

# VOICE of the Women's liberation movement #7

## SHULIE'S REPLY

My first response to Marilyn Webb's description of what happened in Washington was amusement. Would it really be possible for one such obnoxious little person as she describes to have her way against the will of such a vast unconsenting majority? And certainly, if such a person exists, she is not me. When it gets so you can't recognize yourself in your own reputation anymore, when everywhere you go people seem to be relating to rumors and fantasies of you rather than the living reality right in front of them, that's when you've got to start questioning what is acting to produce such distortion.

In my experience, a negative reputation is always blown up in exact correspondence to the amount of fear set off by that person's politics. The smear tactic is a technique commonly used to isolate and insulate certain ideas from obtaining common currency; it acts as immunization to the strength of those ideas. Fear is projected onto the personality which first aroused it--and that personality becomes a scapegoat.

I would have to write an article twice as long as the original one that I declined to write in order to detail the inaccuracies in Marilyn's article, or even the number of things conveniently left unmentioned (such as that one main reason for the strong stand taken by the New York caucus Saturday night was that Marilyn had arranged with Mobe that she speak for Women's Liberation in the tent--the serious political part of the rally--and had scheduled us out for after the rally and even after the whole march itself, as a kind of desert performance, a tap dance at the end of the show, at which we would invite the GIs oh-so-sweetly to join us; and this, not in front of the Supreme Court

Building as she told us, but because there was no permit, in the lot across the street.

But these details are not as important now as the political confusions behind them. The three political divisions Marilyn drew are a convenient face-saving device. There are no such three divisions. (Editorial Note: The three divisions outlined in Marilyn's article were (1) Women working only on WL issues, apart from the rest of the movement (2) WL as a program integrated into the larger movement with women as another constituency (3) WL as a separate arm of the revolution, working with other groups.) There are only two divisions: Women for women all the way, and women who are afraid to be for women all the way.

It is a sad comment on the heavy struggle ahead that so many women are able to take that first step of identifying with Women's Liberation, but are afraid to go any further. But we will have to go farther or we will never have a genuine movement to effect change. Change means a disturbing, a threatening of the status quo, a status quo not good enough for us. After all, women's liberation is not just a hip substitute for bullshit ladies' gatherings. We are not just in it once again to do our diletante thing, to prove to our husbands and boyfriends that 'we have our political interests and activities too.' This will be a real struggle. And struggle is pain. We wouldn't do it if we didn't have to.

So that I feel pity for the many women like Marilyn who are so ambivalent--they want change, but not too much change, and certainly not radical disturbing change which might mess up their accommodations to the comfortable niches they've carved out for themselves--rather than the

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# NEW YORK WOMEN

## SHULIE'S REPLY (continued)

anger that under other circumstances I might be justified in feeling for that lousy personal attack.

Shulie Firestone

## NEW YORK WOMEN REPLY

Marilyn Webb's comments on the anti-inaugural action are, to use a kind word, too inaccurate to go unanswered. One of her basic misconceptions is that there is or ever was such a thing as "Shulie Firestone's group." The delegation from New York consisted of anyone from N.Y. Radical Women who chose to come. We were in no sense a clique or faction. In fact, most of us hardly knew each other before Washington, though we have since formed an action group largely inspired by our traumatic experiences there. In any case, we were and are perfectly capable of thinking for ourselves. And the space Marilyn devotes to her nasty personal attack on Shulie could have been better used to confront the real issue--which was politics, not personalities.

Marilyn's complaints about our "screaming" and "railroading" remind me of nothing so much as a college president's pleas for law and order or worse yet, legislators telling abortion protestors to "behave like ladies." Somehow it is always the upholder of the status quo who is for dignity and civilization, while those who are up against the wall are forced to play the heavies. In Washington, we definitely felt in the latter position. . . .

During the week before the action we kept getting conflicting reports about what we were supposed to do, and our attempts to clarify things with Mobe's

N.Y. office met with frosty vibrations. From past experience, we strongly suspected that our reception by our supposed 'brothers' would range from patronizing to actively hostile, and we were. . . distrustful of the movement's good intentions. . . (and) the planning going on over our heads.

At this point we received two disturbing bits of information. The first was that the D. C. group was holding the big planning meeting Friday night. Contrary to Marilyn's assertion, I know of only one person who hoped to attend that meeting. The rest of us were quite angry that the meeting was being held before we could get there.

Second, we learned that Marilyn thought it would be groovy to ask men to burn their voter cards along with us. This, of course, would have changed the whole emphasis of the action, which the N.Y. group had originally suggested.

We discussed the problems and concluded that we had to present a strong united front in Washington to make sure our interests were represented. We knew there would be a political hassle and were willing to accept. . . a compromise. . . But we were not willing to participate in a demonstration that didn't represent us at all.

For a suitable arrangement to be made, a Saturday night meeting was essential; Sunday morning would have been too late to make any important changes in the plans Marilyn worked out with Mobe. We are sorry if women were turned off because we didn't have an evening workshop, but. . . the alternative would have been to accept whatever the Washington group had decided beforehand. (Incidentally, Marilyn's statement that we had appointed marshals and otherwise had things planned out to the last detail

is categorically untrue. Marshalls??? On the contrary, at least part of the tension was caused by the extreme lack of organization of all sides.)

The tipoff to our ideological disagreement is Marilyn's labeling the women's movement a 'cultural' as opposed to 'economic' revolution. She should do some homework--Engel's Origin of the Family, for a start. The family is not a 'cultural superstructure' but an economic class structure, intertwined with but distinct from the capitalist structure. Women's sexual, reproductive and maintenance functions are economic functions, and the ideology of male supremacy upholds an exploitive economic arrangement. Within this smaller economic structure, men are the rulers and women the ruled.

Revolutionary theory and practice have until now been created by men with an inadequate understanding of women's oppression. Either they too dismiss the family as 'cultural superstructure' or they conclude that change in that area can safely wait till after the 'real' revolution. This is why many of us insist that a radical women's movement must create its own analysis and program. Before allying with organizations like SDS we have the right to demand that they stop imposing prefabricated theory on us, learn from us, and redefine their goals accordingly. Are we to be the 'arm' of a revolution, as Marilyn suggests, without asking who is the head? Sure, men must be educated. But the best education white radicals ever received was getting kicked out of the black movement, and the best way to educate men is to build an independent mass movement of women.

Barbara Mehrhof      Linda Feldman

Shiela Cronan      Ellen Willis

(Ed. Note: We solicited articles from SDS but did not get a reply. For a different perspective on the economic functions of women see Fran Ansley's article on page

# WITCH

Like other oppressed groups, women have not been allowed to develop a consciousness of their own history. When we try to think of great women of history, we think of George and Martha, and who the hell was Martha anyway? We demand to learn about the history of women in the same way that we demand that history be the history of the people, not of the elites.

The history of women has been severely distorted. An excellent example of this is our understanding of witchcraft in Europe and America. We think of witches as malevolent old women, conspiring the death of their neighbors, and the debauchery of the civilized Christian world, leading us all to hell with the aid of Satan. Or else we do not take them seriously at all, but believe that witches never existed and that the trial and purges were isolated incidents particular to a few small societies.

In fact, witchcraft was the pagan religion of all of Europe for centuries prior to the rise of Christianity, and the religion of the peasantry for hundreds of years after Catholicism prevailed among the ruling classes of Western society. The witchcraft purges were the political suppression of an alternative culture, and a social and economic structure.

Before the middle ages, the people of Europe lived in societies which were small agricultural and pastoral groupings. They were a diminutive race which was driven into the hills and continued to live in small communal societies took over the lowlands. These societies were matriarchal, had no private property, and no institution of marriage. Their god was a woman--Tana, the moon goddess. Tana was queen of heaven, the moon, and was a fertility goddess of rain and

## WITCH (continued)

magic. Witch rituals were basically circular dances at night which worshipped the moon and the change of seasons.

Unlike their counterparts in Christian culture, women were highly respected in witch societies; they were integral in the church hierarchy which also served the governmental needs of the people. Since there was no private property or marriage, women were not sold as chattel to their prospective husbands, as they have been throughout western culture. Thus, during their forced conversion to Christianity, women fought to retain their rights as well as for a religion which recognized women as an important part of theology.

The Catholics had tried slow conversion of the witches for many centuries and there is evidence that there was a mixing of beliefs going on increasingly. The cult of the Virgin Mary was emphasized by the popular demand of new converts who had been accustomed to worshipping a woman as the Supreme Deity. But numerous factors combined to make the continued existence of pagan rituals and beliefs intolerable: primarily, the black plague.

Death swept Europe in the 13th century, killing 25 percent of the population. A religious explanation of this was needed to calm the fears of the people. The plague was defined as the punishment of God to a people that tolerated heresy. But who was to define the heresy? The witches blamed the plague on the Christians, who had deserted the old gods, and the Catholics blamed the witches. The stronger prevailed. The Christians were hierarchically organized, controlled the upper classes, the military and the state governments throughout Europe. The witches were the peasants and lower classes, the hill tribes, and women. The scapegoat for the plague naturally became the local witch. As peasant revolts developed, "witchcraft" became a cry for the rest

of the population to arm itself. The purges clearly assumed the nature of a class war.

However, the trial signalled more than an attempt to keep the people "in line." Women found themselves in a uniquely oppressive condition resulting from the cultural views implicit in Catholicism. The chief document used to suppress witchcraft, Kramer and Sprenger's Malleus Malleficarum, commissioned by the Pope in 1486, discusses the evil nature of women at length.

The main reason for woman's frequent alliance with evil is that "she is more carnal than a man, as is clear from her many carnal abominations . . . there was a defect in the formation of the first woman, since she was formed from a bent rib . . . And since through this defect she is an imperfect animal, she always deceives . . . To conclude: All witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which is in women insatiable ." Accordingly, the witch religion, known for its fertility rites, and the freedom of women, could not be tolerated if women were to be chaste and subservient to men in theology and in the home.

Even as the religion of witchcraft became suppressed, women fought hard to retain their former freedom. The church understood that if its control was to be effective, the purge must be extensive and brutal. The insurgents were not easily smashed. Several authorities have estimated that from the 15th to the 18th centuries, nine million witches were executed for their alleged beliefs and crimes. (Editorial Note: Persecution of witches was particularly brutal on the continent. Torturing and burning effectively destroyed 900 witches in a single year in the Wurtzburg area, and 1000 in and around Como. At Toulouse, 400 witches were put to death in a single day.)

Thus, the witch was chosen as a revolutionary image for women because they did fight hard and in their fight they refused to accept the level of struggle  
(continued on page 8.)

# Functions of the Theory and Practice of Male Chauvinism . . .

We have all talked a lot about the material oppression of women in our society, and about the accompanying chauvinist ideology which is spread and maintained through our various socializing institutions. I have been trying recently to think about some of the functions which that sexual caste system performs for a capitalist society, and in this paper I want to talk briefly about what I think some of those functions are. On the one hand, it seems to me that chauvinist attitudes have a psychological impetus and momentum of their own (just as racist ideology has), which persist irrationally and beyond the original conditions which produced them. On the other hand, I think that the ruling classes of capitalist societies continue today to have a real and material need to keep women in an inferior and exploited position, and in fact their efforts to do that have increased rather than decreased in certain areas. Here are some of the ways I think the system uses us, then:

1) First, female oppression can simply yield a higher rate of exploitation. Obviously, if you can keep women in a special position, you can pay them less for their labor. This works in two ways:

a) Different pay for the same work.

b) The assigning of menial tasks to women. (A much lower pay scale for menial work is possible if those who must do it are different--sexually, racially, ethnically--from the rest of the work force. The inequity is somewhat disguised.)

2) To expand a little on the last point, this is a great way to keep the working class (or middle-class students, for that matter) divided and crippled.

a) Working men often fail to see their "non-working" wives as important allies

in their fight. (Cf. Salt of the Earth, a flick everyone should see if she hasn't already.)

b) Working men fail to see working women as equal members of trade union battles, or as sisters worthy of defense. (Just as white workers often fail to recognize or fight for the grievances of black workers in their shop.) Then, predictably enough, the women (like the black workers) often end up resenting the male workers more than they do the boss. A friend of mine who works in the same goddam non-union shop as her husband writes: "Well, Fran, this plant sure likes to run things their way. Eli and all the men get a weeks paid vacation and Christmas bonus, but I didn't. Do you know why? Because I am a woman... They have the women and the men fighting each other about who is going to get the most pay."

3) By keeping women in the home as housewives and babysitters, a great many needed tasks get done for free; that is, these jobs and the labor which performs them are kept off the market. Concomitantly, the household workers are kept atomized and isolated. Objectively speaking, of course, this form of organization is irrational and tremendously wasteful of human energies (more wasteful, even, it may be, than in many primitive societies, where more of those tasks are accomplished collectively). But in terms of profit and control, I think it may be that this essentially anarchistic and individualized arrangement works out better for the ruling class.

4) Women serve as a really handy and sizeable part of the reserve army of the unemployed. Their most convenient feature is their adaptability: when they are unemployed they are completely invisible. Whenever they are not needed

## FUNCTIONS OF CHAUVINISM (continued)

on the labor market they are quietly absorbed back into the anarchic household structure I described before (that is, as long as they are attached to a nuclear family--which is very important). But in times of emergency (e.g. World War II), they can be called into the factories, while temporary alternate arrangements are made for child care and household tasks. (In fact, during World War II for the first time American women were taught that their menstrual periods didn't have to immobilize them several days a month. They were given exercises, etc., so they could work in the munitions plants. Of course, there had been working women all along who either found this out for themselves the hard way or suffered.) As part of this general strategy, women are kept in marginal and precarious positions in the hired work force. They are often fired first. ("They don't have to support a family"). They are often encouraged or forced to accept part-time rather than full-time work (with no fringe benefits, of course). This arrangement guarantees a certain helpful fluidity in the labor force for the men who hire and fire.

5) Women serve as consumers, too, and the preservation of traditional sex-role differences helps boost domestic consumption. This function becomes increasingly important as the capitalist economy advances and suffers a growing pressure to find and develop new markets. This works in several ways:

a) Sex differentiation in consumer products can help increase consumption (e.g. perfume, shampoo, deoderant, cigarettes, razors must be bought twice by most couples). People of both sexes are encouraged to elaborate their differences externally in stereotyped, sex-linked ways through consumer goods.

b) In an automating society with a surplus of consumer goods, large numbers of women are off the job market and responsible primarily only for household chores--chores which have been rendered

less exhausting and sometimes shorter by technological changes. With increased leisure time, these women are good targets for advertising. Concomitantly, in an effort to stave off boredom and the feelings of uselessness which result from this diminished and paltry responsibility, women (in proportion to their income level) eagerly seek and acquire appliances and products which will complicate, elaborate and glamorize the household chores they've been left with. It is easy to see how an ideology of "woman's place is in the home" helps to perpetuate and support these patterns of wasteful and frustrated--but profitable--consumption. Women who do work, part or full time, feel pressured into these same consumption patterns precisely to prove that they are still adequate as women in the home.

c) Women consume in their role as sex-objects as well as in that of homemaker. I think one of the main reasons for the increasing stress on achieving and maintaining traditional "femininity" is the increased consumption this stress produces. (You are not born a woman, you achieve it, if you can afford the price.) Many industries have a concrete stake in increasing female narcissism and neurosis, in intensifying women's anxiety and absorption with their own appearance. To liberate women from this mind-set would be to destroy the market for a growing sector of the economy.

6) Perhaps another way that women as a group prove useful in capitalist society is in their function as symbol for the society at large. I see two main ways this happens.

a) It seems to me that increasingly people are urged to release their creative energies in asocial and privatized ways, and that in fact the primary way which is suggested, allowed, and encouraged is simply that of fucking. This narrowing and channeling of drives, what Marcuse calls "repressive desublimation of libido", focuses in on the bare sexual fact, and allows people to attain satisfaction, and release of potentially rebellious ener-

## FUNCTIONS OF CHAUVINISM (continued)

gies and emotions through a harmless and individualized outlet. Now the image of woman becomes an important tool in the process of this energy-channeling. If you are going to leach all the eroticism and challenge out of the environment and out of general human activity, and then satiate those drives in the straight-out fuck, you need more than ever a repository and a single symbol for that focused energy to move toward. That repository is the woman-as-cunt.

An important side-effect of this process, and one which Marcuse fails to deal with, I think, is the difference between men's and women's experiences of what is going on. The people who control and direct the means for this narrowing of focus are men. They conceive of women solely as sexually felt, never as sexually feeling. Therefore, it is only the female body which is portrayed as sex symbol. (Who would want to look at a man that way anyhow? Only a queer.) This means in turn that women's sexuality often is encouraged to turn back upon itself in the form of narcissism--naturally, because the only sex-objects women are shown are images of themselves. (If women helped direct that process and introduced suggestive, dehumanized pictures of men, the process would still be repressive and lousy. But my point is that women get an especially raw deal in the situation as it now stands.)

b) The second way I see women being used in a capitalist symbology is less as the lush vagina than as the inviolable maidenhead; and in this manifestation they usually occur in more straight political propaganda. We should think more about this, but it seems to me that the successes scored in stirring up pre-war sentiment by all those gory World War I posters of Austrians raping helpless Italian virgins, demonstrate something of the power of this concept. Phrases like "the flower of Southern white womanhood", and even "home, mother, and apple pie," are no mistake. They carry ideological weight. In these situations the purity of woman becomes the private property of the (male) defenders of the nation; it

must be defended with religious fervor against whatever enemy the ruling class is fighting this week. (austro-German, Negro, Commie, whoever). The corollary to this kind of image of course is that women are specialized precisely to want and need that kind of protection. They are most definitely not taught how to defend themselves.

7) Women serve as "lightning rods" for men's frustration at other factors in the environment. This can be especially serviceable for the ruling class. Often it is the man of the family who experiences most directly the real power relationships in the society. (He sells his labor to a capitalist who then exploits him; he has a direct relation to industrial production, etc.) When wives play their traditional role as takers of shit, they often absorb their husbands' legitimate anger and frustration at their own powerlessness and oppression. With every worker provided with a sponge to soak up his possibly revolutionary ire, the bosses rest more secure. Chauvinist attitudes help to maintain this asocial system of tension-release.

8) Aside from this generalized diversion of anger and hostility onto the woman, sometimes women become the recipients of specific male grievances whose basis is actually more in the society and the economy than in the male-female relationship. A song says:

"Judy, your biscuits are good,  
I'd have me some more if I could...  
You treat me just like a king..."

BUT

"Sometimes I wish I was  
Thumbing my way back to Denver..."  
The guy sees his wife as what's tying him down, not the fact that he has to show up for work on Monday morning. His wife may be in fact trying to tie him down too (the worse for her), but the point is that women, along with a whole series of sex-defined roles and responsibilities, are often made to appear as if they are placing crummy restraints on guys, when in actuality, it is the economic arrangement that is definitive. Traditional definitions of sex-roles (female dependancy, child-care patterns, male

## FUNCTIONS OF CHAUVINISM (continued)

responsibility, etc.) help to tie both men and women more tightly into the system than they have to be, while at the same time they distract the victims from seeing who it really is that has a stake in their "stability" and "responsibility" and staying away from Denver.

I want to say just a couple of more things now. First, we should all keep thinking--this ain't all of it. Even the things that are down here already have confusions which point out some areas we should discuss, I think. One is the whole problem of social class: how is the experience of womanhood different for women in different classes? Who are our allies? (All women are oppressed but not all women are potentially revolutionary). How do women's demands relate to class demands? Another area is the whole question of the nuclear family, only mentioned obliquely here. What is women's potential relationship to mate(s), friends, children? What role does the nuclear family play in supporting capitalism? Of course, there are lots of other things too.

Anyway, these questions point up a second thing, which is that there is a whole lot this paper doesn't even try to do. It doesn't talk about a strategy for a women's movement. It doesn't talk very much about the complexities of the chauvinist psychology we all carry around with us, or about what it takes to start growing out of that. We need to know all of these things. One last comment. If, as it appears, capitalist societies need us to be inferior, to help maintain division and deception, to hate our bodies and our minds, it is also true that people are showing us that liberating societies, societies that are fighting to free and build themselves collectively, need us to be precisely the opposite. It seems that a country like that should tell us something about where our loyalties lie.

Fran Ansley  
Boston

## WITCH (continued)

which society deemed acceptable for their sex. Finally, they were the center of motion both as agitators and as targets, as women today must assume positions of leadership if radical politics are to relate to the real oppression of people, and mutually, if women are to gain true equality in a revolutionary movement.

Nancy Stokley, suspended '69 and Sally Stein, expelled '71 are both members of Women's Radical Action Project at U. of C.

# ABORTION

We believe that it is every woman's most basic human right to control her own body and determine her own reproductive life. No government should have the right to compel women to bear unwanted children.

There are about 8000 to 9000 legal abortions performed annually in the U.S. The majority of these occur in private rather than public hospitals--evidence that poor women are discriminated against in the interpretation of the law.

It is widely estimated that 1,000,000 or more illegal abortions a year are performed in the U.S. This is approximately one illegal abortion for every four live births, and 120 illegal abortions for every one performed legally.

Under present law, most women are forced to go underground for an abortion, many of them to abortionists who are not qualified medical practitioners. This results in 1000's of maternal deaths in the U.S. The tragedy is totally unnecessary, because abortion when it is performed under clinical conditions, is safer than a tonsillectomy and a great deal safer than childbirth. For more information, see pp. 9-10.

## GENERAL COMMENTS:

- 1 Be as sure as you can that you are pregnant before seeking help; try to have had a medical examination or a chemical test and bring the written results with you.
- 2 All services should try to determine if you have the grounds--and the time!--for a legal abortion in your particular state: be sure to ask your doctor this even before asking the service. Laws and practice may not always agree.
- 3 Avoid using the word "abortion" in phone conversations with the services; say you "have a problem", or something similar that still conveys your message.
- 4 Some services have been able to force prices down somewhat, but of course they are still exorbitant: \$350 - \$1000 in the United States (more for pregnancies over 11 or 12 weeks); \$200 - \$400, plus travel, in Mexico; \$600 - \$1000, plus travel, in Puerto Rico lately; \$100 or so, plus TRAVEL, in Japan (the only one of these countries where abortion on request is almost absolutely legal); \$200 or so, plus travel, in England. DO NOT GO to a foreign country WITHOUT HAVING MADE ARRANGEMENTS IN ADVANCE, PREFERABLY THROUGH ONE OF THE SERVICES.
- 5 You will help other women tremendously if you will report your experiences, both decent and bad, to your service or other referral source: too many women expect the worst and accept it passively. This, and working actively for repeal and for proper medical care at reasonable cost for all women, is a major responsibility of those who join this "community"--to which perhaps one-quarter of American women belong. IT IS UP TO YOU.

## ABORTION COUNSELING SERVICE (ACS). P.O. Box 9199, San Diego, California 92109 (714) 753-8280

Run by a group of young women; uses ARAL list of abortion specialists (see below). Arranges for discreet pregnancy tests and post-abortion consultations with sympathetic physicians. Has an excellent newsletter that could serve as a model for other groups; \$2.00 will put you on the newsletter mailing list.

## ASSOCIATION TO REPEAL ABORTION LAWS (ARAL). P.O. Box 6083, San Francisco, Calif. 94101 (415) 387-6480

Patricia Maginnis and Rowena Gurner are the guiding lights of this service. For a \$5.00 donation to ARAL they will send you very detailed advice and a list of abortion specialists, mostly in Mexico but also in Puerto Rico and Japan. The list should ALWAYS be freshly ordered: it is updated constantly for your safety. Help is available up through 7 months. A post-abortion care center and classes in self-induced abortion are other ARAL activities.

CLERGY CONSULTATION SERVICE (ON ABORTION / ON PROBLEM PREGNANCIES, etc.) Located in several cities, and run by groups of ministers and rabbis, each service generally counsels with women in its area only; clergy services will soon be in operation in New Haven, Montreal, Detroit, Chicago, and upper New York State: write the National Clergy Consultation Service on Abortion, 55 Washington Square South, New York City 10012 (212-254-6230) to determine whether they are open yet. These services have recently received some foundation support for their work. Most maintain a tape-recorded message, reached at the phone numbers given below, that announces which 5 or 6 ministers and rabbis are available for counseling that week, plus instructions on procedures to follow in making appointments with whichever one you choose. The CCS uses out-of-state doctors and foreign doctors (England, Puerto Rico, Japan), and provides help up to 22 weeks. Those over 12 weeks are generally referred to England.

Boston (617) 527-7188  
 Cleveland (216) 229-7423  
 Philadelphia (215) WA 3-5141  
 Los Angeles (213) 666-7600

New Jersey (north) (201) 933-2937  
 New York City (212) 477-0034  
 (No message giving clergy list after about 5PM  
 Friday until about 9 AM Monday: all on a weekday)

## PARENTS' AID SOCIETY. 130 Main Street, Hempstead, L.I., New York 11550 (516) 538-2626 (516) 437-2828

This service of Parents' Aid, a birth-control clinic, has been in operation since before April 1967. Be sure to place all telephone calls person-to-person to Bill Baird (a former drug-company executive who is the founder and director); he is sometimes hard to find because he travels about the country lecturing, or because he may be in Massachusetts seeing about his test case challenging their anti-contraceptive laws. (You may be able to reach him in Boston at 617-783-0113). Parents' Aid generally holds evening consultation sessions at the clinic, usually on the weekends. The clinic is a block and a half from the Hempstead station of the Long Island Rail Road--and about one hour's ride from New York's Penn Station. Parents' Aid gives advice on both local and distant sources, and will try to help any women who come to them; women visiting the clinic should try to bring the man involved, if possible. Joining Parents' Aid is a good way to help the service meet its expenses. Contraceptive advice and materials are also available.

ENGLAND: Call first from the United States; abortion is by no means completely legal in Britain--many doctors are quite uncooperative, too--and you may encounter problems if you go without advance arrangements.

Birmingham Pregnancy Advisory Service  
London Pregnancy Advisory Service

021-440-2570  
01-629-9575 or 9576

Further information on political and other action toward getting rid of present laws and practices, especially if you want help in finding--or forming--a local action group:

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR REPEAL OF ABORTION LAWS (NARAL)  
250 West 57 Street (Room 2428), New York City 10019 (212) 265-7513

This new "umbrella" association will soon have literature and other organizing materials to distribute. Buttons showing the "alpha" symbol of abortion repeal are available at \$4.00 per 100. Make checks payable to NARAL.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW): Co-chairmen of NOW National Task Force on Abortion:

Lana Clarke Phelan  
3430 Orange Avenue  
Long Beach, California 90807  
(213) 424-4681

Lucinda Cisler  
102 West 80 Street, #77  
New York City 10024  
(212) 799-0620

#### MATERIALS ON THE SUBJECT OF ABORTION:

- 1 Read Lawrence Lader: ABORTION (Beacon paperback BP 264, \$1.95), the best general book on the subject; also see Selig Neubardt, MD: CONTRACEPTION (Pocket Books 77025, \$ .95).
- 2 Write for latest newsletter and current reprint list/bibliography from the ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ABORTION, 120 West 57 Street, New York City 10019. Reprints are 10¢ each; especially good: writings by Hardin (all of them), Lucas, Rossi, Schenk, Hindell and Simms, White.  
  
A reprint list is also available from the SOCIETY FOR HUMANE ABORTION, P. O. Box 1862, San Francisco, California 94101. Especially good: Rossi ("Public Views. . ."), Phelan, Kerslake, Hardin, Maginnis; 20¢ each. Mailing list is \$2.00 a year.
- 3 LP record of 10 women describing their own abortion experiences: \$3.50 from CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE FOR LEGALIZED ABORTION, Marin Chapter, Box 101, Kentfield, California 94904. They may have run out, so write first to inquire.
- 4 Series of 5 hour-long tapes for radio and/or discussion; contact James Clapp, 607 East 12 Street, New York 10009.

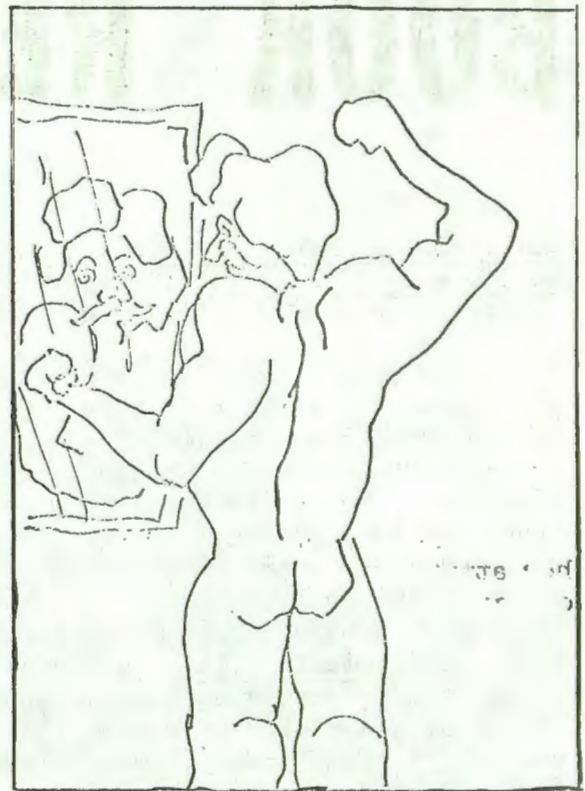
5\*\*\*\*\*Lana Clarke Phelan and Patricia Maginnis have just published THE ABORTION HANDBOOK FOR RESPONSIBLE WOMEN. This book, by women and for women, is available at many bookstores, or can be ordered direct from the publisher, Contact Books, Inc., 7813 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. \$3.00. "Survival in a retarded culture."

USE SPACE BELOW FOR LOCAL INFORMATION:

Editorial Note: Please feel free to reproduce these two pages for women in your local area.

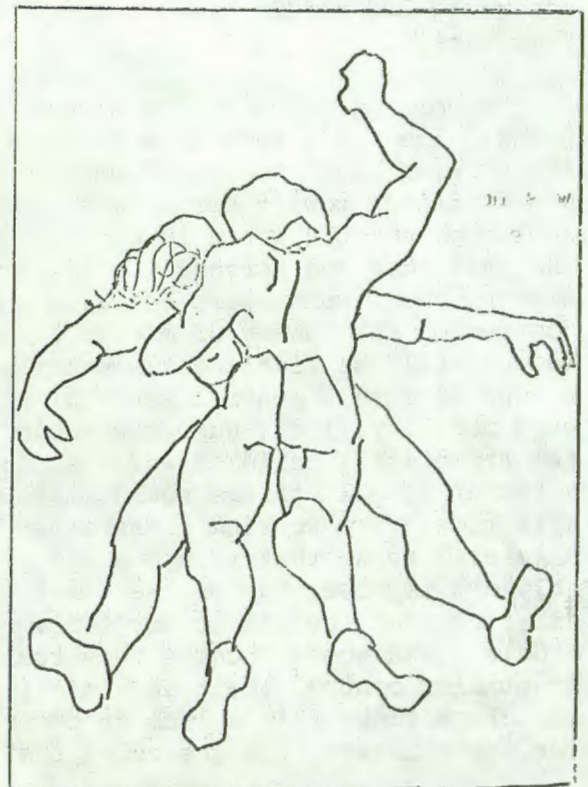
LOOK, MAN, I'M FOR IT. I WANT  
WOMEN TO BE BEAUTIFUL PEOPLE.

LIKE ME.



BUT THE WORKING CLASS DON'T  
DIG IT. THEY DIG BEATING WOMEN  
( I KNOW WHAT THEY DIG: I  
UNDERSTAND THESE PEOPLE.)

SO I BEAT WOMEN.  
I'M NO COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY!



*Naomi Wieselstein*

# BOOK REVIEWS

Workingman's Wife: Her Personality, World, and Life Style. By Rainwater, Coleman, and Handel. Published 1959.

In the 1950's American industry, in its search for markets at home and abroad, discovered the potential of the American working class housewife as a consumer. She is the woman of that "poor but honest" class who by 1950 was no longer "poor" in the depression sense of the word, but did not quite have the buying habits of the middle-class woman. Workingman's Wife is a market research study commissioned to determine the needs and habits of the working class woman. It is an in-depth intelligence report to industry, enabling them to set up on-target advertising.

Interviews were conducted with over 400 working class women (the women were wives of blue collar workers, white, and lived in or around big cities). For contrast, 100 middle class women were interviewed.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part is a survey of the working class woman's "personality"; her attitudes toward her husband, her children, and the world in general. The attitudes and personality traits of working class women were compared and contrasted with those of middle class women: (1) The middle class women tended to have a general sense of upward mobility, i.e., husbands would get promotions, children would go to a better school, things would improve with time. The working class women had a general sense that things would probably not improve, but on the other hand, disaster could befall at any time. (2) Middle class women thought they could substantially control their destinies; working class women felt a lack of control over their lives. (3) The roles that the

women play in their respective families provided another interesting contrast. The working class woman is portrayed as little more than a servant to her husband and children, while the middle class woman seems to be a motivating force behind the family's status-seeking activities.

In summarizing the first part of the book, the authors described working class women as overly pessimistic, but it seemed to this reader that the women's attitudes were fairly accurate reflections of reality. In fact, the optimism of middle class women seemed a better example of false consciousness.

The second part of the book deals with women's consumer behavior. The researchers investigated what women wanted in a neighborhood, a house, furniture, appliances, clothing, and so on. They also investigated how women budgeted, what they thought about credit, and discrepancies between how they believed they should spend money and how they did, in fact, spend money.

The third section of the book ends with an explicit "strategy for advertising." The authors lay out the working class woman's tendencies . . . those that the sellers should beware and those that the sellers should encourage. One suggestion is to promote the "universality" and "common man" identification of a product. Another is to show pictures of babies in the ads because the working class woman is supposed to be a sucker for children.

The book is worth reading for two reasons: First, it does provide information about the working man's wife, particularly her economic insecurities. Second, it is an example of how American industry, at its most sympathetic and

## WORKINGMAN'S WIFE (continued)

sociological, sets women up for the consumer con game.

Alice Keller

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<sup>1</sup>The procedure used in the survey was to show women drawings and ask them what they thought was going on in the drawings. The drawings are described in the book and many of the women's responses are presented verbatim.

### Sex and Temperament and Male and Female. By Margaret Mead

Margaret Mead, in Sex and Temperament, described sex temperament in three New Guinea societies. Her observations led her to believe there is a range of individual differences born into every society. Each society molds these "unbelievably malleable" personalities according to its desire. In some cultures both male and female have the same characteristics as in the Arapesh where both sexes are trained to be "cooperative, unaggressive and responsive to the needs and demands of others." Some societies assign certain traits to one sex and other traits to the opposite sex. The result might be, as in the case of the Tchambuli, that the woman is "dominant, organizing, administrative, definite, robust, practical and impersonal in outlook; men are artistic and emotionally dependent." Mead's conclusion about personality traits was that they are "as lightly linked to sex as they are to clothes, the manners and the form of head dress that a society at a given period assigns to either sex."

It is unfortunate, as Betty Friedan points out, that Margaret Mead turned away from these earlier ideas and began "glorifying the female role." Friedan also maintains that Mead claimed a unique "woman's knowledge with which no male anthropologist could compete." An example of the kind of distortion which resulted from her lead involved the

natural childbirth/breast-feeding movement. This was not meant to be a return to the cavewoman--rather, an affirmation of the "independent, educated, spirited American woman. . .because it enabled her to experience childbirth not as a mindless female animal, an object manipulated by the obstetrician, but as a whole person, able to control her own body with her aware mind." What in effect tended to happen was that women felt they could be "complete women" by spending their entire lives in their biological role" of producing babies by natural childbirth and nursing them. This was a prostitution of the original idea.

In Male and Female, written about 20 years after Sex and Temperament, Margaret Mead speaks of "woman's special gifts," and "the differences between the two sexes is one of the important conditions upon which we have built the many varieties of human culture." In Male and Female, she also returns to more Freudian interpretations of sex differences. She concludes the book with, "We can build a whole society only by using both the gifts special to each sex and those shared by both sexes."

Marsha Tecklin

### WOMEN, KNOW THE FACTS!

Women with college degrees earn about as much as men with high school educations. When male-female educational levels are equal, men earn nearly twice as much. And, the wage gap between men and women has been steadily increasing for 25 years. Men are even taking over women's jobs while systematically denying them the right to hold 'masculine' jobs. For example, men are now becoming social workers and teachers and librarians, but women find it almost impossible to enter the professions. 29 million women work, and two-thirds of them have dull, menial jobs. 10 % of all working women are heads of households and 40% of all working women are single, divorced, widowed, separated or deserted. Not one of these women is working for pin money, glamor, or excitement. They're working because they have no other alternative!

# LIBERATION NEWS

## WORLD WOMEN'S CONGRESS TO BE HELD

Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova, chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, has announced that large-scale preparations are underway in the Soviet Union for the World Women's Congress to be held in Helsinki next summer. Mrs. Tereshkova reported that over 90 countries and twelve international organizations have expressed a desire to attend the Congress which is sponsored by the International Women's Democratic Federation. The theme of the Congress will be women's role in the present-day world.

Soviet women have prepared a report entitled "Women and Work." Mrs. Tereshkova stressed the importance of this theme. Although one-third of all those working in the world are women they still do not get equal pay for their work in a number of countries, she said. In many countries, conditions have not been established to enable women to combine work and family duties.



VALENTINA N. TERESHKOVA

Reports will also be made to the Congress by women from Mexico, Australia, Sudan, and Vietnam.

Valentina Nikolayeva-Tereshkova expressed confidence that the World Women's Con-

gress will demonstrate solidarity with heroic Vietnam. During preparations for the Congress, Soviet women are giving material help to the women of Vietnam, as well as to African countries fighting for national independence.

## NEW UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE

The NUC National Convention will be held June 12-15 in Iowa City, Iowa. One of the concerns of the women working on the plans for the convention was that the arrangements would not directly or indirectly discriminate against women. This accounts for the change in location from Bloomington to Iowa City where women were guaranteed space to set up child-care facilities so that families with children will be able to participate fully in the convention proceedings.

It was also decided that a Women's Caucus will be held the day before the general meetings (that is, on Friday morning). The Caucus will write a programmatic position paper on discrimination against women. The paper will state the group's commitment to a specific program and will be presented to the Convention for adoption.

Write to: Women's Caucus Convention Committee c/o NUC National Office, 5810 S. Woodlawn, Chicago, Ill. 60637 for additional information.

## SARAH LAWRENCE WOMEN

The Sarah Lawrence chapter of SDS sponsored a conference on "The Women's Movement and Women in the Movement" May 2-4. The conference included an analysis of women in American society, women's oppression and its relationship to capitalism, discussions on the problems of women in the Movement, and concluded with a discussion on women in SDS. While primarily for women in the Movement, the

## LIBERATION NEWS (continued)

conference was open to everyone. It was held at the Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York.

### UNIVERSITY OF OREGON WOMEN

A class called Women's Liberation Study and Action has been instituted at the University of Oregon in Eugene, Oregon. It is a one-term class; its only long-term goal is the establishment of a day-care center for infants. The guerilla theater which has arisen may last on a long-term basis, too, say participants, but that decision has yet to be made.

### INDIANA WOMEN

Women at Indiana University have been concentrating on the question of contraception and abortion and the difficulties which women have in obtaining them. They are setting up a fund for information, reform, and education. A contribution might save a girl's life. Send contributions to 923 E. Atwater #1, Bloomington, Indiana. Make checks payable to Women's Liberation. Any woman who needs advice can call 94552. Any one interested in attending weekly meetings can call 23095 or 68691.

### GRINNELL DEMONSTRATORS ARRAIGNED

On February 5, WLM women demonstrated against Playboy in the nude. In April the demonstrators were arraigned and are now awaiting America's renowned "fair and speedy trial." The trial somehow couldn't be managed before graduation when the defense's witnesses scatter to various and sundry corners of the world. Rural Iowa district courts are, of course, extremely busy. The demonstrators still lack \$520 of their \$1200 total legal expenses. Donation from solvent sisters (if there are any) would be gratefully accepted by:

Molly Malcolm  
Grinnell College  
Grinnell, Iowa 50112

## W.A.N.T. -- LOS ANGELES

On Mother's Day, Women in Action for New Times sponsored a march protesting "the hypocrisy which celebrates Mother's Day one day a year and exploits her year round." W.A.N.T. demanded an end to special oppression of black women, equal pay for equal work, professional training programs, free child care, educational grants, rehabilitation programs for women in penal institutions; the female human rights of abortion, contraception, and maternity leaves; an end to mass media exploitation of the female as a sex object in buying and selling of products; and co-partnership in decision-making. Contact W.A.N.T. at P.O. Box 25200, L.A., Calif. 90025. W.A.N.T. ←

### MINNEAPOLIS LIBERATION NEWS

A secretarial supervisor at the U. of Minnesota walked off her job in protest against treatment of clerical workers and female wage discrimination. She left without support from the secretaries who were still getting themselves organized.

In reaction to statements of Simone de Beauvoir in The Second Sex, a woman in Minneapolis is doing a paper on female history, matriarchy and mythology.

### NEW HAVEN WOMEN AND ABORTION LAW REFORM

The New Haven Women's Liberation group testified at the Hartford legislative hearings on abortion law reform on April 14. These are excerpts from their statement:

We oppose this reform because it requires that women who need abortions find medical experts to testify that they are too crazy or too sick to have a child. We should not have to be crazy or sick to decide what happens inside our own bodies.

In California where a similar reform bill was passed, the cheapest hospital abortions cost \$750. This serves only

## LIBERATION NEWS (continued)

the rich who can already get safe (\$500 to \$1000) illegal abortions.

The New Haven group meets Sundays at 241 Orange Street.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

Washington Witches celebrated Pan American Week by hexing United Fruit Co.

### WISCONSIN WOMEN

A four-part free university course on the WLM has been completed at Stevens Point, Wisconsin. The course goals included getting women talking openly about their problems, introducing the literature to them, getting them analysis-versus-opinion oriented, making them aware of the significance of the questions WLM raises, and helping them feel more confident about their ability to work on their own problems.

Two women from the course appeared on a half-hour TV interview on a local station and two others appeared on a Wausaw station.

### NEW YORK ABORTION DEMONSTRATION

"Blood" was spilled in the streets May 8 in New York, when several WL women spilled red ink on the sidewalk at an abortion demonstration. Over 100 people from WL, NOW, Medical Committee for Human Rights, MDS, etc. were attacking Lenox Hill Hospital, as one of the numberless representatives of a medical system that sets up "abortion and sterilization committees" to keep hospital abortions respectably few and costly--and to keep women oppressed. The present laws are rotten, but the medical bureaucracy sets up still worse "laws" of its own. (WL recruited quite a few of the women medical and nursing students who came.)

### LIBERATION BOOK-TO-BE

Joreen is compiling a book of readings on women from the viewpoint of women's lib-

eration and would like sisters to contribute pieces for the book. Articles should be iconoclastic (contradicting traditions), well-researched, and well-written. (If you would like to write in a particular area but do not have an article written, write Joreen and tell her about it.) Contact:

Joreen  
816 East 58th St.  
Chicago, Ill. 60637

*just file  
Gail - send  
list of  
articles*

### FACULTY WOMEN EMPLOYEE FILE

University departments should never be able to say "We'd like to hire women but we can't find anyone who's qualified." So that that line may be forever invalidated, a Faculty Women Employee File is being compiled. Any women now on university faculties, any women who would like to be on the list, and any women who would like to help with such a project should write:

Faculty Women Employee File  
816 East 58th St.  
Chicago, Ill. 60637

### BERKELEY WOMEN VS. THE POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT

Berkeley women have presented a paper to the political science department demanding an end to discrimination in the employment of women faculty members and in policies regarding women graduate students. The paper cuts through fictions regarding the availability of qualified women instructors and shows concrete reasons why women often cannot complete graduate study programs.

\* \* \*

THE MINORITY STATUS OF WOMEN goes unnoticed because they are the only minority in history that lives with the "master race."

From Born Female by Caroline Bird

Editorial note:

We can only assume that Caroline Bird used the word "minority" above to indicate woman's oppressed state, because women are not a minority; they comprise 51% of the population.

# Red

## Stocking's

## Rap

Twelve young women faced an audience of more than 300 men and women on a Friday night, and with simplicity and calm and occasional emotion and even humor, told of incidents in their personal lives which they formerly had consigned to the very private. They rapped about their own abortions.

The evening was put together by the Redstockings, an action group linked to the women's liberation movement. The meeting began with a playlet that was more diatribe than dialogue, and ended with a rambling speech by America's most loquacious abortionist, Dr. Nathan H. Pappaport. The real drama and unprecedented honesty occurred in between. For three hours, in the borrowed sanctuary of Rev. Finley Schaef's Washington Square Methodist Church, the group of women "testified" from their own experience with unwanted pregnancy and illegal abortion.

Last month, the Redstockings had stormed a hearing of a New York State legislative committee studying abortion law reform, and predictably, they had been rebuffed. The committee, they were told, was interested in the testimony of "experts." The "experts" had been 14 men and one woman, a nun. The radical women had fashioned this evening as their own public hearing. As one of the younger girls said, "We are the true experts, the only experts, we who've had abortions."

There were no legislators in the audience at the Washington

Square church. There were, surprisingly, a large number of men. Some were curiosity seekers (the meeting had been advertised) who paid their \$2 contributions for an evening that promised who knows what? More significant was the number of women who had brought along husbands and boyfriends. Some of these women also stood up to share their private experience with a roomful of strangers.

It was the politics of confrontation and catharsis, and as such it was successful beyond the expectations of the organizers. It was, some of the women agreed, their most successful endeavor in a year and a half of intensive self-analysis and sporadic "actions" (their term for hit-and-run demonstrations like the assault on the legislative hearing, and last autumn's infiltration of the Miss America pageant in Atlantic City.)

The "testifying" method was an outgrowth of the confessional style of the weekly meetings of the women's liberation groups, leaderless introspective sessions of free-form discussion where each woman is encouraged to "speak from your own experience, sister." The panelists had prepared no speeches. They set up an unobtrusive tape recorder, kept the lights comfortably dim to encourage conversation, and protected their anonymity by using first names only. The result, which could have been exhibitionistic or melodramatic, was neither --

## REDSTOCKING RAP (continued)

it was an honest rap. And it worked.

There was talk of the "oppressor," and this evening, at least, the oppressor was contained. Make no mistake, the oppressor was Man, who played the passive role of auditor, or at most, respectful questioner. It was the women's night. Not a "Ladies' Night," or an evening for "the girls", but a night when Woman spoke and was listened to, seriously. The very oddness of such an evening, where women-as-experts spoke to women and men, was too much, it seemed, for at least two women in the audience. They rose to damn their sisters for displaying unbridled hostility to men. They in turn were roundly jeered.

"Yes, the more I talk here, the more I realize that I am hostile to men," said one small fragile girl on the panel. She had been telling her story of getting therapeutic (legal) abortion in New York. She had applied to 11 hospitals before she had accomplished her mission. "The tenth," she said in a quavering little voice, "offered me a deal. The deal was, they'd give me an abortion if I'd agree to get sterilized. I was 20 years old."

Each bit of testimony from the panel was met with a knowing response from the floor. The nameless Redstocking in this church this evening was Everywoman:

"I finally found a doctor in West New York, New Jersey. The doctor was very sweet. He had pictures of crucifixes on the walls. It only cost \$900. I went to a bank and got a vacation loan. I'm still paying it off."

"I found two psychiatrists who said that for \$60 each they'd

write a report which said I was mentally unstable and ought to have an abortion. I had to prove I was crazy to get a legal abortion -- and the abortion was the sanest thing I had ever done in my life."

"The first time I got pregnant, I was a young little thing. The man didn't use any contraceptive. He told me something like, 'Don't worry, when I come the second time, it washes away the sperm.'"

"I was just living with this middle class guy, and my life was just like his. We were just going along, together. I didn't do anything strange or unusual. I didn't make any decisions. But one day I was pregnant. Then there was a difference."

From the audience..."It's only when you fulfill your so-called biological role as a woman that you get a lot of attention. Women in this society are defined by their service, nurturing, and maintenance roles. When I got pregnant, relatives I hadn't seen in 10 years said, 'I'll take the baby.' I guess maybe because I was helpless..."

At one point in the evening, a young man in the audience arose to ask a question: "You keep talking about a woman's right to have a legal abortion," he said. "What about the man's rights, in or out of wedlock? You didn't make yourselves pregnant."

He was told off, politely and firmly. "Women have the ultimate control over their own bodies," a Redstocking told him with the patience a weary teacher uses for a dear but exceptionally slow child. Neither he nor any other male in the hall felt like challenging that simple yet not so obvious statement.

(Susan Brownmiller, Village Voice)

# VIOLATING THE REALITY STRUCTURE...

## OR HOW TO BLOW THE STATUS QUO MIND

Mass protests and demonstrations can be effective techniques for bringing about change. But they aren't the only techniques; and they certainly aren't always the most effective. One of the purposes of any action is to blow people's minds. By bringing about a contradiction between values and reality a sort of mental crises is created. We violate people's reality structure and they must construct a new one, preferably with our ideas in it. We don't have to sit in at an administration building or march on Congress to do this. There are other ways open to the WLM which can have the same effect on a local level, which are easy for individuals or small groups to pull off, and which are a lot better than waiting until we have the strength for a mass protest.

For example, last August another feminist agitator and I wanted to recruit women for a women's liberation class at the National Student Association Congress. So we stood in the dinner lines and passed out leaflets -- to women only. All women were given leaflets; all men were denied them. When a leaflet was held out to a couple and the man reached for it, we pointedly gave it to the woman. When a guy took a leaflet from the woman with him, we took it back, saying "That was for her, not you." Most of the women were rather pleased that they were singled out for this kind of at-

tention. Many stopped to talk. This gave us an opportunity to explore with them the ideas of women's liberation.

Most of the men were rather up tight. Some laughed, some were sheepish, some indignant; and two attacked me. They didn't succeed in their objective of destroying my leaflets but they did create quite a flurry. When a few women threw away their leaflets, the men immediately picked them up.

This action, of course, was not an attempt to keep men from reading our fairly innocuous invitation to a women's liberation class. It was a stunt, and a very effective one. It made the women think seriously that they somehow had special political concerns as women. It made the men think also. And all we did was refuse to play the game by the rules we were all raised to accept. In particular, we paid the kind of attention to women that is usually accorded only to men.

There are a thousand other ways to violate people's reality structures. For example: Open doors for guys. Light someone's cigarette. Use the female instead of the male pronoun to refer to people in general. Stop sponging off guys on dates, especially if they don't have any more money than you do. If you're financing a date, don't give the guy money beforehand to spare him embarrassment. Give your consolations to any woman who is getting married. If you have kids and live with a guy let him babysit for an evening or a few days while you do something important to you--

## VIOLATING... (continued)

and praise his action far and wide. This will give other mothers ideas.

These are individual actions. Collective actions can work on the same principle. To violate people's reality structures collectively, we might: Form WITCH groups, and groups to extol the "evil" qualities of women. In organizations, nominate guys for secretary and women for presidents. Creatively disrupt women's teas, fashion shows and the like, or hold our own with a liberation twist. Do guerilla theater in laundromats and supermarkets (places every woman must go at least once a week). Sell or give WLM literature to women only.

A more elaborate technique was discussed at a workshop at the National Conference: Form a single women's syndicate to rationalize the pursuit of men. Boycott men who mess over women. Call up guys and ask them out, telling them that you were given their name by a sister and the syndicate shares men collectively. At parties insist that each man dance with each woman so no one can play the usual popularity games. The syndicate would give women the initiative in the game and break down traditional male prerogatives.

These examples are all very limited and alone will not change much of anything--but they do jar people and make them inquire why you did what you did. The point is to do what is not expected and to talk to people when they react. An action is a vehicle into people's minds which needs to be followed up by extensive work. Curiosity aroused must become consciousness developed.

Joreen, Chicago

## WHAT PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION?

In the U.S. there are 1000 individual state laws that discriminate against women.

In one state a woman's clothes legally belong to her husband.

The only legal right granted to all women under the Constitution is the right to vote.

The Equal Rights for Women Amendment has failed to pass the U.S. Congress for 43 straight years.

## THE PAMPERED AMERICAN WOMAN...

Full time women workers earn an average of 40% less than men in similar jobs in every major industry.

Half of all working women earn less than \$3,700. Poverty level is \$3,300.

Only 1.4% of working women earn over \$10,000.

Today only 1 in 10 Ph.D.'s is granted to a woman. This is fewer than in 1940.

It is harder for a woman to get into medical school today than it was 35 years ago.

## KNOW THYSELF...

Women are good with their fingers (for typing, not brain surgery).

Women are good with figures (for bookkeeping, not for high finance).

Women are: emotional...irresponsible...able to stand boring details...unable to deal with facts...wily...illogical...intuitive...proud of outwitting their men...etc....etc.

# Letters: a Proposal

## A PROPOSAL

It appears to me that a potentially dangerous trend exists in the Women's Liberation Movement as a whole and that is the singling out and cultivation of "leaders" or "stars." This appeared most obvious in the recent New York Times article on our movement. We should realize that the press and TV media can dangerously distort the women's movement by the singling out of individuals, and characterizing the whole movement on the basis of what a few individuals say.

I see it as essential that we encourage all women to take an equal part in the development of theory pertaining to our movement. This cannot be done if those already possessing "leadership" abilities overshadow the underdeveloped ones.

My proposal to all women who have joined a Women's Liberation group is that our groups each take the name of one of the women in the early woman's movement. This will at least eliminate the identification of a group by its best-known member, and will make us all more familiar with our history.

Beverley D. Radcliffe  
San Francisco

## WARNING FROM DETROIT

While leafleting for an action, I was approached by an S.D.S. woman and two S.D.S. men. The woman

asked me to drop our action and go out to a Chrysler plant in Northwest Detroit to picket in support of striking workers. I was surprised and said to myself, "When have we ever suggested to them that W.L.M. was more important than S.D.S., or told them to drop an action?", and I went on leafleting. The men saw I wasn't going to drop our action and started deriding W.L.M.

S.D.S. is the first movement organization to try to co-opt us: they need to be stomped on now, or else they will use us, if we let them, by playing on guilty feelings. (We won't be their childish co cept of a "Revolutionary" if we don't help them.) I want nothing to do with S.D.S. people.

This will, I hope, be a warning to other W.L.M. women, for it establishes the motives of S.D.S., and serves as a connection to Marilyn Webb's telephone call from S.D.S. women ordering her to tow the line or get beaten up.

Nancy Homer  
Detroit

## A LETTER TO SEARS

Gentlemen:

I write to express my extreme displeasure in the discovery at your Halsted Street store yesterday that the Charmode "Rotation" brassiere style #57704N has been discontinued.

This is a perfectly serviceable bra: all cotton, no extra

# Letters: Sketches

## A LETTER TO SEARS (continued)

gusses and buttresses to push or squeeze one in all directions. It is solidly made: the straps last as long as the rest of it and neither washer nor dryer can defeat it during the first two years of its life.

And it is comfortable. Those of us who wear a bra as a sop to the amenities, being too chicken to let the bustline fall where Nature would let it, don't want extra added pzazz -- be it reinforced concrete undercup or nylon lace edging calculated to raise a rash in the first two hours of wear.

I am upset that Sears has capitulated to that Tyranny of the Novel which dictates to American business that only the "new and improved" will sell. The old and unpretentious would have held my business for a lifetime. After five years in the "Rotation" I don't know where to turn.

Truly yours,  
Sara Heslep

## LIBERATION ART?

Dear Sisters in Struggle:

You're doing a great job with the newsletter. Please keep it up.

Question -- Please explain meaning of the sketches on pages eight and thirteen of VWLM #6. It seems to me women should be proud of their bodies whether they are tall, small, black, white, fat or thin. And women's liberation

should not draw pictures that put down women's bodies. We have enough of that in the media.

We can't really be liberated until we accept our bodies as universally beautiful.

Norma Lesser

## Editorial comment:

There were a number of ways to view Hanako's sketches. To some of us, they seemed to depict the kind of pain and suffering that's a part of the unspoken history of women. We felt that it was important to tell it like it is in pictures as well as in words.

# Pam Says

Those of us who work in offices find ourselves daily confronted with male supremacy. But our sisters who work in any of a hundred of this country's largest corporations, including the major airlines, automobile manufacturers, insurance companies, banks, a large segment of the communications industry and the University of California are now receiving a new publication. This bi-monthly bulletin, "Pam Says," (published by the Economics Press of New Jersey) insures that they get the message from their male employers.

"Pam Says," a "publication especially for business girls," comments on what are called "the facts of business life." We've

# Letters: Pam Says

(continued)

all been told that certain innate feminine traits are incompatible with the reasoned, orderly, masculine business world. Pam tries to combat these weaknesses with this advice:

Control your emotions!

Most of us girls are tempted once in a while to "ham it up." We're female, after all, and therefore victims to all these weaknesses...

Again, Pam says:

Office routine gets tedious at times and women do love to gossip! When there isn't any legitimate news to talk about there are always people who can invent some.

Why is it with all these faults that men still keep women in their offices? Is it their "looks? charm? skills?" Pam asks. "No, it is the secret ingredient, that one magic quality -- enthusiasm," a woman's eagerness to subjugate herself to the large male corporate image.

One of our sisters who received a flyer advertising "Pam Says" responded in this way:

John L. Beckley  
Economics Press, Inc.  
270 Pleasant Valley Way  
West Orange, New Jersey 07052

Dear Mr. Beckley:

I have just received an advertising brochure and sample copy of your publication PAM SAYS.

As a woman I daily experience the paternalism, the insults of

male supremists, the degradation of having to associate with men who consider me their inferior because of my sex.

As the publisher of PAM SAYS you are guilty of all these. Your paternalistic reference to "girls." Do you call male employees over 21 boys? The layout, the presentation of the message is the evidence that you consider women not very bright. Two sentences per page with drawing is the most a secretary can grasp? The message itself makes it clear the secretary's main function is to please her male boss, even if she has to sell her soul and hate herself the other 16 hours of the day. She must dress, talk, walk all according to standards established by the men she works for.

Your message to secretaries is: do what we say, be what we want because by our exploitation of you we will make more money for our company and we will be rewarded by promotions, better jobs and higher salaries.

Whether Pam is actually a woman is irrelevant. She is a lost soul, and inside her own heart she knows it..

Glenda Jones

And this was our boy Beckley's reply: "Because I do wear pants, Glenda, it's obvious that anything I might say to refute your criticism of PAM SAYS would be a waste of breath. I am sorry, however, that you appear so unhappy and maladjusted. Perhaps a female psychiatrist could be of some help."

# literature and films

WOMEN: A BIBLIOGRAPHY is now out in a revised enlarged edition. Lots of suggestions & discoveries were made and the new version has two thirds more items (550) than the old one; it's 15 pages long and can be ordered from Cindy Cisler, 102 W. 80 St., New York, N.Y. 10024, for 25¢ (10 for \$2.00, 30 for \$5.00). Also, abortion repeal buttons: 5¢ and a stamped envelope.

The women's issue of the GREAT SPECKLED BIRD is now available from P.O. Box 7946, Atlanta, Georgia 30309.

LILITH #2 is now available. Write Majority Union, Box 1895, Seattle, Washington 98111. LILITH is also collecting visual material for a pictorial issue. These visuals will also be made available to other WL publications. Send whatever you have to fatten the files.

MOTHERS AND AMAZONS by Helen Diner, published by Julian Press, 1965, was recommended in a previous issue. It's been learned that this book can be ordered from PUBLISHERS CENTRAL BUREAU, 33-20 Hunters Point Ave., Long Island, N.Y. 11101. It is their #9766 and costs \$3.00. It previously sold for \$7.50.

There has been a women's newsletter started in Boston, entitled Female Liberation Newsletter. It is composed of articles and thoughts of women in the Boston area. For copies write to Nancy Hawley, 193 Hamilton St., Cambridge, Mass.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY REPORT #1 gives information on female job participation in private industry and sex discrimination. 3 volumes, sold in sets only. Write Equal Employment Commission.

The women's issue of MOTIVE MAGAZINE can be ordered for \$1.00 from P.O. Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee, 37202. (Or you may get 10 copies for \$8.00.) The women's issue

was found to be so controversial that the magazine--always considered a 'nigger' by church people--is in danger of being closed down. "The combination of four letter words, lesbianism, and women's liberation issues were too much for the good church people who keep us in business. . ." If you have read MOTIVE's women's issue, send letters of support to:

Myron F. Wicke, Chairman  
Methodist Board of Education  
Post Office Box 871  
Nashville, Tennessee 37202

The film made of the Miss America demonstration is now available for distribution. Prints are \$20.00 to buy and \$10.00 to rent from NEWSREEL, 127 E. 15th St., NYC. Judith Duffet says it is "about 7 minutes long, exciting, beautiful, rabble-rousing, and includes the 'women's liberation' banner unfurled across the balcony of the Convention Hall." "Ski Weekend", first shown at the national conference, is also available.

## Order

all literature from:

New England Free Press

791 Tremont Street

Boston, Mass.

# NOTICE!!

We who publish this newsletter must announce that this will be our last issue. We have decided to divest ourselves of responsibility for a national newsletter (a major responsibility for some of us) because we wish to concentrate on building a women's movement in the Chicago area. We feel regional organizing is the most important priority at this stage of our movement's history.

It has also become increasingly clear to us that the newsletter was not, in fact, the "Voice of the Women's Liberation Movement." Nor do we think that any national newsletter could do justice to the role of "voice" at the present time. We still recognize the need for news and communication on a national level, but we feel we should use our resources and energy to reach women in the Chicago area.

The money left over from subscriptions to VWLM will be used to help build a women's movement in the Chicago area. If you want your money back, write to:

Shirley Starkweather  
2623 Southport  
Chicago, Illinois

We will no longer function as a national literature distribution center. Literature should be ordered from:

New England Free Press  
791 Tremont Street  
Boston, Massachusetts 02118

They have most of the literature on our mailing list. Write to them for their mailing list.

We hope our decision will be viewed sympathetically and understood as a political decision. We believe it is a step toward enlisting many more Chicago women in the struggle.

Laura L. Lura  
2325 Oak st  
Berkeley, Calif

