that supremacist ideology. It is these men who enact the oppression within the institutional framework of society. Their chauvinism is only an acceptance of their social impotence.

In other words, we must take the lead in pointing out to men and women that real human dignity can only be achieved within a society organized in terms of basic human values. Dignity cannot be found in a society which must stifle and pervert human instincts in the interest of goals such as profit.

Because of the nature of oppression, it is the duty and responsibility of women to assume the leadership of the struggle to create new forms of social relationships, new identities for both men and women. This is crucial. Men cannot initiate these changes. Only from a struggle led by women against male domination can both men and women begin to break away from competitive individualism and degrading commodity identities. We must break down the idea that we are swamped in an evil against which it is not possible to struggle. Because the struggle is essential for women, they will have the strength and insight to take unfamiliar steps and to lead the way.

Women Employees in Selected Industries in 1966

Industry	Women in Thousands	Women as % of Total	Hourly Wages
RETAIL TRADE	4,380	44	1.91
DURABLE MANUFACTURE	2,303	20	2.89
NON-DURABLE MANUFACTURE	3,314	39	2.45
FINANCE, REAL ESTATE	1,563	50	2.48
TRANSPORTATION, UTILITIES	800	19	NA*
WHOLESALE TRADE	805	23	2.13
MINING	34	5	3.05

* NA: not available.

Facts of exploitation

Exploitation and oppression of women is not simply that of a consumer, or a psychologically-repressed group. The statistics below illustrate the definite economic subjugation of working women in the United States.

In 1966, 39 out of every 100 women over 14 years old was in the labor force, accounting for 27.8 million or 36% of all workers. These figures have increased steadily since 1946. More than one out of three married women is in the labor force; of these, 60% are also mothers.

The median wages for year-round full-time employed women workers was \$3,923, only 60% that of men (\$6,375). See *Background Facts on Women Workers in the United States*, U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, May, 1967.

Women comprise 75% of all workers in the textile and garment industry. New York City's garment trade employs 40,150 women, whose median wage in 1963 was \$2.24 an hour, compared to men's \$3.27 an hour. In Philadelphia, the garment industry pays women a median wage of \$1.87 an hour; in Dallas, the wages are \$1.47. Many Puerto Rican and black women working in this industry earn as little as \$45 a week. In non-union shops they work overtime for no extra pay, not knowing that they are entitled to overtime pay and provisions of the minimum wage laws.

Furthermore, many garment shops are moving south to take advantage of mass unemployment and the almost-non-existent minimum wage laws and trade unions. For example, Levi Strauss and Co. moved to Blue Ridge, Georgia, in 1960. Within seven years, it had sifted through 3,800 employees to select 560 highly-skilled workers, 500 of them women. Workers struck in 1967 for better job conditions, but pay was also a grievance. One woman, on the job for six years, reported her wages at \$1,531 a year, for a 54-hour week.

In clerical jobs, women's wages are only two-thirds those of men. In addition, as new office machines are introduced, the percentage of women office workers is declining.

The average pay for black working women is \$2,642 a year. The largest group of black women workers is found in domestic service: some 30% work here, compared to 5.6% of white women workers in this field. The median domestic service income for these women is \$1,200 a year.

The 1968 Manpower Report shows that in families receiving ADC funds (Aid to Dependent Children), 40% of the mothers in black families were working, compared to 26% of the mothers in white families.

Written by Cathy Wilkerson, with a lot of help from Marilyn McNabb and Mike Spiegel and others from Washington, D.C. The section on Consumption is largely taken from Naomi Jaffe and Bernadine Dohrn's paper, "Two Tits and No Head". Other short paragraphs come from the Ann Arbor SDS NC resolution on women.

waste prod.
milit. prod.

goods as extension
of sex
consumer ad. of
man - the provider
creative writing class
men - women



printed by:

Washington DC Region
Students for a Democratic Society
1829 Corcoran St., NW
Washington, DC 20009
332-7183

with assistance from Washington Womens' Liberation